







THE  
ROMAN History

From the Removal of the  
Imperial SEAT

BY

*Constantine the Great,*

To the Taking of

ROME

BY

ODOACER K. of the *Heruli.*

AND THE

Ruin of the Empire in the *West:*

And from the

Ruin of the *Western* EMPIRE,

To its Restitution by

CHARLEMAGNE.

Containing in all the Space of 474 Years.

V O L. III.

Being a Continuation of Mr. *Esbard's* History.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *W. Freeman*, near *Temple-Bar*; *J. Waltee* in  
the *Temple*; *J. Newberough*, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*;  
*J. Nicholson*, in *Little Britain*; and *R. Parker*, under the  
*Royal Exchange* in *Cornhil.* 1705.

*Thom. Tanner.*



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# THE P R E F A C E.

**W**E can give no other reason for our undertaking the Roman History after the Continuator of Mr. Echard's had attempted it, but our liking his Design, and our Opinion, That there was something wanting in his Performance, to render it as Useful and Pleasant as it might be made. We are not willing to recommend our own at the Expence of another Man's Labours. And when the necessity of the Subject obliges us to say any Thing of the Continuator's Errors or Mistakes, we desire the Reader to distinguish between his Person and his Work; for having no Pique or Prejudice to sowr our Judgement or sharpen our Stile, we shall treat him as we suppose he is, a Gentleman, and as we would wish to be treated our selves on the same Occasion.

Ill Manners and ill Language never make a bad Cause better, but often spoil a good one. The Impartial Reader is apt to mistrust, that Railing is brought in to supply a Defect of Reasoning; and knowing that Truth has no need of Passion to make it prevalent over Error: Wherever he finds saiyr or course Raillery, he concludes 'tis made use of to Colour a wretched Argument, and to divert him from entring into the Merits of the Cause. This is the Refuge of those Common Scribblers who sup-



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port themselves by Scandal and Impudence, and having their manner of Treating the Reputation of their Neighbours in abhorrence, nothing will ever provoke us to follow their Example.

We premise this to assure the Reader, that tho' he may think the worse of our Temper, for the number of the Mistakes we have mark'd in the Continuation of the Roman History; yet he will meet with no malicious Reflections nor unfair Quotations. We thought we could not justifie our Writing the same History, unless we convinc'd the World, that the Continuator had not Perform'd it with such Perfection as we might promise our Selves from a Person recommended by Mr. Echard. 'Tis true, he says little of the Work more than might be said of any Book upon Reading a Page or two of it. Only we cannot but admire, that Mr. Echard should attest the Continuation was taken from the Antient Authors, when we believe he is himself so well acquainted with Mr. Howel's History of the World, that he must know he went no further for his Matter than the Translation of the Ancients, Whose Works he finds Collected, Methodiz'd and Abridg'd, in Howel's general History. Indeed Mr. Echard seems to take it upon trust, for he owns in that which is call'd his Preface before the Continuation, He wanted Opportunity to examine it with the Antient and Original Authors from whence it was taken; so that all he can say as to that Matter, is, That he has no reason to think it Unfaithful or Defective. We may on very good ground affirm, He took the Continuator or his Book-seller's Word for it. Since if he did not examine it, How could he be sure 'twas taken from Ancient Authors? And why had he not as much Reason to think it Unfaithful and Defective, as Exact and Sincere? Since he knew no more of the Matter. We have Read it thro' and have observed

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*serv'd Mistakes enough in it to assert, By comparing it with very Modern Authors, that 'twas not taken from the Antients: And if it is not Unfaithful, 'tis at least Defective. We are not Ignorant of the Advantage of being recommended by so good a Judge, and so able an Historian as Mr. Echard. And tho' we have not taken any of those Steps to pre-engage him in our Favour, which the Continuator or his Agents did; yet we hope that Learned and Ingenious Author will not be ashamed of seeing his Design pursu'd in the manner we have done it. And we are so well satisfy'd of his Zeal and Sincerity for the Truth, that we cannot but believe, he will be glad to see those Mistakes discover'd which he wanted Opportunity only to find out himself.*

*Vitiges the Goth, according to the Continuator's own Account, a Person of an Inconsiderable Family, Vol. IV. p. 100. was chosen King of the Goths; and after several great Actions, p. 135. was taken Prisoner by Belisarius and carry'd to Constantinople; where, says our Author, He was treated answerably to his Birth and Dignity. His Birth was Vulgar, his Dignity Royal, we must leave it to the Continuator to explain his Meaning, and reconcile this Contradiction if he can, p. ibid. This Year, A. D. 541. was the last in which any Person Exercis'd the Office of Consul. p. 136, Basilus, the present Consul, was the last that ever bore that Honour. The Emperor, Justinian himself then Reigning, not only reviv'd that Office five or six Years afterwards, when he made Artabanes the Armenian, Consul, as a Reward for the good Service he had done in Killing the Usurper Gontharis in Africa; but there were with some Intermissions several Consuls in several of the succeeding Reigns. The Roman Story is full of Instances of this*

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kind, and the Continuator must be a very great Stranger to it, if he vindicates himself in this Point.

Alboin King of the Lombards, was Slain by his Wife and her Gallant, who Bury'd him privately under a Staircase in his Palace. Yet our Author assures us. p. 229 The Lombards attended their King to his Grave with publick Lamentations.

Phocas the Tyrant order'd his Officers to seize a great number of his own Guards, who revil'd him for his Drunkenness and Luxury. The Prasini, a Faction in Constantinople, gave him hard Words, and were so us'd; but we don't find that his Guards took so much Liberty, or were so dealt with. p. 282 The Barbarians Pillag'd Alexandria and took Carthage; which does not very well agree with p. 310. In Affrick the Empire had lost nothing. p. 302. Cyrus the Patriarch of Alexandria agreed to Pay the Saracens 200000 Crowns Yearly. 'Twas only 200000 Denarij, about Twenty five Thousand Crowns, p. 305. John the Exarch of Ravenna, was kill'd by the Multitude in that City. The Exarch was kill'd by the Duke of Naples. p. 311 The Emperor for the present looking on as an idle Spectator. And what more could he expect from a Prince who was not above five Years Old? p. 313. The Romans from this time forward, A. D. 647. laid no claim to any part of Affrick. We wonder to see the Continuator so positive in this Assertion, which every History of that Age flatly Contradicts. The Romans were in Possession of Carthage and other Parts of Affrick 50 Years afterwards. 'Twas almost the end of the Seventh Century before they Surrender'd that City to the Saracens, who became Masters of it in the Year 698.

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The Emperor march'd against the *Bulgarians*, who at this time, *Anno* 679. settled in *Mæsia*. This is the substance of Page 332. All the *Historians* of the fifth and sixth Centuries, tell us, That the *Bulgari* had seated themselves on the Roman side of the *Ister*, a Hundred and fifty Years before this Time. And the Continuator himself. p. 27. of the same Volume, says, They were very Powerful in the Year 499. That they made War on the Emperor *Anastasius* in *Thrace*, and forc'd him to Buy a Peace. He also acknowledges Page 310. That the Emperor had nothing left in *Europe*, but *Thrace*, *Greece*, *Italy* and the *Iles*, *Anno* 641. What People were in Possession of *Mæsia* then, if they were not the *Bulgari*? Page 338. *Abdelmelech* engag'd to Pay the Emperor a Thousand Crowns a Day. These Crowns in *Mr. Howell* are Nummi, which he reckons worth about Two Pence each of our Money; and his Computation will make a great difference in the Sum the *Saracens* were to Pay. After *Mr. Howel's* Relation and Calculation, the Tribute amounts to scarce Three thousand Pounds a Year; and according to the Continuator's, to above Ninety Thousand Pounds of our Money. Page 343: *Leontius* having cut off *Justinian* the second's Nose, led him in that Condition thro' the City, Summoning by Proclamation as he went, all those that were Christians, to meet him at the Church of *St. Sophia*; whether the Multitude ran in great Crouds, to whom the Patriarch cry'd aloud, This is the Day which the Lord hath made. The Fact is true, but the manner of his relating it, varies from all Authentick Authors. *Leontius* Summon'd the People first, The Patriarch spoke to them, And the Assembly Condemn'd him as we have related it in Page 484. before *Justinian* was mutilated or his Person seiz'd. The Emperor had his  
Nose



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*Nose Cut off and was Banish'd; and by the Assistance of the King of the Bulgari, restor'd. After his Restauration he behav'd himself as Cruelly and Tyrannically as before, and to use the Continuator's Words, p. 349. From Bad grew Worse. Yet p. 344. the same Author is very Elegant and Poetical in his Panegyrick upon him, He rose again like the Sun with fresh Glories: Which however is not very agreeable with his Account of his Death and his Deserts, eight Pages forward. Page 352. He was seiz'd by Elias who cut off his Head: Such was the deserv'd end of that furious implacable Monster. Page 353. Pope Constantine in a Synod of Italian Bishops, Condemn'd Philippicus, and adjudg'd him unworthy and incapable of the Imperial Dignity. The Pope presum'd to ordain in this Synod, Anno 712. that Images should be Worship'd. We have Abridg'd this Page that we might not swell our Preface to too great a Bulk. Mr. Tallent in his Chronological Tables, takes no Notice of any Synod in Rome for Images till the Year 726. Neither did the Pope proceed to such Extremities with Philippicus; 'twas Gregory II. who Excommunicated the Emperor Leo Isaurus, and depos'd him 15 Years afterwards. Page 370. Constantine the Son of Leo, led an Army against the Saracens, who were advanc'd into Asia. The Saracens had been in Possession of most of the Roman Provinces in Asia near one Hundred Years. Page 384. The Emperor, making War upon the Bulgari, Rigg'd out a strong Fleet and rais'd a good Army, which had Orders to March thro' Thrace and meet the Fleet at Anchialus, a Town standing upon the Sea in Cilicia; where both Parties engag'd. For want of a little Knowledge in Geography, or Care in Examining the Authors who treat of such Things, the Continuator has been Guilty of a strange Blunder,*

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der, for we cannot call it by a softer Name. He might as well have said the French King intending to fall upon the Dutch, rigg'd out a Fleet and rais'd an Army; which had Orders to march thro' Picardy and meet the Fleet at Dover, a Town standing on the Sea in Kent, where both Parties Engag'd, &c. Cilicia was a Roman Province in Asia, on the other side of the Black-Sea, and there was indeed a Town on the Coast call'd Anchialus. But the Bulgari Inhabited the Country lying along the Danube, which now makes the Provinces of Bulgaria and Servia. They Border'd on Thrace, and near their Frontiers there stood a Town upon the Danube call'd also Anchialus, where the Roman Army were to meet their Fleet; which was to Sail up that River. And here they Engag'd the Enemy.

We happen'd to light upon the Continuator's Second Volume, the Fourth of the Roman History, before we had seen his First, or the Third Volume of the same History; and in examining it, finding all these Errors, with as many more, which we have not mention'd, that we might not tire the Reader with a too tedious Preface, we thought there were enough in it to form a Judgment by it of the Author's Care and Exactness, without looking into the Third, which we have since done for our own Satisfaction. And tho' we don't think fit to Publish any more of his Mistakes, we were not discourag'd by his Performance in our Intentions of going on with the Roman History, if the Author of the two First Volumes discontinu'd it. What Reason he had to give it over, is not our Business to enquire into. The Reputation he got by his Work, was a very fair Encouragement for him to proceed. And the Favour he met with from the World seem'd to require, that in Gratitude he should not have disappointed the Expectations of the Publick, who could not think he would have suffer'd another to have

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*invaded his Design, and would have been much better pleas'd to have seen the History finish'd by the same Hand. When he gave it over, we were at Liberty to continue it, and resolv'd to do it; and tho' by waiting longer to see what he would do, in Complaisance to his Character, we gave the Continuator Time to come out sooner than we could. Yet we did not think our selves oblig'd to abandon our Design, because another had precipitately attempted it before us.*

*We have not been too nice in searching after Faults, and have observ'd such only as the Writer cannot lay to the Charge of the Printer, or to a Slip of the Pen. 'Twould be very hard, if the Reader's Candour would not supply such Deficiencies; and we might our selves suffer by so much Severity. We have also been tender how we accuse him of wrong Dates: For really he has written of a Period so dark and confus'd in the best Historians, that 'tis impossible to be as exact in Chronology, as those may be who Copy after the Writers of the Learned Ages.*

*If we had been inclin'd to Cavil, we might have fall'n upon his Language, of which the Author of the Roman History says abundance of fine Things: But tho' we are not of his Opinion, and are far from thinking it deserves the Encomium he gives it, yet we must own 'tis much better than his Conduct. His Quantities of Horses, p. 177, of the Fourth Volume, looks like Impropriety, and his Earth refusing her Fruits, and deforming the Year with a Barren Face, p. 272, seems too Poetical for the Simplicity of an Historical Narration. However, we shall pass by the License of his Expression, and the Incorrectness of his Style, which would have been more Pardonable, had his Relation of Fact been more Fast and Perfect. Yet he has Written very loosely, considering the Manner he ought to have observ'd in an Abridgment, which will not permit of much Reasoning or Reflection, long Periods or too great Plenty of Words.*

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*In the following Sheets we have brought in almost half as much Matter more as is contain'd in his Two Volumes, and have left out no Part of the Story, in the Compass of his Period, which was worthy the Reader's Knowledge.*

*We might, as he has done, mention many Names of Authors, Antient and Modern, that we have look'd over in the Prosecution of our Work, as Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, Orosius, Socrates, Sozomen, Procopius, Evagrius, Eutropius, Agathias, &c. But we have good Reason to believe the Continuator would soon perceive we are much more indebted to Mr. Howell. Both himself and Mr. Echard sav'd themselves a great deal of Trouble, by the use they made of Howell's History, out of which they have not only taken the Chief Materials for their own, but often transcrib'd him with little Variation, for several Pages together. We are satisfy'd, that the Learned Mr. Howell's General History of the World, is the best of the Kind extant. But 'tis certainly much more valuable for the great Pains he took in taking into the Rubbish of the BasEmpire, and bringing things out of Confusion into Order, than for the Account he gives of the first Ten Centuries of the Roman Story, which wants much of the Accuracy and Elegance of the Authors from whom he Translated it. And had we been to have begun our History with the Foundation of Rome, and continu'd it to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople, we should not have thought our selves excusable to have follow'd him so servilely as some Authors have done. Nor, indeed, to have kept so close to him, as we have done our selves in those Ages of Darknes and Disorder, which he has enlighten'd by his Judgment and Industry. When we came to any Difficulty, we compar'd him diligently with the Authors he Copy'd; for his History is a meer Translation of the Ancients, whom he has put in their Chronological Order.*

*There*



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*There is nothing more useful in History than observing exactly the Course of Time, which we have all along mark'd in the Margent with the utmost Care, and we hope with as much Success as the Confusion of the Ages we write of will allow. In this we were very much assisted by Mr. Tallent's Tables, which are in Universal Esteem. The Difficulty of the Task is so obvious, that every Ingenuous Reader will be tender of condemning us for Errors in Dates, without examining our Accounts by the best Authorities. For the Ancients, we speak of such as wrote after the Third Century, so often differ among themselves, that 'tis impossible to reconcile 'em all; and we had nothing to do but to follow those who have the Reputation of being the most Faithful and the most Exact*

*We have look'd into the Historians of the Kingdoms of Europe, who have written of the Rise of their Nations, and their Subjection to the Romans. By this Method we have met with several remarkable Events, which the Curiosity of those Authors about things relating to their Countries has brought to light, and which we could not otherwise have found out without a prodigious wast of Trouble and Time. For Spain and Portugal, an old Province of the Western Empire, we had recourse to Mariana; for Britain, another Province, to Buchanan and Speed; for Gaul, to the French Historians, Mezeraij, Petau, Le Seur, Chevreau and others.*

*We have mingled the Ecclesiastical History with the Civil, which is so interwoven in the four last Centuries of our Period, that we could not have avoided it, unless we would have left the whole Story broken and imperfect.*

*We have especially been very particular in observing by what Degrees the Pope rose from being Bishop, or Presbyter of Rome, as he was first call'd according to Mr. Tallent, to be her Prince, and the many irregular Steps the Roman Pontiffs took to turn the Episcopat*

## The P R E F A C E.

piscopal Chair into an Imperial Throne. They began their Sovereignty by Rebellion against their Natural Lord the Roman Emperor, and have maintain'd it by Tyranny and Oppression under Colour of the Rights and Priviledges of the Church.

In this Volume we shall shew how the Northern Nations of Europe, by the Romans reckon'd Barbarous, ravish'd their Dominions from them, and settl'd the Kingdoms of the Goths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Lombards in Italy, the Saxons in Britain, from which the present mighty Monarchies of England, France and Spain are deriv'd. We shall shew the Western Empire in her last Pangs, and shall relate how she recover'd her Strength, rose again and flourish'd with new Life and Vigour. From her the present Roman, or rather German Empire, derives her Origin, which, without the Protection and Assistance of the Queen of England, our Soverign now Reigning, had in all likelihood been reduc'd to as low an Ebb as she was in when Augustulus was depos'd by Odoacer, and the Barbarians trampled her under Foot.

We might now enlarge on the use of History in general, and of our own in particular. We might report the Rules the Criticks set down for such as write it, and instance how punctually we have observ'd them in our Method and Style. But after so many Lessons on this Subject, before the several Voluminous Histories that have been lately Publish'd, 'twill be needless to add anything of ours. The Usefulness of History is so self evident, 'tis impertinent to pretend to prove it. Tacitus is in a Rapture when he thinks of it. *O Pulchra ista Pars, quæ Actiones Vitamque bene format ac dirigit!* Ann. l. 3. If 'tis design'd to form and direct the Lives and Actions of Men, as he tells us it is, there can be nothing of greater Use to us in our Civil Concerns. However, the Reader must not expect to be so well taught by the Examples of the Romans in their Declension, as by those in their Rise,

## THE PREFACE.

who by their *Virtue* as well as *Valour*, acquir'd the *Dominion* of the *World*. *Truth* is the only sure way of *Instructing*; and says *Pere Rabin*, *Doit en estre la Premiere regle*, ought to be the first Rule in writing *History*. For our selves we can answer, that there is nothing in the following *Sheets* which we cannot warrant to be true, from the most *Authentick Authors* of the 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8th. *Centuries*. The best of whom we confess are not yet so *Authentick* as the *Historians* of the first *Centuries* of the *Roman Empire*. The *Judicious Critick* we have mention'd informs us, the *Historians* of the *Low Empire* were become such *Flatterers*, that *Vopiscus* was discourag'd from writing the *History* of his *Age* by seeing so many *Falsities* in their *Writings*, till the *Governor* of the *City* where he liv'd, the *Emperor Constantine the Great's Favourite*, discoursing with him in a *Walk*, remov'd that *Scrupel*, by representing that the most considerable *Historians* were deceiv'd in many things. *Les Historiens du Bas Empire devinrent de si grands Flateurs*, &c. From whence he argues in the same *Place*, his *Reflexions* upon *History*, *Si les plus grands hommes sont Sujets aux egaremens, que fera ce des Hommes du Commun*? If the greatest Men are subject to *Errors*, How shall common Men avoid them? Notwithstanding these severe *Censures*, if a *Man* is careful, and free from *Passion* or *Interest*, as he must be who treats of *Events* a thousand *Years* past, his *Veracity* will be seldom call'd in *Question*.

In our *Style* we have endeavour'd to keep as close to *Nature* as we could, without sinking below the *Dignity* of *History*. We have diversify'd it as we saw occasion; yet, after all the *Pains* we have taken, we are apprehensive we may in many *Places* stand in need of *Favour* from the *Reader*, as in others we desire nothing but *Justice*.

THE

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T H E

# Roman History.

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V O L. III.

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*From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by  
Constantine the Great, to the taking of  
Rome by Odoacer King of the Heruli,  
and the Ruin of the Empire in the West.*

*And from the Ruin of the Western Empire to its  
Restitution by Charlemagne.*

*Containing in all the space of 474 Tears.*

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C H A P. I.

*From the Removal of the Imperial Seat by Con-  
stantine the Great, to the admission of the  
Goths into Thrace by Valens.*

*Containing the Space of 46 Tears.*

**T**HE Consequence of Removing the Imperial Seat from Old Rome to the New, was so fatal to the Roman Empire, that from this Period it began to decay, and never recover'd its Ancient Splendour. At last the Barbarous Northern Nations invaded and entirely subverted the Monarchy. The Romans dreaded the Parthians more than any Nation in the World, and to secure their Eastern Provinces, Constantine chose Byzantium, a City on the Propontis, for the Seat of his Empire. From

B him



A.D. 328. him it is to this Day call'd *Constantinople*, and to him it ow'd all the Grandeur and Magnificence which made it famous in its Infancy, and in a few Years render'd it a Rival to *Old Rome*. But by changing the Seat of his Court and Government, he made such a Breach in its Constitution as cou'd never be repair'd. He expos'd *Gaul* and *Italy* her-self to the irruptions of the *Goths*, *Hunns*, and the Nations of the *North*, who were remp'd by the distance of the Roman Emperors from their Dominions in the *West*, at first to invade their Frontiers, and having broken down the Fences like a mighty Deluge, they at last overwhelm'd the whole Western Empire.

*Russes and  
Poles.*

332.  
*Bosnia,  
&c.*

333.

*Constantine* to encourage the building of his New City by his Presence, spent most of his time there : And the first Action we find him engag'd in after he left *Rome*, was to assist the *Sarmatæ*, his Allies, against the *Goths*. The Army which he sent into *Sarmatia* was commanded by his Eldest Son *Constantine Caesar*, who on the 20th of *April*, obtain'd a Signal Victory over the *Goths* in *Mesia*. The Emperor march'd himself as far as *Martianopolis*, a City of *Mesia*, on the Frontiers of *Thrace*, where he stop'd, either thinking the Enterprize not worthy of his Fame, or willing to give his Son the Glory of the Expedition. The *Goths* lost near 100000 Men by Hunger and Cold, besides those that fell in the Field, which oblig'd them to beg a Peace and give Hostages, their King's Son being one of them, for their Submission and Fidelity. Two Years afterwards the Slaves of the *Sarmatæ*, whom they had Arm'd and made serve in the War with the *Goths*, rose on their Masters, drove them out of their Country and took Possession of their Dwellings : 300000 of these Refugees, Men, Women and Children, were dispos'd of by the Emperor in *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Macedonia*, and *Italy* ; others of 'em that were fit for Service, he took into his Armies. The two following Years he spent in passing forward and backward from *Mesia* to *Thrace*, to settle those Parts in Peace. About this time the *Arians* rais'd the Famous Persecution against *Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. The *Arians* were so call'd from *Arius*, a Deacon of that Church, who asserted, that the Son of God, had neither the same Eternity, nor the same Essence with the Father. The first general Council sitting at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, in the Year

# Chap. I. CONSTANTINE.

3

325. condemn'd this Hereſie ; however *Arius's* Diſ- A.D. 333  
 ciples encourag'd by ſome Courtiers, continu'd to ſpread  
 their Doctrinè and increaſe their Party. They accus'd  
*Athanaſius* to the Emperor, for laying illegal Taxes on  
 Linnen and Woollen Apparel, for the uſe of his Church.  
 Several *Arian* Biſhops went to Court with this Accuſati-  
 on, and *Conſtantine* wrote to *Athanaſius* to appear before  
 him. The Biſhop obey'd his Summons, and the Empe-  
 ror having heard his Cauſe, declar'd him Innocent. The  
*Arians* ſtill carry'd on their Machinations to deſtroy him:  
 They charg'd him with the Murder of *Arsenius*, one of  
 their Faction, whom they hid in a Monastery at Tyre,  
 where *Athanaſius* after diligent ſearch found him ; and  
 the Emperor order'd *Dalmatius* his Nephew, and Lieu-  
 tenant in *Ægypt*, to ſtop all further Proceſs, writing a ve-  
 ry obliging Letter to the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to con-  
 gratulate him on the diſcovery of the Cheat. However  
 the *Arians* did not give over their deſigns to ruin him,  
 who was the Chief of the Orthodox Party, and being  
 ſure of a Majority in a Council, they prevail'd with  
*Conſtantine*, to call one at *Ceſarea*. *Athanaſius* refus'd to  
 appear, perceiving the Aſſembly was compos'd of his  
 Enemies. The Emperor call'd another to meet at Tyre.  
 Here the Fathers hit on the beſt argument, to procure  
 him to conſent to the Decree of *Athanaſius's* Condem-  
 nation. Both theſe Synods are diſown'd by the Ortho-  
 dox : The latter accus'd the Biſhop of *Alexandria* of be-  
 ing in a Conſpiracy with *Phylumenus*, who intended to  
 uſurp, and of forbidding the Exportation of Corn from  
 his City, the Granary of the Empire, to *Conſtantinople*. *Athana-*  
*Athanaſius* came to Court to juſtify himſelf, but could not ſius Ba-  
 obtain Audience of *Conſtantine*, who baniſh'd him to niſh'd.  
*Triers*, a City of the Belgick Gaul, but wou'd not ſuffer  
 his Biſhoprick to be declar'd Vacant.

The talk of the pretended Uſurpation of *Phylumenus* 334.  
 was ſcarce over, before a real Inſurrection happen'd at  
*Cyprus*, where *Calocerus*, a Man of great Intereſt in the  
 Iſland, was ſaluted Emperor. Againſt him *Conſtantine* ſent  
*Dalmatius*, who defeated the Uſurper, took him Priſoner,  
 and the Emperor commanded him to be burnt alive. 335.  
 The next Year *Dalmatius* and his two Brothers, *Conſtantine*  
 and *Hannibalianus*, were Created *Ceſars*, together with  
*Conſtans*, the Emperor's Third Son. The Year follow- 336.  
 ing, the Nuptials of his Second Son, *Conſtantius*, with  
 the

A.D. 336. the Lady *Eusebia*, were solemniz'd with extraordinary Pomp. During the Solemnity, Embassadors arriv'd from *India* with Presents of great Value, and Instructions from the King their Master to own *Constantine* as his Sovereign Lord. His Empire now extending from *Britain*, the most Western, to *India*, the most Eastern Part of the World. The Emperor to ease himself of the weight of Affairs, or to prepare his Sons for the Division of the Empire, which he intended to make at his Death, divided it into five Great Governments: His Eldest Son *Constantine* Commanded in *Gaul*, and some Western Provinces. *Constantius*, when a Boy, had this Government, but now *Africa* and *Illyricum* were consign'd to his Charge. *Italy* was govern'd by *Constans*, and *Dalmatius* commanded in the Provinces on the Borders of the *Goths*; Himself retain'd the Administration in *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*. He was in his 60th Year when he made this Division of the Empire among his Sons and his Nephew. Some Popish Authors pretend he was so liberal as to make a Donation of the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Provinces of the Western Empire, to Pope *Silvester*, who, they say, Baptiz'd him at his Conversion. This Story, and *Silvester's* killing the Dragon, is alike true, for the Emperor was not Baptiz'd till a few Hours before his Death. The Forgery of the Donation has been so fully detected by *Dupin*, one of their own Writers, that 'tis needless to take any further notice of it. The Roman Emperors, Successors to *Constantine*, *Odoacer*, *Theodorick* and the *Gothick* Kings of *Italy*; the *Exarchs* under the *Greek* Emperors, and after them the *French*, govern'd absolutely in *Rome*, till *Charlemagne* gave the Pope, then in Rebellion to the *Greek* Emperor, that part of *Italy* known now by the name of *St. Peter's Patrimony*. *Marcus*, who succeeded *Silvester*, began to be very solicitous about the decorations of Divine Worship, to adorn his Churches, that they might vie with the Splendour of the Pagan Temples. He did not sit long in the Episcopal Chair, for in less than a Year we find *Julius* the First in his place, who summon'd a Council to meet at *Rome*, but the Eastern Bishops not knowing by what Authority he call'd them thither, refus'd to obey his Summons.

Tho' the Emperor was grown old, he continu'd in a good State of Health, and in all the Exercises both of Body and Mind, which he was wont to divert himself with

# Chap. I. CONSTANTINE.

5

with in his younger Days. He cou'd endure Riding and Travel. He Compos'd Prayers and Orations, and assisted at all Councils, Civil and Military, with as much Vigour as ever. Not long before he dy'd, he made a Funeral Oration in the place he us'd to speak in, and discours'd of the Immortality of the Soul, of the Future State of the Righteous and of the Wicked. Yet tho' he was Healthy in appearance, 'tis certain he was apprehensive of his declining, and his exemplary Devotion was preparatory to his End, which drew nigh. He was interrupted in his Divine Meditations, by News of a disturbance in the East. The *Persians* were in motion, and he rais'd an Army to oppose them, designing himself to command in this Expedition, which he thought wou'd be his last. The *Persians* prevented him by an Embassy to treat of a Peace, which at their humble desire he granted.

In the mean time the Divisions in the Church rather increas'd than diminish'd : The Emperor in *Athanasius's* absence commanded *Arius* to be receiv'd into Communion by *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who pray'd to God to take him out of the way, or to cut off *Arius*, rather than suffer the Church to be defil'd by the Communion of that Arch-Heretick. The Sunday following, being the Day appointed for *Arius* to Communicate, he was found dead in a horrible manner in a House of *Arius's* Office. The Orthodox Writers not only report this remarkable Judgment on *Arius*, but insinuate, that the Death of *Constantine* a few Months after, was an effect of Divine Vengeance on him for his favouring that Heretick too much, and his unequal Carriage towards *Athanasius*. The Emperor finding himself out of order, sail'd from *Constantinople* to *Helenopolis* in *Bithynia*, to make use of the hot Baths, but receiving no benefit by them, he remov'd to *Nicomedia*, where in the Suburbs of the City he call'd the Bishops of the Province together, and desir'd to be Baptiz'd, saying, 'Tis now time, that we shou'd receive that Sign of Immortality. He had been a Professor of the Christian Religion twenty five Years, and had defer'd his Baptism so long, intending to have been Baptiz'd in the River *Jordan*, after the Example of our Saviour. The Ceremony was perform'd by *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and being over, the Emperor shew'd great Signs of transporting Joy ; and a little



A.D. 337. while after dy'd on *Whitsunday* the 22d of *May*, in the thirty second Year of his Reign. None of his Sons were present at his Death. *Constantius*, was the first that arriv'd at *Nicomedia*, and found the Soldiers and Citizens in the most violent sorrow that humane Nature is capable of expressing. After the transports of their grief were over, the Soldiers took up the Body and carry'd it to *Constantinople* in a Golden Coffin cover'd with Purple, where it lay in Imperial State, expos'd to the view of the Citizens, that crouded to pay their last Respect to the remains of the Founder and Benefactor of their City. The Court made to him, was the same as when he was alive. The Officers of the Household, who were wont to adore him, did their duty as formerly: And *Old Rome* on the News of his Death sympathiz'd with her Daughter the New, in Mourning and Lamentations. The Shops and Publick Baths were shut up, the Citizens abstain'd from the *Forum*, and their Sports and Recreations were intermitted. 'Tis said, his Effigies was drawn sitting in Heaven, and that they desir'd to have his Body sent them to be bury'd in their City; but that was an Honour which the Inhabitants of *New Rome* wou'd not part with; *Constantius* himself declar'd it was most fit it shou'd rest in that City, to which he had given Original.

The Character of *Constantine* the Great is left so various, that 'tis not safe to speak decisively of him: He had offended all Parties, the *Pagans* by forsaking the Religion of their Ancestors, the *Orthodox Christians* by his tenderneſs to *Arius*, and the *Arians* by maintaining the *Nicene Creed*. The Writers of every Faction speak well and ill of him; but in the *Pagans* there is the greatest mixture of Railing, and in the *Christians* too much Flattery: All agree he was greedy of Fame, Generous and Just, a Lover and Cherisher of Arts and Learning: He affected Popularity, and endeavour'd to gain the Love of the People, by his Liberality and the mildness of his Government: He is generally blam'd for the Death of his Natural Son *Crispus*, and those who excuse him have little more to say in his Vindication, than that he did it at the Instigation of his Wife, who had accus'd him for attempting on her Chastity, whom when he afterwards discover'd her Accutation to be false, he order'd to be beheaded. He left three Sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius*,

## Chap. I. Constantine II. Constantius II. Constans. 7

*stantius*, and *Constans*; and two Daughters, *Constantina* A.D. 337. and *Fausta*. But whether by a formal Will he dispos'd of the Empire to the three Brothers, according to the Division they made of it, is disputed.

*Constantius*, who after his Father's Death took the Government upon him, caus'd his Unkle *Dalmatius*, and two of his Sons, *Dalmatius* and *Hanniballianus*, to be put to Death, pretending they had attempted to poyson his Father, and that *Constantine* had so commanded by his Will: The more probable Opinion is, that being jealous of the Power of his Kinsmen, two of them having been created *Cæsars*, he was afraid that it might be an obstacle to his and his Brothers dividing the whole *Roman* Empire between them. This Cruel Action, tho' 'twas an ill Omen of his future Government, did not hinder the Soldiery from saluting him and them *Augusti*, or Emperors. Three Months after the Death of their Father *Constantius* and *Constans* for some time continu'd together, and the three Brothers meeting at *Sirmium* in *Esclavonia*, they there made this Division of the Empire; *Constantine* the Eldest had *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain* and part of *Africa* for his Dividend; *Italy*, the rest of *Africa*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, with what borders on the *Euxine* Sea fell to *Constans*'s share; *Constantius* kept *Mesia*, *Thrace*, with *Constantinople*, *Asia*, *Ægypt*, and the Eastern Empire, from the Frontiers of *Illyricum* to *Nisibis*, on the *Tygris* in *Mesopotamia*. The Empire had formerly been divided by *Probus*, *Florianus*, and *Constantius*, but the Successors of these Emperors united the separate Parts into one again, and thus *Constantine* left it whole to his Sons.

### Constantine II. Constantius II. Constans.

*Constantine*, the Eldest of the Brothers, was not very well pleas'd with the Portion allotted him; and tho' *Constantius* endeavour'd as much as in him lay to compose all differences, yet in a little while he shew'd his dissatisfaction, and requir'd his Brother *Constans* to deliver up that Part of *Africa* that was assign'd him by the Partition made at *Sirmium*, together with *Rome* and all *Italy*: Which *Constans* refusing, *Constantine* invaded his Territories. His Brother was at that time in *Dacia*, and hear-  
Transil-  
ing vania.

A.D. 339. ing of his Brother's approach with a Powerful Army, he sent out a Party against him under some of his Chief Officers, intending to follow in Person with the rest of his Forces. The Officers he detach'd, by a stratagem surpriz'd *Constantine*, and his Army at *Aquileia* in *Frioul*, where himself and most of his Followers were slain in the third Year of his Reign. After which, the Western Empire devolv'd to *Constans*, who without consulting his Elder Brother *Constantius*, assum'd the Sovereignty of *Constantine's* Provinces.

*Constantine the Second slain.*

### *Constantius II. Constans.*

**D**URING these Transactions in the West, *Constantius* was alarm'd by *Sapor*, King of *Persia's* invading *Mesopotamia*, and besieging *Nisibis*: He rais'd a Numerous Army, and design'd to lead it himself against the *Persians*: But before he cou'd reach *Nisibis*, *Sapor* despairing of Success had rais'd the Siege. *Constantius* engag'd the *Arabians* in his Quarrel by his Embassadors, and they attackt the *Persians*, who perceiving they cou'd make nothing of their Expedition, retreated homewards, and *Constantius* return'd to *Antioch*, where he stay'd some time to regulate abuses in that Part of his Government.

While he was thus employ'd in *Asia*, *Constans* went in Progress thro' his Dominions in the West, to visit the Provinces of his New Empire: From *Aquileia* he went to *Milan*, from thence into *Gaul*, where he staid almost a Year. And in the fifth Year of his Reign, he gain'd a considerable Victory over the *Franks*. He Sail'd over to *Britain*. *Speed*, a Famous Author of the *English* History, writes, that *Constantius* came with him, which is very improbable. And that Part of *Ammianus's* History being lost, in which he gave an account of *Constans's* Voyage to *Britain*, we have very little Intelligence of what he did there: All that we know of the matter is, that he went thither to suppress the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were broken out into Rebellion, and had invaded the *Britains*, the ancient Subjects of the *Roman* Emperors.

343.

In the East *Constantius* remain'd at *Antioch* till June, in the Seventh Year of his Reign, when he advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Persia*, to observe the motions of that King,

## Chap. I. Constantius II. Constans.

9

King, who was beginning New Troubles : And tho' we A.D. 343.  
 have very dark accounts of this Expedition, yet we find  
 it held him employ'd almost two Years. While one  
 Part of his Soldiers was in Action on the Borders, ano-  
 ther Part of them was busy'd in making commodious  
 Havens at *Seleucia*, and in building a City in *Phœnicia*,  
 which he call'd *Constantia*. Sapor, two or three Years  
 afterwards again besieg'd *Nisibis*; but he had no better  
 Success than before : He lost most of his Men in Assaults  
 and Skirmishes, and was forc'd to retire in disorder.  
 However, all Authors agree, that in the *Persian War*,  
*Constantius's* Fortune was bad in the main : And the  
 Orthodox Writers, who were generally Priests, reflected  
 on his miscarriage as a Judgment upon him, for his  
 Countenancing the *Arian* Heresy. He protected the  
 Hereticks, who kept *Athanasius* out of his See, tho'  
 his Brother *Constantine* had order'd him to be releas'd  
 from Banishment, and *Constans* had wrote to him in fa-  
 vour of the Bishop. *Constans* returning from *Britain* in-  
 to *Gaul* staid a while at *Triers*; and every Day grew more  
 and more odious to his People; towards whom he car-  
 ry'd himself after his Brother *Constantine's* Death, more  
 like a Heathen Tyrant than a Christian Prince, oppressing  
 them by all sorts of Cruelty and Exactions, suffering  
 them to be insulted by the *Barbarians*, whom he enter-Magnen-  
 tain'd in his Court to gratify his Lust : Which gave rise tius's Usur-  
 to the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, who commanded in pation.  
*Gaul* and observing the Emperor; was generally hated 349.  
 for his Vices, he resolv'd to improve it, and set up for  
 himself. Having engag'd the two Legions under his  
 Command, and the Citizens of *Augustodunum* in his In-Autun in-  
 terest, he took on him the Title of Emperor, and was Burgun-  
 so saluted by the Legions and the Citizens. At this jun- dy.  
 cture some Troops arriv'd from *Illyricum* to reinforce his  
 Army, who joyning with the Usurper, the rest of the  
*Gallick* Forces follow'd their Example : Having proceed-  
 ed thus far, he sent *Gaisco*, one of his Officers, with a se-  
 lect Party to seize *Constans*, who was then on the way  
 to *Spain*. He had some intimation of *Gaisco's* design,  
 and throwing off his Imperial Robe, endeavour'd to  
 make his escape. *Gaisco* persu'd, overtook and murder'd Constans  
 him with his own Hands at *Erna*, in the County of Rou-Murder'd.  
*fillon* : Other Writers affirm, he was so far from having  
 any Intimation of *Magnentius's* Usurpation, that the  
 Usurper's



A.D. 350. Usurpers Party surpriz'd him as he was Hunting near the Castle of St. Hellens, in that County, which fulfill'd a Prophecy, *That he should die in his Mother's Lap.* He reign'd thirteen years, and with all his Faults was a good Patron of the Church, protecting the Catholics against the prevailing Faction of the *Arians*.

### Constantius.

Veteranio  
Surps.  
351.

Sophia in  
Bulgaria.

Eseck.

Sirmich.

Constantius was in *Mesopotamia*, and had just put an end to his second *Persian War*, when he receiv'd news of *Constans's Death*, and *Magnentius's Usurpation*; which he resented as a Brother and an Emperor ought. He also heard that *Veteranio*, who commanded the Legions in *Pannonia*, had assum'd the Purple; and resolving to chastise both the Usurpers, he march'd towards the Borders of the Western-Empire. As he was in his way, he met with Messengers from *Magnentius*, to desire that he would consent that he might reign in the *West*, on which Condition he would yield him Precedence. *Constantius* taking time to consider what answer he should return, 'tis reported, that his Father appear'd to him in a Dream, holding the Head of *Constans* in his Hand, and bidding him *revenge the Murder of his Brother, who was descended from so many Emperors*. The next Morning he committed *Magnentius's* Messengers to Prison, and proceeded to *Sardica* in *Dacia*. Here he began to reflect on the danger of dealing with two Rebels together, who were powerful in their Provinces, wherefore he resolv'd to temporize with *Veteranio*, and treat with him. *Magnentius* courted the *Pannonian Legions* to joyn with him; but *Veteranio* hearken'd to *Constantius's* Offers, who at the same time that he sent to treat, march'd with all imaginable speed with his Legions, to force him to an Accommodation. The Usurper surpriz'd at the approach of his Troops, went out to receive the Emperor near the City of *Mursa*. *Constantius* embrac'd him, and call'd him his Father. *Veteranio* being an old Man, carry'd him along with him to *Sirmium*, set him at his Table, consulted with him how to reduce *Magnentius*, and suffer'd him to wear the Imperial Ornaments. But when the Emperor took him with him to the Tribunal, from whence he was

# Chap. I. CONSTANTIUS II.

II

to speak to the Soldiers, he made such a pathetick Ora-  
tion, putting them in mind of his Father's Liberality to  
them, and of the many Oaths of Allegiance they had  
taken to his Sons, that the Army unanimously cry'd  
out, *Away with all Counterfeit Emperors*, pull'd down *Ve-*  
*teranio* from the Tribunal, drew the Purple over his  
Head and voted him to a Private Life. The Usur-  
per threw himself at *Constantius's* Feet, who in pity  
of his Age pardon'd him, confin'd him to *Prusias* in *Bi-*  
*thynia*, and allow'd him a Pension answerable to his  
Quality; on which the old Man liv'd very contented-  
ly, and troubled himself no more with Affairs of  
State.

*Constantius* having increas'd his Army by the addi-  
tion of *Veteranio's* Forces, thought he was strong enough  
to deal with *Magnentius*, and began to think of advan-  
cing his Kinsmen *Gaius* and *Julian*, Sons of his Uncle  
*Julius Constantius*. He had till now held a strict hand  
over them, and given them no employment or encour-  
agement: But perceiving that by means of these U-  
surpations, the Succession to the Imperial Crown might  
be contested, he resolv'd to settle it in his Family, by  
Marrying his Daughter *Constantina* to *Gallus*, on whom  
he conferr'd the Title of *Cæsar*, with the Command  
of the Army in *Asia*, to secure the Eastern Provinces  
from the Inroads of the *Persians*, who were ready e-  
nough to take hold of any opportunity by disturbances  
in the *West*, to Invade the *Roman* Empire in the  
*East*.

Before *Magnentius* heard of *Constans's* Death, he  
summon'd the Chief Magistrates of the Provinces in the  
Emperor's Name to attend him: These he caus'd to be  
murder'd, and among the rest, some that had been ac-  
cessary to his Usurpation. His two Brothers, *Decenti-*  
*us* and *Desiderius*, he created *Cæsar's*, sending them to  
secure *Gaul* and *Spain*, while himself went to take pos-  
session of *Italy*; where *Nepotianus*, Son of *Eutropia*,  
*Constantine's* Sister, hearing of the Death of *Constans*,  
took on him the Purple, got together a Company of  
Gladiators and Persons of desperate Fortunes, and at-  
tempted to make himself Master of *Rome*, which had  
been betray'd to *Magnentius's* Party by *Heraclides* a Se-  
nator. The Usurper being inform'd that *Nepotianus*  
had besieg'd *Rome*, order'd *Marcellinus*, one of his Lieu-  
tenants

A.D. 351. tenants, to oppose him. *Marcellinus* led his Army to the Besiegers Camp, out of which *Nepotianus* sally'd, fought *Magnentius's* Troops, was defeated and taken Prisoner, his Head cut off, and carry'd about the City in Triumph.

Is kill'd.

Sixty in  
Morla-  
chia.

The Save.

*Gallus*, as we said, being made *Cesar*, hasten'd to *Antioch* to be nearer the Enemy, and *Constantius* having provided for the safety of the Provinces in *Asia*, was wholly intent on the War with *Magnentius*. He broke up from *Sirmium*, and was resolv'd to find him, but the Usurper prevented him, thinking it most prudent to seek him out, and give him Battel in *Pannonia*, rather than make his own Dominions, as he call'd them, the Seat of the War. He sent to *Constantius*, to let him know he would meet him in the Plains of *Scissia*. The Emperor rejoyc'd to hear he had so determin'd, that Ground being very convenient for Horse to engage in. As he advanc'd towards *Magnentius*, he was stop'd by an Ambuscade which the Rebel had laid for him near the Streits of *Adranæ*. This Success so elevated the Usurper, that he endeavour'd to break into *Esclavonia*, desiring to fight near the City of *Sirmium*, the Capitol of *Pannonia*. While he was contriving how to pass the *Savus*, *Philip* came to him from *Constantius* with pretended terms of Peace, but his true Errand was to make a discovery of his Strength and Designs. *Philip* in an Oration he made to the Soldiers, so elegantly set forth *Constantine the Great's* generous and glorious Actions, that the Usurpers Army inclin'd to return to their Duty to his Son, and would scarce suffer *Magnentius* to answer *Philip*. The Rebel perceiving how they were touch'd by the Oration of *Constantius's* Embassador, invited the Principal Officers to Dinner, and by his Promises and Caresses, brought them entirely over to his Interest, and engag'd 'em to prepare the Army to listen to his Speech the next Day. The Soldiers by the influence their Officers had upon them, heard him patiently represent the Affronts they had receiv'd from *Constans*; and after he had done speaking with the usual inconstancy of a thoughtless Multitude, they demanded to prosecute the War, and pass the *Savus*. The Garrison of *Scissia* disputed the passage of that River with the foremost of his Troops, and routed them. *Magnentius* finding the Enterprize would be difficult,

to amuse the Emperor, offer'd *Philip*, who was still in A.D. 352.  
 his Camp, to treat : *Philip* answer'd, he must quit *Italy* Austria,  
 and *Noricum*, and retire into *Illyricum*, and then his Sciria,  
 Master would consent to a Treaty. *Constantius* who Bavaria,  
 was strong in Horse, pretending to agree to *Philip's* Tyrol.  
 Proposals, and to desire an Accommodation, drew off  
 his Forces that were posted near *Scissia*, to give *Magn-*  
*mentius* an opportunity to enter the Plains of *Pannonia*,  
 where he knew he should fight him with advantage.  
*Magnentius* attack'd and took *Scissia*, destroy'd all the  
 Country lying on the *Savus*, and advanc'd to *Sirmium*  
 intending to seize it ; but the Garrison and Towns-  
 men made such a vigorous defence, that he was forc'd  
 to leave it. From thence he march'd towards *Mursa*,  
 designing to make himself Master of that City. Here  
 he had no better success than at *Sirmium*, the Inhabi-  
 tants defended the Place with the same Vigour, and  
*Constantius* advanc'd to relieve them. The Usurper  
 hearing of his approach, laid an Ambuscade of 4000  
*Gauls* in an adjacent Wood, ordering them to fall on  
 the Enemies Rear, when the two Armies were engag'd.  
 The Citizens of *Mursa* from the Walls, observ'd where  
 the *Gauls* lay in Ambush, and gave the Emperor no-  
 tice of it, who detach'd two Tribunes with a select  
 Party of the Army, to secure the *Avenues* to the Wood,  
 that none might get out, which they did, and cut off  
 the 4000 *Gauls* that lay there in Ambush. When *Magn-*  
*mentius* heard of it, he resolv'd to give Battel. On the 352.  
 29th of *August*, the two Armies engag'd in the Plains *Magnen-*  
 of *Mursa* with such fierceness and resolution, that tho' *tius fights*  
*Constantius* gain'd a compleat Victory, he lost near 30000 *Constan-*  
 Men ; of the Usurpers Army 24000 were kill'd on the *tius, is*  
 spot and in the pursuit : *Magnentius* abandon'd all the beaten.  
 Places he had Conquer'd in *Pannonia*, and fled into  
*Italy*, where he hop'd to recruit his broken Troops, and  
 to try his fortune in a second Engagement. He quit-  
 ted his Horse in his flight, turning him loose with the  
 Imperial Ornaments upon him, that the Enemy might  
 think the Rider was slain. The next day *Constantius*  
 viewing the Place of Battel cover'd with dead *Romans*,  
 and the River that ran through it choakt with the Bo-  
 dies of the Slain, wept at the sight, and commanded  
 them all to be bury'd without distinction. The wound-  
 ed on both sides he order'd to be carefully lookt af-  
 ter.



A.D. 352

353.  
Beaten a-  
gain.Between  
Dauphine  
and Pied-  
mont.Kills him-  
self and his  
Kindred.

ter. The remainder of this year, and most of the next, the Emperor kept his Court at *Sirmium*, and believing he had nothing to fear from the Usurper, he turn'd his thoughts on Civil Affairs, leaving the charge of the War to his Officers, who pursu'd *Magnentius*, and overtook him in *Italy* near *Pavia*. The Rebel had rally'd part of his flying Forces, and rais'd more. With these he fought and defeated *Constantius's* Commanders, after which he march'd towards *Rome*, hoping to be receiv'd into that City, where his Party at first prevail'd; but being inform'd of his Defeat near *Mursa*, the Citizens deserted him; and when he approach'd with his Army, shut their Gates upon him, and would not admit him. *Constantius* breaking into *Aquileia*, the Usurper fled into *Gaul*, where he was again defeated near *Lyons*; and perceiving his Men so dispirited by their ill fortune, that he fear'd they would leave him, he made a Speech to them, animating them to stand by him; to which, when according to the usual Custom, they acclaim'd, in a mistake, they saluted him by the name of *Constantius Augustus*, instead of *Magnentius*. Taking this for an ill Omen, he was strangely dejected, and retir'd to a Village call'd *Severus*, on the *Cottian Alps*, from whence he sent a Roman Senator that was of his Party, to *Constantius*, to treat of Peace. The Emperor knowing 'twas in his despair that he propos'd to submit, refus'd to give his Agent Audience; nor was he more favourable to some Bishops that came to him on the same Errand. The Usurper seeing there were no hopes of Pardon, resolv'd to die with his Sword in his Hand, and to fight for his Life, as before he had fought for Empire; he gather'd what Forces he could together, and prepar'd to defend himself. He employ'd an Assassin to go into the *East*, and murder *Galus* at *Antioch*, imagining the *Persians* would be tempted by his Death, to invade the Eastern Provinces, and give the Emperor a diversion on that side. *Constantius* hearing whither *Magnentius* was retir'd, and that he was raising another Army, sent part of his Troops to disperse them. This Detachment engag'd the Usurper's Forces, and defeated them near the Village *Severus*. The Rebel made his escape to *Lyons*, where in despair he first slew his Friends and Kindred, and then falling on his own Sword, he dy'd immediately of the Wound.

His

His Brother *Decentius* hang'd himself at *Senone* in the A.D. 353. *Belgick Gaul*. Such was the fate of *Magnentius*, a Man Sensible of Gyantick Bulk and Stature, extravagant in his Manners, Bold, Gluttonous and Cruel: He was born in *Gaul*, his Father was a *Brittain*, and educated him in the Christian Religion, of which he was a Professor till after his Usurpation. He then Apostatiz'd to gain the *Pagans* to his Party, and the end he came to, was the just Reward of his Rebellion and Apostacy.

By the Death of this Usurper, the *Roman Empire* was united under one Sovereign, *Constantius* the Second, who was then in the Seventeenth year of his Reign. To secure the *Western Parts*, he fortified the Mouth of the *Rhose*, and the Passage of the *Pyrenean Hills*: Then he remov'd to *Arles* in *Provence*, where for joy he celebrated the *Circensian Games*. When the News of his Victory reach'd *Rome*, *Neratius Cerealis* the Consul, *Prefect* of the City, erected him a Statue with an Inscription, declaring him to be *The Deliverer both of the City and the World*. The Temple of *Fanus* was shut, and the Emperor afterwards triumph'd with extraordinary Pomp and Splendour.

The next year he went from *Arles* to *Valence*, intending to march with an Army against *Gundomadus* <sup>354</sup> *In Dauphiné* and *Vadomarius*, two Brothers, Kings of the *Almans*, who had wasted the Borders of *Gaul*, and the Neighbouring Provinces by their frequent Excursions. He was forc'd to stay so long at *Valence*, expecting Provisions for his Soldiers, which cou'd not be brought to supply their Wants, the Floods being out, that the Army Mutiny'd: The Emperor distributing some Gold amongst them, the Tumult was soon appeas'd. From *Dauphiné* he led them over the Mountains into *Switzerland*, and so to the Banks of the *Rhine*. The *Germans* defended themselves vigorously at first; but being discourag'd by bad Auspices, they sent some of their Principal Officers to beg Pardon, and a Peace, which were granted them, with the Approbation of the whole Army.

Before he undertook this Expedition, he heard the unwelcom News of *Gallus's* ill Conduct in the *East*, and how he had so far abus'd the Power he had entrusted him with, that his Government was grown intollerable. His sudden Advancement, and a few Light Successes over the *Persians*, had so puffed him up with

A.D. 353. with Vanity and Insolence, that he began to treat all Gallus of- Mankind as his Slaves, and to look on the Emperor fends the as an Obstacle to his being Master of the World. His Emperor by Wife who was as proud of her High Birth, as he was his ill Con- of his Office and Fortune, inflam'd his Ambition by duct. her restless Spirit, and wou'd never suffer his Passions to cool; but if she perceiv'd he had some Intervals of Reason, she instigated him to new Acts of Cruelty and Injustice. They kept their Court at *Antioch*, where many Innocent Persons were murder'd on the Accusations of their Spies and Informers; for no Mans Life was safe, while Money and Malice cou'd procure his Destruction. *Cleomatus*, a Nobleman of *Alexandria*, was put to Death by *Honoratus*, Comes or Governour of the *East*, at the Instigation of his Wives Mother, who burning with Lust towards him, and not being able to prevail over his Chastity, in revenge address'd her self to *Constantina*, and by a Present of a rich Bracelet, got a Warrant sign'd for *Honoratus* to have *Cleomatus* dispatch'd. *Thalassius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, who was with *Gallus Caesar* in *Asia*, instead of endeavouring by good counsel to reclaim him, contradicted and oppos'd him with too much heat, and sent Informations of all his Actions to the Emperor, not privately, but openly, on purpose that it should be known. This made *Gallus* desperate, and render'd the Condition of the Eastern Provinces most deplorable; for while he oppress'd the People by his Extortion and Violence, the *Isauri*, a Nation addicted to Robbing and Pilfring, pretending to revenge an Affront offer'd to some of their Countrymen at *Iconium* in *Pisidia*, where contrary to Law, since the Conversion of the Emperors to Christianity, they had been expos'd to Wild Beasts, plunder'd all the Merchant Ships they found on their Coasts, and in the Night-time sally'd from their lurking Holes into the Inland Countries, when they could meet with no Purchase on the Coast: At last they got to a-head, and flush'd by some little Advantages, besieg'd *Seleucia*. Complaints coming to *Gallus* of their Robberies and Spoil, he order'd *Nebrius*, who succeeded *Thalassius* as *Præfect* of the *East*, to reduce the Robbers. *Thalassius* was gone to *Constantius* to give him a full account of *Gallus's* Male Administration. The *Isauri* on notice of *Nebrius's* approach with an Army, dispers'd of them-

themselves, and fled to the Mountains, The *Persians* A.D. 354. at this time laid Siege to *Batne* in *Mesopotamia*, and attempted to surprize some other Places; but the Frontier Cities were so well provided with Men and Money, that all their Assaults and Devices were ineffectual. The *Saracens* afterwards broke into the Provinces, and committed terrible Wast: Before the *Roman* Troops could be got ready to oppose them, they had done their business and were gone.

*Magnentius's* Conspiracy, and *Gallus's* ill Conduct had so sour'd *Constantius's* Temper, that he who was naturally distrustful, grew insupportably jealous, and on bare Suspicion condemn'd several Eminent Persons to Death. There wanted not evil Ministers enough to argue that this Rigour was necessary, since the Safety of the whole World depended on his Life. The Chief of these was one *Paul*, a *Notary*, born in *Spain*, *A Judge*. whom *Constantius* had sent into *Britain*, to quiet some Commotions there in favour of *Magnentius*, to levy Fines on all such as were guilty of joyning with the Usurper, or holding any Correspondence with his Party, notwithstanding the Emperor had publish'd two general Pardons. In the execution of *Paul's* Commission, several guiltless Persons were imprison'd, tormented, and put to Death, that their Estates might be forfeited to the Crown. *Martin*, who then govern'd in *Britain*, pitying the Miseries the Inhabitants of the Island endur'd from this griping Inquisitor, reprov'd him for his Injustice and Barbarity, and desir'd him to forbear. *Paul* was so offended at his reproof, that he endeavour'd to bring the Governor himself into the Plot; and wrote to Court for leave to carry him off in Chains with his other Prisoners, of which *Martin* having Intelligence, he struck him with his Dagger, and perceiving the Wound was not Mortal, stab'd himself, and dy'd immediately on the Place. The report of *Paul's* illegal Proceedings, and the many Executions to which *Constantius* had lately consented, render'd his Government odious, and caus'd great Disorders in the Empire. While by the ill Counsels of *Eusebius*, his favourite Eunuch, and the *Notary Paul*, the Emperor oppress his Subjects in the *West*, *Gallus* in the *East* was a plague to all good Men, to the Noble as well as to the Vulgar, and had he not been resolutely oppos'd by *Honoratus*, on a  
C very



A.D. 354. very trivial occasion, he had murder'd the principal Senators of *Antioch*. He delighted in Spectacles of Blood, which were expos'd on the Theaters for his Diversion. The Citizens of *Antioch* complaining to him, that there was like to be a great scarcity of Provisions, he deliver'd *Theophilus*, Governour of *Syria*, into their Hands, saying, 'Twas the Governour's fault if they wanted Necessaries, and they might do what they pleas'd with him. On this encouragement the Rabble set fire to his House, and beat him to Death. *Constantius* hearing of these things, thought 'twas time to provide against the danger that threaten'd himself and the Empire, by *Cæsar's* Extravagance. By degrees he drew off the Soldiers that serv'd under him, and left him only the Militia for his Guard. He sent the Præfect *Domitian* to try to reclaim him by gentle means. The Præfect hasten'd to *Antioch*; but instead of fair Methods, he provok'd him by his disrespectful Carriage, and sent Informations against him to Court, aggravating his Crimes, and making him worse than really he was. He threaten'd to stop his Provisions, which he could do by his Office, and behav'd himself so insolently, that *Gallus* drew what Soldiers he had about him together, and representing to them, that both *Domitian* the Præfect, and *Montius* the *Quæstor*, had accus'd them all as Rebels; they ran furiously to their Houses, seiz'd them both, bound them together with Cords, dragg'd 'em about the Streets, till they had torn them Limb from Limb, and then flung their Carcasses into the River. *Montius* accus'd *Epigonius* and *Eusebius* when he was expiring, mentioning their Names without their Titles or Profession, upon which strict Inquisition was made after two such Persons; and having found out one *Epigonius* a Philosopher in *Lycia*, and *Eusebius* an Orator in *Mysia*, they were fetcht to *Antioch*, though neither of them was the Person *Montius* exclaim'd against, who were indeed two Tribunes of the *Forges*, that had promis'd him a supply of Arms, in case any such Disturbance should happen. The false *Eusebius* and *Epigonius* were try'd by a Mock Court of Justice, the Judges and Notaries being his Creatures, they were condemn'd to the Torture, and both expir'd in the hands of the Tormentors, Crying to Heaven for Vengeance. *Apollinaris*, *Domitian's* Son-in-Law, who had lately the charge of *Cæsar's*

*far's* Palace, was taken into Custody, and an Imperial A.D. 354 Robe being discover'd at *Tyre*, no body knowing by whose order 'twas made, *Apollinaris* his Father, Governour of the City, and *Maras* a Deacon, whom the Workmen confest had bespoke the Robe, were murder'd.

The posture of Affairs in the *East* was in a desperate Condition; yet *Constantius* cou'd not apply the proper Remedies, having his Head full of an Expedition into *Germany*. When that was over, and a Peace concluded with the *Almans*, he return'd from the *Rhine* to *Milan*, where he made it his business with his Cabinet Council, secretly, and by Night, to consult how to suppress and ruin his Cousin *Gallus Cæsar*. 'Twas resolv'd to prevent the mischiefs of a Civil War, to effect by fair Promises, and under colour of a Treaty, what they design'd. The Emperor Commanded *Ursicinus*, Comes of the *East*, *Gallus's* Favourite, to come to Court, to advise with him, as 'twas pretended, how to put a stop to the progress of the *Parthian* Arms, which threaten'd the safety of the Empire. To prevent Suspicion, *Prosper* was sent to be his Deputy in *Asia*, till he could return thither to the exercise of his Office. *Ursicinus* pursuant to the Emperor's Orders posted to *Milan*, and *Constantius* finding he had succeeded thus far by his dissimulation, resolv'd to go on as he had begun. He wrote kind Letters to his Sister *Constantina*, expressing an earnest desire to see her; she was cunning enough to suspect the worst, being conscious of her own Guilt: However she fancy'd by the Insinuations and Prayers of a Sister whom he once lov'd, to charm him. In confidence of her power over him, she perswaded her Husband to begin their Journey to visit their Brother the Emperor, which they did accordingly; but unhappily for *Cæsar*, his Wife dying by the way in *Bithynia*. Her Death threw *Gallus* into a great perplexity, not knowing whether he had best go forward or backward. While his Wife liv'd, he thought she would plead for him with her Brother, that all his past Crimes might be forgiven: And now he could see no way to make his Peace, he had thoughts of assuming the Title of Emperor, and standing on his Defence; and he would have done it had he met with the least Incouragement; but his Flatterers seeing him in this extremity, forsook him,

A.D. 354. fearing *Constantius's* Greatness and Power. While he was doubting what to do, *Scudilo* a Tribune, a crafty Man, and fair spoken, came to him from the Emperor, and perswaded him that his Cousin desir'd passionately to see him; that he had forgotten all that was past, which was occasion'd more through Imprudence than any bad design: That having made him his Companion in the Empire, he thought it reasonable he should share the Toil, as well as the Glory, the Northern Provinces requiring his Presence and Assistance. Prevail'd upon by the Flatteries of this false Messenger, he departed from *Asia*, and came to *Constantinople*, where he celebrated the Horse Games, as if his Affairs had been in the best condition in the World. *Constantius* being inform'd of his Confidence, grew more enrag'd. To make his Destruction sure, he remov'd all the Soldiers out of the Garrisons, through which he was to pass, left in his Despair, he might attempt to raise any Commotions. Several great Officers under pretence of other business, were sent to observe him. When he arriv'd at *Adrianople*, the *Theban* Legions, quarter'd in those parts, would have offer'd him their Service by Agents they sent to him, who were watch'd so narrowly, that they could get no opportunity to speak to him.

He was now advanc'd into the Provinces under the Emperor's immediate Power, and the Letters he receiv'd from him, were written in another Stile, more like Commands than Entreaties: He was requir'd to hasten his Journey; his Attendants were dismiss'd, except a few that waited in his Chamber, and at his Table. With this mean Equipage he was hurry'd away, weeping and bewailing his Rashness, that he should put himself into the hands of his Enemies. When he arriv'd at

Pettaw in *Petovio*, a Town of *Noricum*, he saw plainly what was design'd against him; for *Barbatio*, who had been Steward of his Household, and had left him to serve *Constantius*, who was a Man fit for any bloody Enterprize, arriv'd with a Company of Soldiers, beset the House where he lay, enter'd his Chamber, took away his Imperial Robes, and put on him an ordinary common Habit, assuring him, however, as from the Emperor, that nothing worse would be offer'd him. He insolently bad him rise immediately, he clapt him in a close Litter, and carried him into *Istria*, where he was confin'd in the Island

Island *Flavona*, near *Pola*. *Eusebius* the Eunuch, *Scudatius* A.D. 354. a Notary, and *Mellobaudes* a Tribune, were appointed to examine him about the Death of the Persons he murder'd at *Antioch*: He answer'd them with all the confusion of a Man, guilty and afraid of Punishment, *That whatever he had done, he was instigated to it by Constantina his Wife*. *Constantius* on report of this answer, taking it as a reflexion on his Sister, in a rage commanded *Serenianus*, *Pentadius*, and others, to see execution done upon him. Accordingly his Hands were bound behind him, and his Head chopt off, in the 29<sup>th</sup> year of his Age, and the 354<sup>th</sup> from our Saviour's Nativity. *Gallus* headed.

Though he deserv'd the fate he met with, yet the ends of his chief Accusers, are Instances of Divince Justice on such as by ill means take the vengeance of the Almighty upon themselves. *Eusebius* the Eunuch, his inveterate Enemy, was put to Death by *Julian*, for having been so instrumental in his Brother's Destruction, *Scudilo* vomited up his Lungs, and *Burbatio* was condemn'd and sent out of the World, as we shall relate in the Sequel of this History.

*Constantius* was at *Milan* when he receiv'd News of *Gallus's* Death, and he was as much elevated with it, as if he had obtain'd a Victory over the *Parthian* King. He assum'd the Title of *Lord of the whole World*; and yet at the same time, pretended to Piety and Vertue. The frequent Attempts that were form'd against him, made him so jealous, that his Ears were too open to the Accusations of his Eunuchs and flattering Courtiers; by whose Informations great numbers of Men were brought in Chains out of the *East*, to be try'd by *Eusebius* and others of the same Principles, as Accomplices with *Cesar*. These as they were prevail'd upon by their Passions or Interest, without distinguishing between the Guilty and Innocent, condemn'd some to the Torture, others to Banishment, or to serve as private Soldiers in the Army. He staid all this year at *Milan*, and in the adjacent Country, making wholsom Laws; yet he suffer'd others to do more mischief by his Court of Inquisition, than he did good by his Edicts. Here he had notice that the *Lentienfes* made frequent Incursions into the *Ro-Bavarians*. *man* Pale, upon which a War commenc'd. The Emperor in Person advanc'd with his Army to *Rhetia*, where *The Gri-sons Coun-* a Council of War was held, who after a long Consul-try.



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A.D. 354 tation, resolv'd, that *Arbetio* the *Magister Militum*, or General of the Horse, with the choicest part of the Army, should march by the side of the *Lacus Brigantia*, and attack the Enemy. *Arbetio* did as he had Orders to do ; but the *Lentenses* having some intimation of his march, laid an Ambuscade for him, who charg'd his Troops in the Night. The *Romans* ran away in a fright, and by favour of the darkness, most of them escap'd to their main Body ; however their loss was considerable, no less than ten Tribunes being kill'd in the Engagement. This Success so encourag'd the Enemy, that they made Excursions farther into the *Roman* Territories, advancing almost up to their Camp ; which provok'd the Legions, who were not us'd to be thus insulted, and making a vigorous effort, they attackt, and put them to flight : The Emperor contented himself with having reveng'd the Affront *Arbetio* receiv'd, and in a sort of Triumph, return'd to take up his Winter Quarters at *Milan*.

The Lake  
of Con-  
stance.

355.

His Jealousie and Credulity growing upon him, it expos'd him to many Inconveniencies ; his Ministers observing that the late Rebellions made him severe, and that he was ready to take any ill Impression, were not wanting to misrepresent one anothers most loyal Actions ; and each Favourite by such wicked Suggestions, endeavour'd to ruin his Rival. *Arbetio* had as much power over him, as any of them ; and being jealous that *Sylvanus*, *Magister Peditum*, or General of the Foot might supplant him, he got him to be sent away on an Expedition into *Gaul*, which Province was miserably harass'd by the inroads of the Neighbouring Nations. *Sylvanus* disappointed the hopes of his Enemies, who procur'd him this dangerous, though honourable Employment, that he might perish in it : He clear'd the Province of the Robbers that infested the Borders, and restor'd Peace and Safety to the *Gauls*. *Arbetio* had a Spie upon him to watch his Actions, and to give him an account of them : This Person was *Dynamius*, Overseer of the Emperor's Carriages, who finding he could pick nothing out of his Conduct to undo him, resolv'd to forge something against him to his purpose ; he desir'd Letters of Recommendation from him, when he left *Gaul*, which *Sylvanus* gave him as his intimate Acquaintance. The Traytor by the Assistance of *Lampadius*,

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*Præfectus Prætorio*, or Colonel of the Guards, *Eusebius* A.D. 355. and others raz'd out all he had written in the Letters, only leaving the Subscription entire, and wrote in them an Exhortation to his Friends at Court, particularly to *Fuscus Albinus*, to assist him in his Design, to rake on him the Imperial Purple. This Paper was produc'd, and *Dynamius* appointed to be examin'd in the matter. All those that were nam'd in the Letters were seiz'd, and Officers sent to apprehend others that were in the Provinces. *Malarichus* Captain of the Band call'd *Gentiles*, was commanded to go and fetch *Sylvanus*. He exclaim'd against his Commission, affirming, that the Persons accus'd were Innocent, and that 'twas a Contrivance of their Enemies to destroy them. *Arbetio* seeing *Malarichus* was no proper Man to be employ'd in this Business, got *Apodemius*, who had been deeply concern'd in the Death of *Gallus*, to undertake it. *Apodemius* hasten'd into Gaul, and began presently to deal with the Friends and Clients of *Sylvanus*, as one already proscrib'd, and to be executed. The *Magister Peditum* was busie on the Frontiers, securing those parts from the Excursions of the Neighbouring Borderers, when *Apodemius* arriv'd; *Dynamius* to gain credit, resolv'd to go on with the Cheat, and make sure work on't: He forg'd another Letter in the name of *Sylvanus* and *Malarichus*, to the Tribune of the *Fabrick* at *Cremona*, whom as conscious of the Plot, he advises to be ready with all imaginable diligence. The Man could not tell what to make of the Letter, and sent it to *Malarich* to explain it to him. *Malarich* was very much surpriz'd to see himself unexpectedly brought into such danger: He bewail'd his own Misfortune, and that of *Sylvanus*, his Countryman, and open'd it to the *Franks*, who at that time were Numerous and Flourishing in the Palace, complaining aloud of the Treason. The Emperor being inform'd of the affair by his Council, gave order for a strict inquiry into the truth of it. The ordinary Judges perceiving 'twas a ticklish business, evaded it, and upon their declining the Examination of the matter, *Florentius* the *Magister Officiorum*, or Judge of the Palace, search'd into the bottom of the Conspiracy, and carefully viewing the Letter pretended to be written by *Sylvanus*, discover'd plainly some remains of the Characters *Dynamius* had raz'd out: Yet the Emperor



A.D. 355. did no more, than turn some of the Conspirators out of their places, and the business was hush'd up. The displacing those that were concern'd in the Plot, was only a shew of punishing them; for *Constantius* was rather sorry than glad it was found out, and soon after he preferr'd them to higher Posts. *Sylvanus* hearing what an ill posture his Affairs were in at Court, and seeing *Arbeto* his Enemy so industrious to destroy him, consulted with his chief Officers, what he should do. They advis'd him to assume the Imperial Title, and take Arms in his own defence; for the Emperor was so jealous, and withal so credulous, that when once he believ'd a Man to be guilty of a design against his Authority, he never forgave him. The News of *Sylvanus's* Usurpation reach'd *Constantius* at *Milan*: He immediately call'd a Council, and 'twas resolv'd to send *Ursicinus* into *Gaul* to suppress the Usurper. They pitcht upon this Man, knowing him to be a Person of great Experience in Military Affairs. He had lain under some Suspicion himself, and they thought, he would act the more vigorously to shew his Loyalty, or that he would perish in the Attempt, which the Courtiers would not have been sorry for. The Council advis'd the Emperor in his Letters to *Sylvanus*, to take no notice of his Rebellion; but to recommend *Ursicinus* as a Man fit to succeed him, and in very favourable terms to recal him to Court, to the exercise of the Offices he held there. *Ammianus Marcellinus* the Historian went with *Ursicinus* into *Gaul*: When they arriv'd at *Cologne*, they found *Sylvanus* surrounded by a multitude of Citizens and Soldiers. *Ursicinus* perceiving it would be to no purpose to think of proceeding by force, try'd fair means, flatter'd the Usurper, and kiss'd his Robe, as the manner was of saluting the Emperors. *Sylvanus* was so deceiv'd by his false Respect, and Complacency, that he admitted him to his Table and Council. *Ursicinus* humour'd his Resentment, rail'd at the Court, and spoke with much Indignation of unworthy Persons being preferr'd to the Consulship, while those that deserv'd well of the Government, were slighted and despis'd. Such kind of Discourses lull'd the Usurper into a fatal security. Thus they liv'd together in extraordinary friendship and familiarity, till the Army talkt of passing the *Alps*. *Ursicinus* and his Companions were so alarm'd

*Sylvanus*  
usurps.

learn'd at it, that they resolv'd to put all to the hazard A.D. 355. rather than let the Rebels pass into *Italy*, where the Emperor was ill provided to receive them; and having gain'd the *Braccati* and *Cornuti* two Bands of his Soldiers by Caresses and Promises to assist them, they attackt *Sylvanus* his Guards, forc'd his Palace, drew him out of the Chappel, whither he fled for Sanctuary, and cut him to Pieces.

*Kill'd by  
his own  
Soldiers.*

*Constantius*, instead of making a good use of his Success, grew more Proud and Insolent: Neither did he reward *Ursicinus* as he deserv'd. On the contrary, he sent Commissioners into *Gaul*, to call him to an account for some of the Publick Money which he and his Followers had receiv'd: He set the Notary *Paul* to inquire out who had assisted *Sylvanus*, and order'd him to proceed against them. By the procurement of this Informer, many Persons of Quality were put to Death, and their Estates Confiscated.

There was a strange mixture of Virtue and Vice in the disposition of this Emperor; sometimes he was Cruel and Covetous, at other times Gentle and Generous; by turns, making good Laws and Setting bad Examples. While he liv'd at *Milan*, several Edicts were publish'd to reform abuses in the Courts of Justice, and to render access to his Person with Complaints, more easy. The Governors of the Provinces had endeavour'd to abrogate this Priviledge of the Subject, thinking 'twas a diminution of their Authority, and of dangerous Consequence.

The Emperor by the frequent Commotions that had happen'd in the West, found he cou'd not conveniently leave those Provinces, and yet his Presence was absolutely necessary in the East to secure *Asia* from the attempts of the *Barbarians*, so that he cou'd think of no better way to provide for the safety of the whole Empire, than by Creating a *Cesar*, who being furnish'd with sufficient Power might keep the Neighbouring Nations in awe. He therefore advanc'd *Julian*, *Gallus's* Brother, to that Dignity, the 6th of *November*, and mounting the Tribunal made a Speech to the Army, wherein he recommended himself to them for many good Qualities. Particularly for his Modesty and Industry, closing his Oration with advice to his Cousin upon several Points relating to his Civil and Military Government; saying, *He hop'd by God's Assistance, they shou'd govern the Roman World with equal*

A.D. 355. *equal Piety and Moderation.* To do him yet more Honour, he gave him his Sister *Helena* in Marriage, and then dispatch'd him away to the Frontiers. At *Taurinum* *Julian* receiv'd the sad News of *Cologne's* being taken and sackt by the *Barbarians*. The Emperor knew it before, but wou'd not tell him, that he might not be discourag'd by looking on it as ominous. *Julian* was heard to say, when he was told it, *What he got by his Preferment, was only the Honour of Perishing with more Toil and Noise*: When he arriv'd at *Vienna*, he was met by a numerous Concourse of People, who with loud Acclamations welcom'd him as their *Deliverer*. A Blind Old Woman asking for whom they made such Rejoycing; Upon answer that 'twas for their Reception of *Julian*, cry'd out; *That he shou'd restore the Temples of the Gods*. Here he enter'd on his first Consulate. From *Vienna* he march'd to relieve *Augustodunum*, besieg'd by the *Barbarians*, who rais'd the Siege on notice of his approach; which *Julian* hearing, taking with him only two Bands, the *Catapraeti* and the *Balistrati*, persu'd them to *Autofidurum*, where he made a short stay, and from thence march'd to *Dauphine* to subdue the *Tricassini*, a People of that Countrey, who committed great Robberies and spoil upon their Neighbours; these he routed and dispers'd. Thence he march'd to *Rheims*, and invaded the *German Territories*. The Enemy seeing him advanc'd into their Country, watcht their opportunity, and in a dark Rainy Night fell on his Rear, and had cut off two Legions, had not the Noise of the Action drawn the best part of the Army to their Rescue. *Julian* not being able to get good Intelligence of the Country, and observing that the Enemy made advantage of his Ignorance, contented himself to subdue the Cities on the Borders, from whence his Garrisons might make Excursions on the *Germans*, and be a Barrier to the Northern Provinces of the Empire. The *Germans* defended their Cities with great Bravery: However *Julian* made himself Master of *Brotomagum*, and overthrew the Army sent by the King of the *Franks* to the assistance of the besieg'd. After which he return'd to *Cologne*, and put his Troops into Winter Quarters about *Triers*. The *Germans* being inform'd that he lay at *Sens* with a small Force, hasten'd thither and besieg'd the City. *Julian* defended himself so resolutely, that notwithstanding *Marcellus*, Magi-

Trent.

356.  
Autun.

Worms.

fieri

# Chap. I. CONSTANTIUS II.

27

*ster Equitum*, who succeeded *Ursicinus* in the Govern- A.D. 356.  
ment of *Gaul*, neglected to send him Succors, the Ene-  
mies were tir'd with the length of the Siege, broke up their  
Camp and return'd Home. In his Quarters he was so  
moderate in his Diet, that he wou'd have no more than a  
Private Soldiers allowance : Every Night he rose about 12  
a Clock to pray to *Mercury*, his Divinity; for he had already  
Apostatiz'd in Private from the Christian Faith, which he  
profest in Publick. He was very ready to hear the Com-  
plaints of those that were oppress'd, and to redress their  
Grievances. If the Governors of the Provinces were  
too rigorous in their Decrees and Ordinances, he wou'd  
in Person examine the Cause, and by his genuine Mild-  
ness mitigate the Sentence : When he came into *Gaul*, he  
found a Tax of 25 aurei on such a quantity of Land, 10 l. 14 s.  
which he had brought down to 7 before he left it. So  
much he diminish'd the Charge by his Victories over the  
*Barbarians*, whose Inroads render'd the War so expensive  
before.

*Constantius* having Information given him, that *Mar-*  
*cellus* had omitted to relieve *Cesar*, his Cousin, when he  
was besieg'd in *Sennone*, turn'd him out of his Office,  
and confin'd him to his own House. *Marcellus* posted  
to *Milan*, and accus'd *Julian* in Council, as one who was  
preparing himself Wings to soar yet higher. But *Cesar's*  
Friends effectually vindicated his Carriage, and the Ac-  
cusation dropt. Others of less Quality had not such  
good Fortune, for many Persons were Executed on frivo-  
lous Pretences, as for *Divination*, and Corresponding with  
*Diviners*.

Sens.

While *Constantius* resided at *Milan*, and *Julian* on the  
*German Borders*, the *Persians* Invaded the Eastern Pro-  
vinces, not Fighting in Armies as they were wont, but  
coming in Parties like Thieves and Robbers. *Cassianus*,  
who Commanded in *Mesopotamia*, to prevent these disor-  
ders, desir'd a Peace of the *Persian King*, finding he was  
not in a Condition to defend his Government by Arms.

357.

In the mean time the Emperor went in Progress to  
*Rome* : When he approach'd near the City the Senate met  
him, and the Concourse of People was so great, he  
thought the whole World were assembled to pay their  
Homage to him, as their Sovereign Lord. He made his  
Entry in a Golden Chariot, adorn'd with Gems and  
Streamers, surrounded by his Guards with as much Pomp  
as



A.D. 357. as if he had triumph'd over many Nations, Enemies to Rome. When he came to the *Rostra* he was amaz'd at the sight of the *Forum*, every thing he saw was wonderful: He made an Oration to the Senate, another to the People, and was extreamly pleas'd with the *Equestrian* Games. Above all he admir'd the Temple of *Jupiter Tarpeius*, the Amphitheatre, the Baths, the Pantheon, the *Forum* of Peace, *Pompey's* Theatre, the *Odeum* or Place of Musick, the *Stadium* or Course, which he thought were the chief Ornaments of this *Eternal City*, as *Ammianus* calls it. After he had with astonishment beheld these Publick Edifices, he came to *Trajan's Forum*, where he was transported beyond expression, to see a sight surpassing all the former, and being desirous to have something of his own founding among so many admirable Monuments of the Grandeur of his Predecessors, He order'd an Obelisk to be erected in the *Circus Maximus*. *Helena*, *Cesar's* Wife, accompany'd the Empress *Eusebia* in this Progress: She took her along with her out of pretended kindness, whereas her real design by it was to watch an opportunity to prevent her Child-bearing: For being barren her self, She envy'd the Fruitfulness of this Princess, and gave her a Potion which made her miscarry: She had formerly, when *Helena* was in *Gaul*, brib'd her Midwife to make away with an Infant, of which she was deliver'd.

*Constantius* would willingly have staid sometime at Rome, but he was oblig'd to leave that Imperial City and return to *Milan*, to provide for the defence of his Northern Provinces, the *Sœvi* having invaded *Rhetia*, the *Quadi*, *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatæ*, *Mesia* and *Pannonia*.

The Emperor to repel the *Barbarians* remov'd to *Sirmium*, where we must a while leave him and return to *Julian*, who was well pleas'd to hear *Marcellus* was outed of his Employ, and *Severus* put in his Place, a Man of a Complaisant Temper and good Experience. *Barbatio*, who after *Sylvanus* his Death was made *Magister Peditum*, was sent out of *Italy* to him with a reinforcement of 25000 Men to terrify the *Germans*; yet they were so far from being afraid, that passing by both *Julian* and *Barbatio's* Camps, they rov'd as far as *Lugdunum*, and were like to have surpriz'd it: They plunder'd and destroy'd the Towns and Villages in the Neighbourhood,

Swabians,  
Bohemians.

Stiria,  
Servia,  
Bulgaria,  
and Bessarabia,  
Hungary.

Lyons.

bourhood, of which *Julian* having notice, he detach'd A.D. 357. three strong Parties of Horse to lye in ambush for them, and fall on 'em in their return. Two of the Enemies Parties met with two of *Julian's*, and were all cut off: The third passing by the Place where *Barbatio* was posted, escap'd: The Officers who Commanded the Guards were forbidden by *Cella* a Tribune, who accompany'd *Barbatio* in this Expedition, to seize such Passes as they understood the *Germans* wou'd return by. *Cella* afterwards confest he did it by order of the *Magister Peditum*, who out of envy to *Julian's* Fame, or out of Cowardice, had giv'n such Orders; yet he represented the matter to *Constantius*, as if the Officers of the Guards under pretence of publick Service wou'd have debauch'd his Troops from their Allegiance, on which Accusation they were Cashier'd. The *Barbarians* discourag'd by their ill Success, and the noise of a mighty Army's coming against them, laid Trees a-cross the Ways, to hinder the *Romans* in their march; others of 'em possess themselves of the Islands in the *Rhine*, and resolv'd to defend them. *Julian* demanded 7 Boats of *Barbatio*, to make Bridges, over which he intended to pass into those Islands. The *Magister Peditum*, who was apprehensive that if *Julian* grew too formidable, he might one time or other have it in his Power to revenge the Death of his Brother *Gallus* on himself, and the rest of his Murderers, oppos'd his designs continually, and burnt his Boats that they might be of no use to him: Notwithstanding this hindrance, *Julian* commanded *Bainobaudes* Tribune of the *Cornuti*, to ford the River at certain Places, and lead over some *Auxiliary Velites*, or light Arm'd Men, who by wading and swimming got into the Islands, and kill'd as many of the *Barbarians* as they met with: After which they return'd to the Camp laden with Spoil, and the *Germans* that remain'd alive abandon'd the Islands, flying with their Effects to Places more remote. *Cesar* then fortify'd *Taberna*, and while the *Romans* were busy in carrying on their Works, the *Germans* attack'd *Barbatio*, drove him as far as *Rauracum*, took the greatest part of his Baggage and return'd with their Booty. *Barbatio*, as if he had beaten the Enemy, confidently put his Men into Quarters of refreshment, and went himself to Court, there to do ill Offices to *Cesar* by false Accusations, as he had done in the Camp, by opposing him in every

*Zabern in the Lower Palatinate. Aoust in Swisserland.*

A.D. 357. every thing he desir'd of him for the publick Service. The *Barbarians* animated by their late Success, and headed by *Chnodomarius*, one of their bravest Kings, who had beaten *Decentius Caesar*, *Magnentius's* Brother, joyn'd their Forces in a Body, and encamp'd near *Argentoratium*, from whence they sent an haughty message to *Julian* requiring him to be gone. *Caesar*, tho' *Barbatio* had left him, despising their arrogance, resolv'd to give 'em Battel, and *Florentius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, being of the same Opinion, as also most of his Officers, he march'd against the Enemy with no more than 13000 Men, fought them near their Camp, and obtain'd a Compleat Victory, killing 6000 on the spot, besides a vast Number that were drown'd in the *Rhine*, with the loss of about 250 *Romans*. The Soldiers were so pleas'd with their General's behaviour in the Battel, wherein he signaliz'd himself to admiration, that they saluted him *Augustus*, which Title he flatly refus'd, swearing, 'Twas an Honour he neither expected nor desir'd. He had indeed behav'd himself very gallantly in the Fight, and recover'd the Victory out of the Hands of the *Germans*, who had routed the *Roman* Right Wing; *Chnodomarius* was taken Prisoner and brought before him as he sat in Council. The King falling prostrate at his Feet beg'd his Pardon, which he granted him for Life only: *Julian* sent him to the Emperor, who order'd him to be Confin'd in the *Cæstra Peregrina* on Mount *Celins* at *Rome*, where he dy'd.

*Constantius's* Courtiers flatter'd him so much on this Victory that he was puf't up beyond measure, and in his publick Edicts assum'd all the Glory to himself, as tho' it had been obtain'd by his Personal Valour.

After the Battel *Caesar* return'd to *Taberna*, the Fort he had lately built, and having prepar'd all things for his intended Enterprize, he resolv'd to march to *Moguntiacum* to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine* at that City, and fall on the *Germans* in their own Country; but the *Barbarians* hearing of his Intentions by their Embassadors, begg'd a Peace: Yet afterwards their minds chang'd, and by other Messengers they threatned him with a furious War, if he offer'd to enter their Territories. *Julian* detach'd a Party who invaded their Country, and destroy'd all with Fire and Sword, which brought the *Germans* to Reason. They again desir'd him to give them Peace, and he consented to a Truce for 10 Months. While he was

Stras-  
burgh.

Julian  
routs the  
Germans.

Mentz.

In this Expedition, 600 *Franks* made an Inroad into *Gaul*, A.D. 357. committed great waste and spoil, and lodg'd themselves in two Castles on the *Mosa* or *Meuse*, which *Cæsar* at his return besieg'd, retook, made the *Franks* Prisoners of War, and sent them to the Emperor. About *January* he went to *Paris* to spend the remaining part of the Winter, and to consult how to improve the small time of the Truce for the quiet and ease of the Provinces in which he stood boldly against the *Præfect Florentius*, who would have had the Neighbouring Provinces, make good the Taxes of those that were deficient, and through Poverty cou'd not pay. *Julian* protested he wou'd lose his Life rather than suffer such a Hardship, and by fair words prevail'd with the *Præfect* to desist. He open'd the next Campaign much earlier than the *Roman* Armies us'd to take the Field, and first he attack'd the *Franci Salij*, who had seated themselves in *Toxandria*, part of the *Belgick* *Zealand* *Gaul*, and after them the *Chamavi*, another Nation of the *Franks* whom he subdu'd and forc'd to implore his Mercy. When he design'd to enter on further Action, the Army mutiny'd for want of Provisions, the Harvest not being near ready : They were afraid to undertake any Enterprize of length with the small stock they had in their Camp : They also murmur'd for Donatives, which the Emperor had not enabled him to bestow on them. *Julian* knew the best way to appease them was to keep them employ'd, and divert them by some new Action ; wherefore having by good Words and kind Promises quieted the Tumult, he laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, and Invaded the *German* Territories. On his approach *Suomarius* one of their Kings submitted to him, and bow'd his Neck to the *Roman* Yoke. *Hortarius*, another Petty Prince, dignify'd with the Title of King, he subdu'd and met with little opposition from the *Barbarians*. Thus he spent the greatest part of the Summer, marching up and down on the other side of the *Rhine*, and when the Season drew on for putting his Troops into Winter Quarters, he return'd to *Gaul* and dispos'd of them in the Cities on the Frontiers.

At Court the Emperor's Flatterers to please him, who envy'd his Cousin's Glory, ridicul'd this Expedition, and lessen'd it, as they had done the rest of his Enterprizes : They call'd him *Goat* for his long Beard, a *prattling Owl*, an *Ape clad in Purple*, the *Greek Scholar*, and gave



A.D. 358. gave terms of Reproach to the best of his Qualities.

*Constantius* resided all this while at *Sirmium*, deliberating with his Ministers, how to chastize the Insolence of the Northern Nations, and procure a Peace with the *Persian King*, from whom the Emperor had receiv'd Letters, to demand Restitution of the *Armenia's* and *Mesopotamia*, which belong'd to the Crown of *Persia*: *Constantius* reply'd, that the *Romans* were not us'd to part with their Provinces so cheaply; but that he had dispatch'd Embassadors with full Power to treat with him for preserving Peace in the *East*. While they were on their Journey, the *Futhungi* broke into *Rhetia*, against whom the Emperor sent *Barbatio*, who cut off most of them, and clear'd the Province of the Invaders. In *March* he pass'd the *Ister* in Person, and attack'd the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*; he routed their Armies, wast'd that part of *Sarmatia* that borders on *Pannonia Secunda*, the lower *Hungary*. By the spoil he committed, the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi* were so exasperated, that joining their forces together, they fell on the *Romans*, who were still Victorious. *Constantius* to revenge himself on the *Quadi*, for promoting this Confederacy, destroy'd their Country with Sword and Fire, forc'd several Princes to make their Submissions to him, and own themselves his Vassals. The kind Reception these Princes met with from the Emperor, so wrought upon the rest, that all the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ* acknowledg'd his Sovereignty; he not only pardon'd them, but restor'd the *Sarmatæ*, who had been driv'n out of their Dwellings by their Slaves, to their ancient Professions: He promoted *Zizais*, the first of the Princes that submitted to him to be their King. In one Campaign both these People were brought into Subjection, except the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, who had been Slaves to the *Sarmatæ*, over whom *Constantius* had made *Zizais* King. The Emperor summon'd the *Limigantes* to pass the *Ister*, which they did, not so much to shew their Obedience, as to let him see the condition they were in to give him Battle, if he refus'd to grant them Terms. The Emperor by degrees so dispos'd of his Men, as to encompass them, and then a whole day was spent in endeavouring to persuade them to lay down their Arms, which they refusing to do, and behaving themselves insolently in the Emperor's Presence, his Guards, the *Prætorian Cohort* fell

*Constantius subdues the Sarmatæ.*

*Battalion.*

fell on them, and though they made a resolute defence, A.D. 358.  
yet being over-power'd, they were most of them slaughter'd in half an hours time. Then the Emperor march'd against those that remain'd in the Country, out of which the lawful owners had been driv'n. These consented to remove into other places, and the Antient *Sarmatæ* were put in possession of their old Habitations, under their King *Zizais*: Upon which *Constantius* return'd in Triumph to *Sirmium*, and took on him the Sirname of *Sarmaticus*. *Julian* rally'd him afterwards, for his making so much of such an inconsiderable business; however, his Jest was not so well grounded in this, as in other cases where the Emperor's vanity was truly ridiculous, in attributing solely to himself the Honour of Actions, wherein he was not personally present. He staid at *Sirmium* till *June* following, and from thence departed for *Asia*, as we shall see hereafter.

The next year *Julian* having all things in readiness to enter *Germany*, and subdue those Kings that had not submitted to him, the *Barbarians* came to *Suomarius*, *Cæsar's* Ally, and threatned him, if he did not hinder the *Romans* from passing the *Rhine*, his Territories lying on the Banks of the River, on the *German* side, they would treat him as a publick Enemy: *Suomarius* protested he was not able to do it of himself; upon which uniting their several Powers, they encamp't over against *Mentz*, to dispute the passage of the *Rhine* with the *Romans*. As *Cæsar* march'd on the *Gallick* side, they march'd on the *German*, to observe his Motions. When he came to the place at which he intended to pass the River, he order'd the Tribunes to select 300 Men out of the Legions to provide Stakes for them, without acquainting them what they were to do with 'em, or whither they should go. These were put aboard 40 Vessels, and commanded to row to the opposite Shoar, making as little noise as possible, and there land. While this was doing, *Hortarius*, a Friend to the *Romans*, though he knew nothing of *Cæsar's* design, invited all the Kings and Captains in the *German* Camp to Supper at his Tent, where they continu'd feasting till late at Night: The *Romans* landing, fell upon them by chance as they broke up to depart to their several Quarters; but by the darkness of the Night, and the swiftness of their Horses, they escap'd all of them. On the rumour of the

359

D

*Romans*

A D. 359. *Romans* being landed, the *Germans* lost their Courage, and ran away with their Goods, abandoning their Houses and Lands to the Invaders. *Cesar* finding his Stratagem succeeded, past the *Rhine*, and march'd into the enemies Country. In the Dominions of *Hortarius* the Legions committed no wast, in those of the other Kings, they burnt and kill'd all before them. The Terror of this Treatment made *Micrianus*, *Hariobaudes*, *Vadomarius*, and other Kings to beg a Peace, which was debated in a Council of War, and granted them on Terms; the chief was to restore the Captives they had taken in their frequent Excursions.

During *Cesar's* Enterprizes in *Gaul*, there happen'd new Disturbances in the Emperor's Court, where for a Letter *Barbatio's* Wife wrote him on a Swarm of Bees lighting on his House, both he and his Wife were Beheaded. The Woman took it for a good Omen to him, and a bad one to her self, that it portended her Husband's Advancement, and fearing he might in such case despise her, and marry the Empress *Eusebia*, she wrote him this Letter, and sent it into the Fields where he was gon to walk to meditate on the Accident. His Wife convey'd it to him by her Maid, who wrote it for her: The Servant kept a Copy of it, and ran away with it by Night to *Arbetio*, in hopes of a Reward. *Barbatio* fell unpity'd, being a Man of a Surly, Arrogant Humour.

The Embassadors *Constantius* sent to King *Sapor*, found him so obstinately bent on recovering *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*, that he would hearken to no Treaty of Peace, unless those Provinces were yielded up to him. After these Embassadors return'd, others were dispatch'd away on the same Errand, to endeavour to keep things quiet in *Asia*. *Lucilianus* and *Procopius* were joyn'd in Commission on this occasion, whose Embassy was as ineffectual, as the others had been. The *Persian* King went on with his Preparations for War, and while every thing tended to a Rupture in the East, *Eusebius* the Eunuch set Informers on his Master, to instil new Jealousies into him of *Ursicinus's* intended Usurpation in those parts, who was the only Man fit to oppose the *Persians*; but knowing him to be a Person of great Interest in the Empire for his Valour and Fortune, they durst not openly accuse him, lest they shou'd provoke him to do what

what they pretended he design'd. The Plot to ruin him was manag'd with Secrecy and Art. Under pretence of succeeding *Barbatio* in his Post of Magister *Peditum*, he was call'd to Court out of *Asia*, where he commanded as Magister *Militum*, or General of the Army, and *Sabinianus* a rich old decrepid Person, very unfit for the Employment, had his Command giv'n him. The Eastern People wou'd have kept *Ursicinus* among them by force, looking on him as their Guardian Angel ; but he was resolv'd to obey the Emperor's Orders. The News of this alteration flying into *Persia*, encourag'd King *Sapor* to hasten his Expedition against the two Provinces, which he was so fond of adding to his own Dominions : One *Antoninus* a *Roman*, and a considerable Officer in *Mesopotamia*, had deserted to him upon some disgust against the Judges of that Province, who had deny'd him Justice in a Cause depending before them. He fully inform'd himself of *Constantius's* designs, communicated them to the *Persian* King, and instigated him to fall on the *Romans*, while they were govern'd by so unqualify'd a Person as *Sabinianus*.

When *Ursicinus* was come as far as the River *Hebrus* *Hebrs.* in *Thrace*, he receiv'd Letters from *Constantine*, requiring him immediately to return into *Mesopotamia* without any Guard, another having the first place in the Government, which his Enemies contriv'd, that if the *Persians* fail'd in their undertaking, *Sabinianus* might have the Honour of defeating 'em ; If they succeeded, *Ursicinus* shou'd lye under the scandal of betraying his Country. He went back as he was order'd, and found his Successor to be a Man of so little Spirit, that he cou'd not hear the debates of his Council relating to the War, without Terror and Trembling. The Army march'd to cover *Nisibis*, which 'twas thought the *Persians* wou'd first attack. The Enemy past the *Tygris*, and *Ursicinus* abandon'd the Places that were not Tenable, ordering the Inhabitants to remove their Effects, to set all the Corn and Hay on fire, and fortify themselves on the hither Banks of *Euphrates*. The *Persians* finding no Forrage, nor any Ford to pass the River, *Antoninus* at last led them to a place where there was Grass and Corn enough, and the River was fordable. The *Roman* Troops advancing towards the *Persians*, *Ursicinus* chanc'd to see *Antoninus* among the Enemies, and revil'd him as a Villain and Traytor, who was



AD 359. so far from Concealing himself that he leap'd from his Horse, took off his *Tiara*, a Badge of Honour giv'n him by *Sapor*, bow'd to the ground and call'd him his Lord and Patron, praying him to Pardon him, for he was necessitated to do what he cou'd not justify, through the Avarice of some Rapacious Persons, against whom he himself cou'd not but remember, his own high Place and Power cou'd not Protect him: Saying this in a very respectful manner, he return'd to his new Friends the *Persians*, who were so Powerful that the *Romans* contented themselves to act defensively till the Army was reinforc'd, and they were better provided for the War. *Sapor* took the Castles of *Reman* and *Busan*, and besieg'd *Amida* with an Army of 100000 Men. The *Romans* defended themselves with their wanted Bravery for the space of three Months, but being by their frequent Sallics and Engagements with the Enemy reduc'd to a very small Number, the *Persians* in the end made themselves Masters of the Place, and raz'd it to the ground. *Sapor* lost 30000 Men before it; and had not *Sabinianus* hinder'd *Ursicinus* from relieving it, absolutely denying to give him Orders for't, he wou'd in all likelihood have prevented its fate. The Historian *Ammianus Marcellinus* was in the Town during the Siege, of which he has giv'n a particular account, and of his own Escape when 'twas taken by Storm; himself and two or three more being the only Persons of the Garrison that did not fall into the Enemies Hands. *Sapor* ended the Campaign with the Conquest of *Amida*, and in Triumph retreated homewards, valuing himself on an Acquisition which had cost him more Men than 'twas worth.

*Sapor King  
of Persia  
takes A-  
mida.*

We must now take a View of what pass'd in the West. During the Eastern War, *Constantius* was oblig'd to leave *Sirminum*, where he had a long time resided, and remove to *Sirgidunum*, being perpetually alarm'd with reports, that the *Sarmate Limigantes* not contented with the Territories assign'd them, began to Invade the Borders, and wou'd give him more trouble unless they were repell'd in time. Having gather'd sufficient Forces together he march'd first into *Valeria*, and from the Banks of the *Ister* observing the motions of the *Barbarians*, sent and demanded of 'em why they rov'd up and down contrary to his Injunctions. Dissembling their Resentment, they excus'd themselves on several frivolous pretences, begging they

*Semandra  
Inservia.*

they might be permitted to dwell within the *Roman* A.D. 359. Pale, to live at rest, and be enabled to pay him Tribute. At this Proposal *Constantius* was extremely pleas'd, hoping to put an end to the business without striking a stroke; for which purpose he order'd a Place to be mark'd out to erect a Tribunal, from whence he might speak to them. Accordingly a Mount was rais'd instead of a Scaffold, and some Legionary Soldiers put aboard his Vessels in the River, to come upon the backs of the *Limigantes*, in case they prov'd Tumultuous. They at first behav'd themselves very submissively, and heard his Oration like Men who intended to follow his Advice and live Peaceably; but before he had done speaking, one of 'em threw his Shoe at him, crying, *Marka Marka*, their Signal for Battle; and drawing their Swords, they all prepar'd to Charge him and his Followers. The Emperor presently got an Horseback and made his Escape, leaving his Imperial Chair and the Cushion to the Enemy. The Army hearing of their Prince's danger, in a rage ran upon those false Slaves and kill'd the greatest part of 'em; and the rest fled from their Fury. Thus were all things settled on the Frontiers to *Constantius's* content, who removing to *Sirmium*, turn'd his thoughts on an Expedition into the East, himself intending to lead the Army in *Asia*, and revenge the Affront his Arms receiv'd at *Amida*.

*Ursicinus* seeing he cou'd not be serviceable in *Mesopotamia*, while *Sabinianus*, whom his Enemies had procur'd to be set over him, had Power to obstruct him in what he thought for the good of the Provinces, came to *Sirmium*: As soon as he arriv'd, 'twas whisper'd about that he had been guilty of very Heinous Crimes, and *Constantius* giving too much Credit to the Accusations of his Flatterers, order'd *Arbetio* and *Florentius* to hear the Cause, and make their report of the matter; particularly to inquire how *Amida* came to be destroy'd. The Commissioners appointed to examine into the business, perceiv'd *Eusebius* and the Eunuchs had not carry'd themselves fair in it, and that *Sabinianus's* Cowardice was the true reason of loss of the City; yet for fear of offending the Favourite, they durst not report the Case in *Ursicinus's* favour: The latter enrag'd to have his Integrity call'd in question, spoke out and publicly declar'd, *That if the Emperor himself commanded his Army, while he was govern'd by Eunuchs, he wou'd not be able to defend Mesopotamia: Which*

A D. 359. words with some aggravating Circumstances being told *Constantius*, he order'd the Inquisition into the Affair to be broken off, turn'd him out of his Places and forbad him the Court.

The Emperor having information of *Julian's* Proceedings in *Gaul*, how he had subdu'd seven *German* Kings, and growing great in Fame was become the Darling of the Soldiers under his Command, 'twas enough to put him on, contriving how to lessen his Reputation and Power. In order to this, he dispatch'd away *Decentius*, a Tribune and Notary, to bring from him the Auxiliary Troops of the *Heruli* rais'd in the Lower *Saxony*, the *Batavi*, the Modern *Dutch*, the *Celte*, Inhabitants of the South Parts of *France*, and 300 to be pick'd out of the other Legions, with Instructions to hasten their march to joyn his own Army, which he design'd to lead against the *Persians*. *Julian* made as if he did not guess at the true reason of recalling these Troops; he obey'd the Emperor's Orders, but cou'd not forbear saying, *He thought it hard that those Soldiers shou'd be sent into Asia, who had left their dwellings beyond the Rhine, on Condition they might not be commanded further than the Alps.* *Decentius* went on, following his Orders, and when the Detachment was ready to march, a Paper was dropt, containing among other seditious Passages, *That they were to be banish'd as Criminals to the utmost Parts of the Earth.* *Julian*, when he saw them about to depart, spoke to them, Commending such as he knew, extolling their past Actions, and advising them to go cheerfully to the Emperor, who wou'd prefer them according to their Deserts. He spoke thus in a Tone which rather increas'd their desire to stay with him, than dispos'd them to leave him: He treated the Officers, ask'd 'em, what he shou'd do for 'em? And carest 'em so highly, they cou'd not bear to think of parting. Their Sorrow turn'd to Rage, and both Officers and Soldiers not being able to express their sentiments in words, as strong as their obligation to *Cesar*, they drew their Swords, ran to the Pallace, beset it round to prevent any one coming out, and with a terrible noise saluted *Julian*, *Augustus* requiring him to come forth: When he appear'd, they shouted again, and call'd him *Augustus*. He refus'd the Honour, urging several reasons why he ought not to accept of that Dignity. They were Deaf to all his Arguments, and by force, as his Historian *Ammianus* wou'd have us believe,

## Chap. I. CONSTANTIUS II.

39

believe, was compell'd to assume the Imperial Title. A.D. 360.  
The next Day he put on the State, and Ornaments of an <sup>Julian</sup> Emperor, and made an Oration to the Army, putting <sup>Ufurps.</sup> them in mind of the Glory he had acquir'd; promising them to take a particular care to reward those that deserv'd well, and punish such as were remiss in the discharge of their Duty. Thus had *Constantius's* Envy and Jealousy driv'n *Julian* to a necessity of providing for his own safety. 'Twas the recalling *Cesar's* Troops out of *Gaul*, that made him first think of taking Arms against the Common wealth of *Rome*, and setting up for himself; an example too fortunate not to tempt *Julian* to follow it; for when a Prince has made a Subject so great, 'tis dangerous to attempt his Disgrace, since when Death or a Crown is his choice, 'tis easy to imagine which he will Prefer.

*Sapor* open'd the next Campaign with the Siege of *Singara*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, between the *Tygris* and the *Euphrates*, which he took by Storm. There were two Legions in Garrison; a vast Number of Inhabitants, who were all led away into Captivity, with their Hands ty'd behind 'em: He then attack'd and took *Bezabde*: But at the Fort of *Urta* he had a stop put to his Career. The Garrison defended themselves so resolutely, that he was forc'd to raise the Siege. *Constantius* got as far as *Constantinople*, before he heard of the Progress of the *Persians* in *Mesopotamia*: He was busy in raising Forces, and laying up Stores of Provisions to carry on the War with *Sapor*, when he receiv'd the bad News from *Gaul* that his Cousin *Julian* had Usurpt the Imperial Dignity. *Julian* wrote him in a Style that shew'd he was not willing to let the breach go farther, nor fear'd him if he shou'd resolve otherwise: He represented to him the Services he had done, that the Soldiers oblig'd him to assume the Title of *Augustus*, partly to reward his Merit, and partly to revenge the ill Counsels that had prevail'd with him, to command them to leave their Native Country and their Families, and march into such remote Parts as the Banks of the *Tygris*: The Emperor on receipt of the Letter fell into a Violent Passion, and with a terrible look order'd the Messengers to be gone out of his Presence, refusing to give them Audience: He was at a loss which Enterprize he shou'd undertake, whether he shou'd March directly against the Usurper *Julian*, or proceed to oppose



A.D. 360. the *Persians*. The Advice of the wiser part of his Council prevail'd, which was to dissemble his Resentment, and temporize with *Cæsar*, till he had secur'd the *Eastern* Provinces from the Invasions of the *Persians*. He therefore dispatch'd his *Quæstor Leonas* into *Gaul* with Letters to *Julian*, importing, that having prefer'd him as he had done, he did not expect he would make any Innovation; admonishing him for his own and his Friends Security, to humble himself, and be contented with his former Dignity of *Cæsar*. When *Leonas* arriv'd at *Paris*, he was well receiv'd by *Julian*: The day after *Cæsar* carry'd him to the Camp with him, where he mounted the Tribunal, and in an Assembly of Soldiers, and a vast croud of People, he commanded the Emperor's Letters to be read. At that part of 'em which related to his contenting himself with the Dignity of *Cæsar*, they all murmur'd; and then cry'd out *Julian Augustus*, resolving not to revoke what the Army and the People had decreed. *Leonas* having heard this Popular and Military Recognition, was dismiss'd, and *Julian* wrote to the Emperor as before; that it being the Resolution of the Army for the good of the Empire, to keep them in a Body to defend *Gaul*, he hop'd his good Cousin and Brother would not break with him for accepting an Honour they had impos'd upon him. After he had gone thus far, he proceeded to shew he was worthy the Affection which the Army bore him, by undertaking some new Enterprize for the advantage of the Commonwealth, and the glory of the *Roman* Name; he march'd to the Borders of *Germany*, and passing the *Rhine* attack'd the *Franks* inhabiting the Country lying on the *Mein*, who had lately been very troublesome to the *Gauls* on the Borders: He surpriz'd them by his hasty march, and having kill'd and taken most of their Forces, compell'd 'em to submit to such Terms as he was pleas'd to grant them. He then turn'd his Arms on the *Rauraci*, and recover'd several places from them, which they had taken; from thence he went to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, taking the Road to *Besancon*.

Swiss.

*Constantine* in the *East* was not idle all this while. He proceeded from *Constantinople* to *Edeffa*, and about Autumn departed for *Amida*. When he saw the ruins of the City he wept; from thence he march'd to *Bezabde*, where the *Persians* had a Garrison, which he Besieg'd,

but

but the Winter was so far advanc'd, and the *Persians* made A.D. 360. such a brave defence, that he was forc'd to raise the Siege, and retreat to *Antioch*, where we must leave him a while, and return to *Julian*, whom we left at *Vienna*.

*Helena*, *Cæsar's* Wife, dying about this time, he sent her Body to *Rome*, to be buried by her Sister *Constantina*, in the *Via Nomentina*; and reflecting on his Brother's Fate and *Constantius's* Humour, he thought 'twould not be safe trusting to his Mercy, and resign the Purple; so he resolv'd to stand on his guard, and defend the Title he had usurpt. He was much addicted to Divination, and by his Art and his Dreams, he calculated *Constantius's* end was drawing nigh. To gain all Parties to his Interest, he openly profess the Christian Religion, though he had Apostatiz'd in private, observing all the *Pagan* Rites and Ceremonies, and conforming to their idolatrous Worship: While he was contriving how to maintain his new Authority, he had notice that *Vadomarius*, one of the Kings that submitted to him, had invaded *Rhætia*, and wasted the Borders. *Julian* immediately pass the *Rhine*, and coming upon the *German*s unawares, charg'd and routed 'em; upon which they ask'd Pardon, and obtain'd it, on condition, they restor'd the Booty they had taken, and liv'd dutifully for the future. After this being encourag'd by Dreams portending the Death of the Emperor, he resolv'd to march against him, to which purpose he drew the Army together, and from his Tribunal spoke to them, enumerating the Victories they had obtain'd under his Conduct, and giving them hopes of greater: They all declar'd they would venture their Lives in his Quarrel, except *Nebridius*, who though he was formerly a Friend to *Julian*, yet being prefer'd by *Constantius*, to be *Præfectus Prætorio*, resolutely refus'd to joyn with him: The Soldiers in a rage would have kill'd him, had not *Julian* interpos'd, and suffer'd him to retire to his House in *Tuscany*. *Tuscia*. Then *Cæsar* gave the Signal for marching into *Pannonia*, rashly committing himself to doubtful Fortune, to use the words of his own Historian *Ammianus*.

During *Constantius's* abode at *Antioch*, the Empress *Eusebia* dy'd; a beautiful Lady, and excepting her zeal for *Arianism*, and her ill practices on *Helena* to hinder her bearing any Children, she was every way worthy of the Emperor's Bed. *Constantius* made mighty Prepa-

A.D. 361. Preparations to prosecute the Persian War: But *Sapor* got into the Field before him with a numerous Army, on which News he pass'd the *Euphrates*, and encamp'd near *Edeffa*, to observe the Enemies motion. *Florentius* who fled out of *Gaul* on *Julian's* Usurpation, he prefer'd to be *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, and sent *Gauden-tius* into *Africk*, to put the *Mauritania's* into a posture of Defence, lest *Julian* should attempt to land any Forces there.

*Cæsar*, as we have said, was on his way to *Pannonia*. To strike terror into the Nations as he march'd he di-vided his Army into three Bodies; one of them was led by *Jovinus* and *Jovius* through *Italy*; a second by *Ne-vitas*, who took the road through the *Grisons* Country; himself with the third, pass'd the *Danube*, and march'd along the side of the River. The noise of the approach of so many Armies, threw the Cities of *Illyricum* into a terrible Consternation; they believ'd *Julian* was com-ing with all the Kings and Nations of *Gaul* to conquer them. This frighted *Taurus*, a *Præfectus Prætorio*, and his Brother *Præfect* *Florentius* out of the Province: But *Lucilianus*, who commanded the Emperor's Forces lying at *Surmum*, resolv'd to make head against the Usurper. Before he could get his Men in a readiness, *Julian*, whose first Principle in Politicks was Expedition, detach'd a Party to surprize him; the Rebels came upon him so hastily, they took him in his Bed, and carry'd him Prisoner to *Cæsar*, who gave him his Purple Robe to kiss, to put him out of the pannick fear he was in, to see himself in the hands of a Person whom his Car-riage had highly offended. *Julian* proceeded to *Sirmi-um*, meeting no opposition. On the contrary, all sorts of People, as well Soldiers as others, with acclamations of Joy, call'd him *Augustus*, and as such, shout'd him to the Imperial Palace. His Prosperity chang'd his Natu-ral Humility to a vain opinion of his own Merit and Grandeur; he openly took State upon him, wrote a bitter Invective to the Senate against *Constantius*, black-en'd the Memory of his Uncle *Constantine*, and pub-licly declar'd himself a *Pagan*, traducing *Constantine the Great*, as an Innovator and Disturber of the publick Peace, as one that first advanc'd *Barbarians* to the Con-sulate; which fault he was himself guilty of not long  
*Regiments.* after in favour of *Mamertinus*. Two of *Constantine's* Legions

Legions and a Cohort of Archers, which he found at *A.D. 361.* *Sirmium*, he order'd to march into *Gaul*, who disgusted with the Service they were sent upon, seiz'd *Aquileia* in their way thither. On News of their declaring for the Emperor, he order'd *Immo* with a Body of the Army to reduce them: This Officer besieg'd the City, and the Legions defended the Place so obstinately, he could not master it, till hearing *Constantius* was dead, and *Julian* in possession of the whole Empire, they open'd the Gates, and receiv'd the Besiegers into the Fort, the Legions laying the fault on *Nigrinus* a Tribune: *Mertinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, condemn'd him to be burnt alive, which Sentence was executed upon him for his Loyalty to his Sovereign. Before *Julian* was deliver'd of his fears by the Death of the Emperor, he could not tell what to think of the success of his Enterprize; he was afraid the Garrison of *Aquileia* might draw the Provinces of the *Julian Alps* from their Obedience to him; *The Mountains of* he dreaded the *Eastern Armies*, and *Narcotianus* who was collecting the Forces quarter'd up and down in *Istria and Thrace*, to dispute with him the Pass of the Streights of *Carniola*. *Succi*.

*Constantius* to preserve his Army as entire as he could, expecting a Civil War, did not think fit to attack the *Persian Garrisons* in *Mesopotamia*, fearing 'twould take up too much time, and cost too many Men to drive them thence. He order'd *Arbetio* and *Azilo* to post themselves on the Banks of the *Tygris* to act defensively; and if *Sapor* past the River with his Forces, to retreat. The worst News came out of *Europe*; for now the Emperor was inform'd that the Usurper had over-run *Italy* and *Illyricum*, and secur'd the Streights of *Succi*: Upon this *Constantius* grew melancholy; the power of his Enemy every day encreast, and his only hope was in his good fortune, which had ever triumph'd over Usurpers. Hearing King *Sapor* was returning home, he left what Troops he could spare for the defence of *Mesopotamia*, and *Aleppo*. He departed himself for *Hierapolis*, where at a Review of the Army, he spoke to them from a lofty Tribunal, indicating his own carriage, and accusing his two Cousins, *Gallus* and *Julian* of Ingratitude: The Soldiers were so touch'd by his Patherick Oration, that they shook their Lances, a sign of Resentment in those days, and demanded to be led against the Rebel: After which he order'd



A.D. 361. order'd the Light Horse with the *Lati*, to march towards the Streights of *Succi*, and seem'd to set cheerfully about the work he had in hand. He return'd from *Hierapolis* to *Antioch*, where he was Baptiz'd after the manner of the *Arrians*: From *Antioch* he came to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, here he was seiz'd with a gentle Fever, which by the Action, and the exercise of his Journey he hop'd would cure; so he proceeded to *Mopsuesta*, another City in *Cilicia*, here his Disease encreasing, he was forc'd to stop, and it grew by degrees to that height, he could scarcely be touch'd for Heat. The Physicians having giv'n him over, he bewail'd his end, and after long struggling with Death, departed this Life on the 5th of *October*, in the thirty eighth year of his Reign as *Cæsar* and Emperor, and the forty fourth of his Age *Taurus* and *Florentius* being Consuls. He declar'd *Julian* his Successor, and his Death put the Apostate in quiet possession of the whole Empire. His Body was committed

Constantius dies.

Captain of his Gardes du Corps. to the care of *Jovian* his Protector *Domesticus*, and conveyed to *Constantinople*, where it was bury'd by his Father. As *Constantius* cannot be reckon'd among the best Emperors, so he is by no means to be plac'd among the worst, his Vices and Vertues being near upon a ballance: He was Temperate, Courteous, Liberal, and Affable; he was not Eloquent, yet he affected to be thought a fine Speaker; he was a great favourer of Learning, very active at all manner of Exercises, particularly he was a skilful Archer, and industrious in every thing he undertook; but being naturally suspicious, his Flatterers often impos'd on his Credulity, and perswaded him to be cruel. The Empress *Eusebia* favoring *Arianism*, he, who was an uxorious Man, fell in with the *Arian* Hereticks, and banish'd many Orthodox Bishops from their Dioceses: He left the Empress *Frontina*, whom he had marry'd at *Antioch*, big with Child, and she was after his Death deliver'd of a Daughter, who was nam'd *Constantina* and marry'd to the Emperor *Gratian*.

We thought it proper in this place, before we enter on the History of the Emperor *Julian* the Apostate to give a short account of the State of Religion in the Reign of *Constantius*, and his two Brothers. We have told the Reader, that the Dispute between the *Arians* and the *Orthodox*, began in their Fathers Reign. The

Arbana

*Athanasius* was persecuted for opposing the growth of *Arianism*, on which account he rais'd himself many Potent Enemies, who procur'd him to be banish'd: *Arius* dy'd a year before *Constantine the Great*, whose eldest Son *Constantine*, mediated with his Brother for *Athanasius*, and prevail'd with them to permit him to return to his Bishoprick: But the Emperor *Constantius* espousing the *Arian* Party, so powerful a Faction was rais'd against him, that the Council of *Antioch* in the year 341. depos'd him, and he was forc'd to fly for Protection to Pope *Julius*. 'Tis said, that while he was at *Rome* he compos'd the *Creed*, which to this day goes under his Name. After his second Abdication, the Council of *Sardica*, where the Orthodox Party had the Majority, declar'd him Innocent: The same did that of *Jerusalem* in 349. The Divisions between those that call'd themselves Christians, and the incoherency of the Decrees of the several Councils, gave great Scandal to the profession of their Holy Religion, which, excepting the Feuds and Distractions that were caus'd by the *Arian* Heresie, was now in a most flourishing Condition; the Name of Christ was preach'd in *Persia*, and Churches settled in *India*, even to the most distant corners of the World were the glad tidings of the Gospel born. But what advantage had the Heathen by the Schisms that daily encreast in the Church, and how could the Christians hope to make Converts to their Faith, when they could not agree among themselves on the Articles that were necessary to be believ'd? *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, who was chosen Pope on the Death of *Julius*, for siding with *Athanasius*, was turn'd out of his See by the *Arians*; but he rather chose to condemn the Bishop of *Alexandria*, than live long in Exile: However, the eternal Truths remain'd pure in the Hearts of the best part of the Primitive Church, and at last triumph'd over the Fraud and Violence of Pagan and Heretical Persecutors. In *Constantius's* Reign dy'd *Paul*, the first Hermit, being 113 years old, of which he liv'd 90 in the Desert: He is the Father of *Monkery*. The Councils of *Ariminum*, *Seleucia*, and *Constantinople*, were held under this Emperor, in which, and in other Councils and Synods, sometimes the *Arians*, and sometimes the Orthodox prevail'd.

*Rimini in  
Cilicia.*

*Julian.*

## Julian.

Transil-  
vania,  
Molda-  
via, Wal-  
lachia.

Which part  
Dacia and  
Thrace  
Romania.

High-  
Priest.

Jovian having laid *Constantius* in his Grave, the chief Officers Civil and Military, dispatch'd *Theolaiplus* and *Aligildus* to *Julian*, to inform him of his Cousin's Death, and desire him to hasten his march into the East, where they were ready to receive his Commands. These Messengers found him in *Dacia*, where he had been very busie, prying into the entrails of Beasts, and observing the flights of Birds, though he had such doubtful answers from the *Aruspices*, that he was in as much suspence as ever, about the issue of his Usurpation. On the arrival of the two Deputies from *Constantinople*, he grew elevated with his good fortune, and with his usual diligence order'd the Army to descend the Mountains of *Succi*, and proceed to *Phillipopolis*, on the Banks of the *Heber* in *Thrace*: He follow'd them in Person, and made his Publick Entry into *Constantinople* in December.

The first thing he did after his Inauguration, was to punish such of the late Emperor's Ministers, as had most offended himself and the People. *Apodemius*, who was concern'd in his Brother *Gallus*'s Murder, and *Paul* the Notary, were burnt alive; the Eunuch *Eusebius* was put to Death, and many more who fell unlamented and unpity'd, for their Insolence in the days of their Favour and Power. *Arberio* he not only Pardon'd, but appointed him to sit as Judge upon those that had misdeemean'd themselves in the last Reign. Now that he had no body to fear or oppose him, he commanded by his Edicts, that the *Pagan* Temples should be open'd, that Sacrifices should be offer'd as formerly, and the Worship of the Heathen Deities be restor'd: Himself according to the custom of the *Roman* Emperors, took on him the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. He knew the best way to settle his own Religion, was to tolerate all others; and therefore he summon'd the *Orthodox* and *Arian* Bishops to Court, bad them bury all Dissentions amongst themselves, and let every Man live after his own way; by which general liberty of Conscience, the Heathens were tollerated, as well as the Hereticks: He had a further design by his Indulgence; he imagin'd this Liberty would

would beget more differences among Christians, A.D. 361.

and their Divisions in Opinion, create Divisions in Interest, which would weaken their Strength, which was dangerous while they were united. To ingratiate himself with the Populace, he began to reform the Court, and the Manners of the Courtiers, who were given to an excessive height of Luxury, both in Feasting and Apparel, which by his example he corrected, and brought the Soldiery to their ancient Plainness and Temperance in Dress and Diet. Having order'd all things in his Court and Camp as he thought convenient, he consulted with his Council what Enterprize would be most for the benefit of the Commonwealth, whether he should make War upon the *Goths*, a faithless People, or turn his Arms on the *Persians*. He was advis'd to attack the former; but his own opinion was to march against the latter, as the more noble Enemy. By the Fame of his former Conquests, he became dreadful to the Nations that had offended the *Romans*: The *Armenians* implor'd his Protection, the *Indians* courted him by their Embassadors, the *Moors* offer'd their Service to him, the *Bosphorani* desir'd that their Tribute might be accepted, and themselves be permitted to live in quiet: Add to these Addresses, the Surrender of *Aquileia* to his Troops, as we have already related, all which so transported him, that he thought nothing too great for him to undertake; and being flatter'd by a Priest of the Sun, that as he was like *Alexander* in Person, so he should be like him in Fortune, his Thoughts ran wholly on the *Persian War*.

*The Gets dwelling in the Country now inhabited by the Budziack Tartars.*

*Crim-Tartars.*

*Harbinger.*

While he staid at *Constantinople*, he put forth several Edicts to restrain the extortion of his Officers in his Treasury, to confirm the Priviledges of the Senators, and regulate the *Cursus Publicus*, ordering that no Horses or Carriages should be prest, unless 'twas for his own use or the *Præfects*; and to encourage Physicians in their Study for the preservation of the Health of Mankind, he order'd they should be free from all kind of services. Many other good Laws were made by him, while he resided in his Imperial City, to which he was very bountiful, being the place of his Nativity: Not for any respect he bore to the Memory of its Founder, he beautify'd it with new Buildings, and built a Harbour for security of Merchant-Ships that Traded either from the *South*.



362.  
In Bithy-  
nia.

Said Jay-  
ers.

Beard-  
hater.

When all things were ready for his Expedition into *Asia*, he crost over to *Chalcedon*, and from thence went forward to *Nicomedia*; thence to *Nice*, and so on to the Borders of *Galaria*, where he turn'd a little out of the way to Visit an old Temple dedicated to *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods. He paid his Devotions with Sacrifices and Vows, and then went forward to *Antioch*, where he was receiv'd as if he had been one of the Sons of *Cybele*, a God descended from the Skies. While he stay'd here, *Gaudentius*, whom *Constantius* had sent into *Africa* to secure those Provinces against him, was apprehended and put to death. At *Antioch* he was at a prodigious Expence, to buy up droves of Beasts and Quantities of white Birds for Victims and Entrails, into which his *Auspices* were always poring to find out what wou'd be the Success of his Enterprize: The Charge was so immense that it became burdensome, and the Extravagant Consumption of so much Meat, together with what must necessarily be taken up for the Subsistence of his Court, and the innumerable Crouds that follow'd it, made Provisions grow scarce and dear at *Antioch*; yet out of an Affectation of Popularity, he wou'd beat down the Price much lower than the Citizens cou'd afford them at: They remonstrated to him it cou'd not be done without ruining them; however he was positive, that the Market shou'd be as he wou'd have it, which turn'd the Love of the *Antiochians* into Hatred, and their Carriage on this occasion was the Subject of the Satyr he wrote upon them, call'd *Misopogon*, or the *Antiochian* full of raillery and invectives. The Citizens in answer to his Satyr call'd him *Victimarius*, reflecting on the Number of his Sacrifices *Cercops*, a Dwarf stretching out his Shoulders, thrusting forth his Goats Beard, and Strutting like another *Ephialtes*, mention'd in *Homer* for his extraordinary Stature. Two Accidents happen'd while he was at *Antioch*, at which he was very much griev'd: One was the burning of the Magnificent Temple of *Apollo*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes*, Founder of the City, had erected in the Suburbs, and a Statue of him in it as big as that of *Jupiter Olympius*: The Temple is said to be beset on fire by *Asclepiades* the Philosopher, who came thither to Visit *Julian*, and going to the Temple carry'd with him a little Silver Image of the *Carthaginian* Goddess, call'd *Dea Caelestis*, and plac'd it under the Statue of *Apollo*. The

Philosopher

Philosopher lighted up some Wax Candles about his Image as the Custom was, and then went his way: Some sparks of these Candles catching hold of old and combustible matter that was near 'em, kindled it into a flame, and it being in the dead of the Night when there was none to put it out, the Fire by degrees seiz'd and consum'd that Lofty Fabrick. *Julian* was more than ordinarily troubled at this disaster; he caus'd strict inquisition to be made about it, and commanded the Great Church of *Antioch* to be shut up, imagining the Christians had set the Temple on Fire. Tho' this Charge was without any manner of ground, yet it helpt to increase his Hatred of the Religion he had deserted, which he endeavour'd to destroy by all the subtle methods which the Malice of the Devil cou'd invent: He knew the Christian Religion was grounded on the Jewish; that the Christians held the Jewish Laws to be Sacred, and Worship'd the same Deity, the God of *Abraham*: That they differ'd only from the *Jews* about the *Messiah*, who the one said was already come, and had abrogated the old Ceremonies, and the other that he was not come; owning they expected him; but they lookt for his appearance to be like a Victorious Monarch, who shou'd subdue the whole World to the Dominion of the *Jews*. The Christians taught a new System of Divinity more pure and more reasonable, the Truths of whose Doctrine were so convincing, that they had gain'd more Profelytes in three Centuries, than the *Jews* had done since the deluge. *Julian* thought if he cou'd restore the Temple of *Jerusalem*, the old Services and Sacrifices that were once practis'd there, 'twou'd be a means to put a stop to the growth of Christianity, which was suppos'd to succeed Judaism. To this end he order'd *Alypius* an *Antiochian* to see the Temple rebuilt. *Alypius* prosecuted the Work with the Assistance of the Governour of the Province, and the Contributions of the *Jews*, whom the Emperor had encourag'd to return to their *Holy City*, and the Temple he design'd to re-edify: But (so says *Ammianus* a Heathen) dreadful Balls of fire broke out of the ground, where the Foundations were laid, and consum'd the Works, which put an end to the Apostate's daring Impiety. Another accident that disturb'd him was, *Felix* and *Julian*, two of his Principal Officers dy'd suddenly, and the Stile of the Emperor being *Julianus Felix Augustus*,  
E

A.D. 363. *stus*, 'twas thought ominous that he who was *Augustus* shou'd be nam'd with *Julian* and *Felix*, who were both dead. Several things happen'd at *Antioch*, which were enough to deter a Person so superstitious as *Julian*, from undertaking the *Persian War*, had he not been so fond of acquiring the Sirname of *Persicus*, that nothing cou'd put it out of his Head. When he enter'd the Temple of the *Genii*, one of the Elder Priests dropt down dead, which his Flatterers about him interpreted to Prognosticate the Death of *Sallust*, who was his Fellow *Consul* the following Year, and the elder Man. Whereas, if it signify'd any thing, it portended the Fate of him that was eldest in Power; yet he was so far from being discourag'd by the ill Omens, that he refus'd the assistance offer'd him by the Embassadors of many Nations, to serve him in the War with King *Sapor*.

363.

When he left *Antioch*, he made one *Alexander* of *Hierapolis* Governour of *Syria*, for no other reason but that being a Turbulent Cruel Man, he might deal by the Covetous Gripping *Antiochians*, as they deserv'd. The Citizens at his departure waited upon him, wish'd him a good Journey and a glorious return, and pray'd him to be mild and gentle to 'em for the future: He was so angry with them for their reflections upon him, and their Names of reproach, that he only answer'd, *He wou'd never see them more*; as it fell out perhaps contrary to his expectation. He hasten'd his March towards *Mesopotamia*, and arriv'd at the Frontiers in *March*, intending to be before-hand with the *Persians*, and set upon them unawares. He pass'd the *Euphrates* by a Bridge of Boats, and

A Province  
of Persia  
then under  
the Ro-  
mans.

came to *Batnae* in *Osdroena*, and from thence to *Carba*, an Ancient Town, famous for the overthrow of *Crassus* and the Roman Army. Here he stay'd sometime to furnish his Troops with necessaries. He Sacrific'd to the Moon, and 'tis said that when he was before the Altar, no body being near him, he secretly deliver'd his Purple Military Coat to *Procopius*, his Kinsman, with orders to seize upon the Empire if he miscarry'd in his expedition. At Night he was disturb'd by ill Dreams, which both himself and his Wizards declar'd, regarded some ill accidents which shou'd fall out the next Day: And accordingly the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus* at *Rome* was burnt, the fire being so fierce the Priests had scarce time to save the

the Verses of *Sybilla Cumana*, which were deposited there. A.D. 363.  
 He muster'd his Army, and found it to be 65000 strong,  
 besides 30000 Men under the command of *Procopius* and  
*Sebastian* Governour of *Aegypt*, whom he order'd to take  
 another Road by the Province of *Chilcomus* in *Media*,  
 and to joyn him in *Affyria*. He gave out that himself  
 wou'd march the same way, but turning to the Right, he  
 thought to confound the Enemy by dividing his Troops,  
 and attacking them on two sides at once. When he arriv'd  
 at *Callinifus*, he Celebrated the Feast of *Cybele*: The next  
 Day he march'd by the side of the River *Belias*, which  
 falls into the *Euphrates*, and pitch'd his Camp in a Plain,  
 where he was saluted by the Petty Princes of the *Saracens*,  
 who presented him with a Crown of Gold, and  
 pay'd him Homage on their Knees, not only as their So-  
 vereign, but as *Lord of the World*. He entertain'd them  
 very civilly, designing to make use of their Service in  
 the War. He proceeded to the Mouth of the River,  
 where his Fleet under the Command of *Constantianus*, and  
*Lucilianus* appear'd on the *Euphrates*; it consisted of 50  
 Men of War, 1000 Transport Ships, and others to make  
 Bridges as occasion should require. Here he mounted the  
 Tribunal and spoke to his Army to animate them in the  
 War: He also distributed a Donative for their further  
 encouragement. He gave the command of the Foot to  
*Victor*, and of the Horse to *Hormisdas* a *Persian*, the King's  
 Brother, who having been ill us'd by him fled to *Con-*  
*stantine*, and had giv'n sufficient Proofs of his Fidelity:  
 However to prevent the worst, he joyn'd *Arintheus* in *Julian in-*  
 Commission with him. In the beginning of *April* he *vades Per-*  
 arriv'd at *Cercusium*, seated on two Rivers, *Abora* and *sia*.  
*Euphrates*. In this City he receiv'd Letters from *Sallust*  
 his Fellow *Consul*, intreating him to put off his Expedi-  
 tion against the *Parthians* till the Divine Powers were *Persians.*  
 pacify'd. *Julian* slighted this wholesome Counsel, and  
 the more he was perswaded to give it over, the more  
 confident he seem'd of Success. At *Dura* a Lyon of vast  
 bigness presented himself to the Army, and was immedi-  
 ately dispatch'd by the Soldiers, which he took for ano-  
 ther happy Omen, tho' his Augurers were divided in the  
 matter, some taking it for a good one, and some for a  
 bad: Both sides urg'd several Arguments and Examples  
 to back their Opinion, which are too trivial to be interted  
 here. A Soldier, nam'd *Jovian*, leading two Horses from  
 watering,



A.D. 363. watering, was struck dead with Thunder and Lightning, which occasion'd another dispute among his *Wisemen*; Part of 'em declaring 'twas a warning to him to desist, and Part that it signify'd *Brightness* and *Glory*: The latter Construction agreeing best with *Julian's* Inclination, he takes this occasion to make another Speech to the Army, and meeting the Applause he desir'd from them, he enter'd the Borders of *Assyria*; where fearing to fall into an Ambuscade he divided his Forces into four Bodies, appointing a Party of 1500 Men to march in front and flank to give warning on all occasions: Himself led the main Body, *Nevita* Commanded the Right Wing, which he order'd to march by the side of the *Euphrates*, and *Hormisdas* and *Arintheus* the Left; the Rear was conducted by *Victor*, *Dagalaiphus*, and *Secundinus* the *Duke* of *Osfuena*; he enlarg'd his Ranks that his Army might appear more numerous than 'twas, to strike the greater terror into the Enemy. His Front, by this means was almost 10 Miles distant from his Rear: His Baggage he plac'd within the Wings, that his Cavalry might secure it from any sudden Irruption of the *Persians*, his Ships coasted along the Shoar as near as cou'd be to the Route he took, that the Army and Fleet might mutually assist each other.

Governour.

The first Place he attack'd was *Anathan*, a Fort standing in a little Island in the *Euphrates*, the *Persians* surrender'd on Summons, and drove out an Ox with a Garland on his Head, which was a Signal of Peace. *Julian* commanded the Fort to be demolish'd. *Pusien* the Governor who yielded it to him, was made a Tribune, and afterwards *Præfect* of *Egypt*: The rest of the Garrison with their Effects were sent to *Chalcis* in *Syria*. Among them was found a *Roman* Soldier, who when *Maximian* Invaded this Country serv'd under him, and was left behind by reason of Sickness: He was very young at that time, and had marry'd several Wives before *Julian* came into *Assyria*, and having liv'd near seventy Years with his *Persian* Wives, had a Numerous Issue by them, whom he rejoyc'd to carry with him into the *Roman* Territories, where he had often foretold he shou'd be bury'd, tho' there was little probability of it when he said it. The next Day the Army suffer'd extremly by a furious Tempest, and the over-flowing of the River: The further they march'd, the greater was their danger, and the Emperor was very watchful to prevent their being surpriz'd, sometimes riding

Governour.

riding at the head of his Troops, at other times he would A.D. 363. bring them up, as he thought his Presence was most necessary, in the Front or the Rear. He took in such Forts as surrender'd on Summons, but slighted others that were not of much Importance, and would take time to reduce. *Ozogardana* was deserted by the Inhabitants, and here a Tribunal which *Trajan* had erected was still to be seen.

*Julian* wonder'd he met with no opposition; he therefore sent out *Hormisda*, who knew the Country best, to make discoveries. The *Persian* had like to have fall'n into the Hands of his Countrymen, a Party of their Men being out to lye in wait for him, but the River was swell'd so high it hinder'd their Passage: The *Romans* meeting them afterwards, attackt and forc'd them to retire. The Emperor had hitherto met with little difficulty, but being arriv'd near *Pyrisabora*, he sent *Hormisda* to summon the Town: The Inhabitants refus'd to surrender, rejected his Arguments with scorn and call'd him *Traytor*. However after a Siege of two Days, in which *Julian* signaliz'd himself by breaking open one of the Gates, they cry'd out for Pardon and obtain'd it. The taking of this City, the greatest in *Assyria*, next to *Ctesiphon*, gave a Reputation to the Emperor's Arms, and was very seasonable, there being plenty of Provisions and Necessaries in the Town, which when the Stores were remov'd was fir'd. The next Day *Julian* as he was at Dinner, hearing that a Party of the Enemy had fall'n upon his Scouts, kill'd a Tribune and some Soldiers, and taken their Ensigns, he rose in a Passion, took his Guards with him, persu'd the *Persians*, and recover'd the Honour he thought he had lost by the defeat of his Men. He Castig'd the Officers that surviv'd the former Action for not doing their duty. The Army sometime after mutiny'd on account of a Donative of 100 *Nummi* which he promis'd them: They dissatisfis'd the Summ as not worth their acceptance, had it been ready Money. *Julian* endeavour'd to sweeten and appease them by a Speech, wherein he shew'd them that the Treasury was so empty by the Negligence of his Predecessors, the Cities so exhausted and the Provinces harraught, that they must not expect such Donatives to be distributed, as when the Common-Wealth was in its Splendor and Mistress of the Riches of the World. There is something so truly *Roman* in this Speech, we believe the

About 165.

A.D. 363. Reader will be pleas'd to see it in his own words translated into English. I have neither any Treasury of my own, nor Kindred to supply me, tho' Nobly descended; only a Breast that's void of all Fear; neither shall an Emperor, who places all that's Excellent in the Ornament of the mind, be ashamed to own Honest Poverty: For the Fabritii, Poor in Estate, manag'd very Great Wars, and were Rich in Glory. We shall also abound with all good things, if you carry yourselves Couragiously and Modestly under the Conduct of God and my self, who shall govern you with as great Circumspection as Humane Reason will allow of; but if you will be mutinous, proceed in your way, I for my part, as becomes an Emperor, having alone finish'd a Course of so great things, will aye standing and contemning that Life, which some piteful Fever may take from me; or truly I can quit my Place; for I have not so liv'd but I can easily return to a Private Condition: And I may boast that here are present most Excellent Commanders of Perfect Experience and Skill in all matters relating to War. The Soldiers were satisfy'd for the present, and promis'd to be obedient. He then went forward to Maiozamalcha, a great City fortify'd with strong Walls, to which he laid Siege, and himself going to view the Town with a very small Guard, ten Persians arm'd at all Points, sally'd out at a Postern and fell upon him and his Company; two of the Enemy knowing him by his Habit, fought resolutely to dispatch him; but he defended himself so well with his Target that having kill'd one of them, the other was slain by his Followers, and their Companions meeting such resistance fled back to the City. The Emperor, deliver'd from this danger, return'd to his Camp in Triumph, carrying with him the Golden Collar of the Persian he had slain, as a Trophy of his Victory. The Town was taken by Storm, and the Townsmen put to the Sword; the Spoil was all giv'n to the Soldiers, Julian refusing to touch any part of it except a dumb Boy that cou'd play Tricks, and three Golden Coins. As for the Women, tho' the Persians were esteem'd the most Beautiful in the World, yet he wou'd not see one of them, imitating the Continnence of Alexander the Great, and Scipio Africanus on the like occasion. The Romans having laid several Bridges over some little Rivulets by which they were to pass, proceeded farther into the Enemies Country: Victor who lead the Forlorn, was oppos'd by one of the King of Persia's Sons, who would

would have disputed his Passage over the Rivulets; but on the approach of the main Body of *Julian's* Army, the *Persians* retir'd. The *Romans* continuing their march, came to a delicious Valley, in which one of the King's Houses was seated; they spar'd it because it was built after the *Roman* Model. As they advanc'd beyond *Seleucia* the *Persians* made a feint on their Front, while another Party of them surpriz'd their Rear, took part of their Baggage and Carriages, made those that guarded them Prisoners, which extreamly mortify'd the Emperor, and being impatient to revenge the loss, he attack'd a Fort near *Ctesiphon*, the Capital City of *Affyria*, to facilitate the Conquest of that City: The Garrison sally'd out on the *Romans* at the same time, that a Party of *Persians* on another side, cut off a Cohort with the Tribune that commanded it. *Julian* was enrag'd at the resistance he met with, and animating his Troops by his Example, they drove back the Enemy to the Fort: He afterwards push'd on his Attacks with such obstinacy, that he master'd it and levell'd it with the Ground.

He had yet no great cause to complain of his Fortune; and his Success, instead of confirming his Courage to attempt things which were in themselves feasible, swell'd him up with so much Vanity and Conceit of his Glory, that he fancy'd there was nothing too difficult for him to undertake: Despising all manner of danger, he manag'd himself in the sequel of this War rather like a rash inconsiderate Prince, than a Brave and Prudent General. In his march towards *Ctesiphon* he came to a Canal, which the Emperors *Trajan* and *Severus* order'd to be cut for a Communication of the *Tygrus* with the *Euphrates*. The *Persians*, to prevent any such design, had choak'd it up with Stones, but *Julian* had it cleans'd and made serviceable for the use *Trajan* intended it. On the other side of the River, the *Persian* Army was drawn up to receive the *Romans* at their Landing. The *Persians* fled at the first onset, and were pers'u'd as far as the Walls of *Ctesiphon*, which the *Romans* had enter'd with them, had not *Victor* earnestly entreated 'em not to venture further, lest they shou'd be encompass'd and cut off by the Numbers of the Enemy that were in the City: After this Victory, which cost him no more than 70 Men, tho' 2500 of the *Persians* were left dead on the Place, *Julian* Sacrific'd to his God *Mars*, 10 of the finest Bulls that



A.D. 363. cou'd be procur'd, and for some ill Omens that attended the Sacrifices, swore he wou'd never more offer a Victim to the God of War, which Vow he never recall'd, nor liv'd long enough to recant.

When he approach'd nearer to *Ctesiphon*, he held a Council of War, in which 'twas resolv'd to send a Detachment under the Command of *Arintheus*, to scour the Country and disperse several Parties of the Enemy that were out, and watch'd opportunities to incommode the Army. Every thing that stop'd him in his march, he look'd on as an obstacle to his Glory. When his Council advis'd him to be wary in his Proceedings, he reproacht them with their Love of Ease, and that for their own satisfaction, they wou'd have him lose the Kingdom of *Persia*, he was so discontented with them that he consulted their Opinions very seldom, giving himself up wholly to the dictates of his Ambition, which had form'd so many Chimerical notions of imitating *Alexander the Great* in the *Persian* War, that he wou'd hearken to nothing that was contrary to his Projected Conquests. Here he committed one of the most Impolitick Actions a reasonable Man cou'd be guilty of; being deceiv'd by the mis-informations of some Deserters, who pretended to shew him up into the Heart of the Country a nearer way than to follow the turnings and windings of the River, as he had hitherto done, he turn'd from it to the Right, and commanded all his Ships to be set on fire, except twelve of the smaller size, which were taken to pieces and convey'd in Waggon to serve for making of Bridges. He had two reasons to destroy his Fleet, the one was to prevent its falling into the Enemies Hands, the other to make use of the Men ashoar, his Army being so much diminish'd that it could ill spare 20000 Men to Man the Ships, which was the least of their Compliment. When the *Romans* saw their Fleet on fire they began to consider what they shou'd do, if by the barrenness or height of the Mountains the Ways shou'd be render'd unpassable, and how they shou'd make their retreat when their Ships were destroy'd; the Clamours of the Army on this account were so great, that *Julian* was forc'd to rack the Deserters who had advis'd him to it. The *Persians* confest they did it to deceive him. The Emperor immediately order'd the Flames to be quench'd; but his Orders came too late, for the fire had consum'd most of the Vessels: There were only twelve

twelve remaining untouch'd of the whole *Roman Fleet*. A.D. 363.

The *Persians* perceiving he had made this false step, laid the Country waste as much as possible, to cut off his Provisions, and often appear'd in several Bodies to insult the *Romans*, who had a long debate in Counsel what Road they shou'd take: They in the end resolv'd to march for *Corduena*.

On the 17th of *June*, *Machameus*, who led the advanc'd Guards, met with a Party of the Enemy, fought and was slain in the Skirmish; his Brother *Maurus* reveng'd his death, slew the Man that kill'd him, and forc'd the *Persians* to retire.

At *Hucumbra*, a Village not far off, the *Romans* contrary to their expectations found plenty of all sorts of Provisions; they burnt what they cou'd not carry off, and then proceeded by a slow march: the *Persians* fell on their Rear, but were repulst by the Cavalry with the loss of *Adaces*, who had formerly been Ambassador to *Constantinus*. At *Marangæ* some Miles further, *Merenes* General of the *Persian* Horse appear'd with a great Body of *Persians*, having in his Company two of the King's Sons. The *Romans* were a little terrify'd at the sight of their Elephants; however *Julian* with an undaunted Courage drew them up in *Battalia* in the form of a Crescent, charg'd the Enemy, broke their Ranks, and made a great slaughter, tho' not without considerable loss on his own *Fights the* side: Both *Romans* and *Persians* were so tir'd with the *Persians*. fatigue of their march and the Battel, that three Days Truce was willingly agreed on. In this time the *Romans* *Makes a* had little relief besides Rest and Ease, which are small *Truce*. comforts to a hungry Belly; they cou'd come at no Provisions, the Corn, Grass and every thing that wou'd have subsisted them being burnt up: All that kept them quiet was the Example of the Emperor, who contented himself with the Fare and Allowance of the meanest Soldier, and divided his own and his Officers Victuals among them. The Night before the Truce expir'd, *Julian* in imitation of *Julius Caesar*, rose to meditate on some Philosophical Points, and in the dead of the Night he beheld the publick *Genius*, which 'tis said he had seen in *Gaul*, when he was chosen Emperor by his Soldiers: The Vision appear'd in a Mournful Habit and Mein, its Head cover'd with a *Cornucopia*, and moving by him in this dejected Posture, it vanish'd. *Julian* was surpriz'd at the appearance

A.D. 363. appearance of the Vision, but recollecting his Courage, he went to his Devotions, and then he saw an Exhalation in the Skies, in the shape of a Torch, which shooting through the Air, fell down, and also vanish'd. He was afraid, 'twas Mars's Star, which threaten'd him for the Disrespect he had shewn that Divinity; and before Day broke, he order'd the *Hetruscan Aruspices* to be sent for, who pronounc'd it Ominous, and that they read in the *Tarquitian Books* when such a Meteor appear'd, 'twould be fatal to give Battel. As Superstitious as *Julian* was, his Ambition prevail'd, and contrary to the Opinion of the *Augurs*, he commanded the Army to decamp as soon as it was Light, and would not put off his March for a few Hours, as the *Augurs* advis'd him. The *Persians* not daring to come to a formal Engagement, distress their Enemies, by tacking 'em sometimes in the Flank, and sometimes in the Rear: *Julian* having Information that his Rear was engag'd, forgetting to put on his Armour, snatch'd up a Target, and ran to their Assistance. He had no sooner joyn'd himself to the Rear, than he was recall'd by a fresh Alarm, that the *Persians* had attack'd the main Body. The *Romans* in the left Wing not being able to endure the noise and smell of the Elephants, were put in some Disorder, which the Emperor perceiving, rode up and down to encourage them by his Words and Actions, and succeeded so far, that he recover'd the ground they had lost. The *Persians* in their turn began to ply; and with his hands lifted up like a Suppliant, he beg'd his Soldiers to push on their Victory: Those that were near his Person, advis'd him not to pursue a numerous and powerful Enemy too far: The Emperor neglecting all Counsel, rush'd amidst the thickest of the Rout, and was struck through the Arm into the Side with a Javelin.

*A second  
Battle.*

*He is wounded.*

'Tis uncertain from whom he receiv'd his Wound, whether from his own Men, or the Enemy. Endeavouring to pull out the Weapon, he cut the Sinews of his Fingers, fell on his Horses Neck, and was carry'd to his Tent to be dress'd; the Pain abating a little, he call'd for his Horse and Armour, and would have return'd to the Combat, but his Strength fail'd him. Hearing the Place of Battel was call'd *Phrygia*, he despair'd of Life, having been told by his *Magicians*, that he should die in *Phrygia*. After the Emperor was carry'd off Wounded,

the Roman right Wing was worsted, and the *Persians* A.D. 363.  
 rallying continu'd the Fight with equal Advantage  
 till Night parted 'em. While the two Armies were  
 engaging, *Julian* lay in his Tent in a languishing Con-  
 dition, and observing such as were about him, to look  
 dejected and sorrowful, he spoke to them to this pur-  
 pose. *His Hour being come, he was ready to pay his last*  
*Debt to Nature, as an honest and well-meaning Debtor with-*  
*out Reluctancy; for he was sufficiently instructed, that the*  
*Soul is in a much better Condition than the Body, and*  
*that when one passes out of a worse Estate into a better,*  
*we ought to rejoyce, rather than be troubled, Death be-*  
*ing the greatest Reward the Immortal Gods can bestow on*  
*Pious Men.* He said, He repented of no Action of his  
 Life, either as a Private Man, or an Emperor: That he  
 had liv'd without Blemish, and govern'd with Moderation:  
 That he never made War Offensive or Defensive without  
 reason, though the Issue which depends alone on the will of  
 Heaven, was not answerable. He had concluded with him-  
 self, that the end of Government, is the advantage and  
 safety of good Subjects; and he had to their knowledge,  
 been more inclin'd to Peace and Tranquility, than Tumult  
 and War; yet where-ever his Mother the Commonwealth  
 call'd him, he stood there Immoveable, and despi'd all  
 Dangers. He added, He was not asham'd to confess he  
 understood he should die in War; and thank'd the Gods,  
 that he did not perish by any Conspiracy, nor languish un-  
 der any Disease, nor suffer'd as a Criminal; but in the  
 middle course of his Flourishing Glories went out of the  
 World crown'd with Victory. He was of opinion, that those  
 equally deserv'd to be thought Cowards, who desire to die  
 when they ought to live, as those who shun Death, when  
 they might die with Honour. He avoid'd naming a Suc-  
 cessor, lest he should pass by a worthy Person; or by na-  
 ming one he thought worthy, expose him to eminent Dan-  
 ger, if another should be prefer'd; but as a Dutiful Son  
 of the Commonwealth, wish'd her a good Governor in his  
 room. Having done speaking, he discours'd with *Max-*  
*imus* and *Priscus*, two Philosophers, of the Immortality  
 of the Soul, and without shewing any fear of Death,  
 he expir'd about Midnight on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, in the *Dis.*  
 two and thirtieth year of his Age, himself the fourth  
 time, and *Sallustius* Præfect of Gaul being Consuls.  
 After he had reign'd only one year and eight Months :  
 And



A.D. 363. And in him ended the Race of *Constantius Chlorus*.

He was the Son of *Julius Constantius*, Brother to *Constantine the Great*: His Mother's Name was *Basilina*. The unhappiness of his Education, very much contributed to his Apostacy: His Masters both for Grammar and Rhetorick were *Pagans*. *Constantine* sent him to *Nicomeda*, to be bred up by *Eusebius* the Bishop, who instructed him in the Christian Religion, which he publicly profess'd; but soon after he was entirely perverted from the Truth by *Maximus Philosophus* a Magician, and in private practis'd the Heathen Rites and Worship. However to amuse *Constantius*, he enter'd into Holy Orders, and read the Scriptures to the People. He joyn'd with his Brother *Gallus Caesar* in building a Church to the Memory of the Martyr *Mammæ*. 'Twas observ'd ev'n then, that his part of the Building went on very heavily, and that *Gallus's* was finish'd in a little time. When he was advanc'd to the Empire, and had thrown off the Mask of his Hypocrisie, he discover'd his hidden Malice against the Christians, and permitted the *Pagans* to abuse and insult them at Pleasure. If the Christians were provok'd by their Scurrillous Language, to reflect on the Idolatry of the Heathens, they fell upon them, and murder'd them, as at *Gaza*, *Heliopolis* and *Arethusa*. He call'd the Saviour of the World *Galilean*; and was so ridiculous in his Malice, as to command by an Edict, that the Christians should be call'd *Galileans*, thinking by setting this publick Reproach upon them, to render their Religion Contemptible, as well as their Persons. He prohibited the Children of Christians to be taught Rhetorick, Philosophy, or Poetry, saying, *We are shot with our own Feathers*: To prevent which, he order'd they should have no Schools, lest by the advantage of Learning, they might be the better able to oppose the Disputants of the *Gentiles*: He Commanded, that such as would not forsake Christianity, should be excluded from all Offices in the *Prætorian Cohorts*, and from the Government of Provinces. The true Christians threw off their Military Girdles, choosing rather to quit their Places, than deny their God; among whom were *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, who were afterwards Emperors. He violated the Rights of Nations out of his hatred to Christianity, and order'd *Minuel* and *Ismaet*, two Embassadors from *Persia*,

*Persia*, to be put to Death at *Chalcedon*, because they were Christians. *Maris* the Bishop of this City, reproaching him with his Apostacy and Impiety, the Emperor answer'd, *Thy Galilean will not cure thee of thy Blindness*; the good old Man reply'd, *I thank God for striking me Blind, that my Eyes might not be sully'd with the sight of such an Apostate as thou art.* He put forth Edicts, to take away from the Churches their Lands and Plate, which was perform'd with Military execution, and much Cruelty. He laid a Tax on all those that would not Sacrifice to defray the charge of the *Persian War*, resolving when that Expedition was over, to lay all his Christian Subjects under a sort of Civil Excommunication, to take from them the protection and benefit of the Law, and to abandon them to the mercy of their Enemies; but it pleas'd God to put an end to the fears of his faithful Servants, by the Death of the Apostate: Which joyful News 'tis reported was miraculously convey'd to the Christians at *Antioch*; where *Libanius* the *Sophist*, whom *Julian* in his Epistles calls his Dearest Brother, asking a Christian Schoolmaster *what the Carpenter's Son was doing*? he reply'd, *The Creator of the World, whom you in Derision call the Carpenter's Son, is making a Coffin for Julian.* *Athanasius*, whom the Emperor restor'd to his See, and afterwards Banish'd, perceiving some of his Friends wept, comforted them a few days before they heard of *Julian's* Death, saying, *fear nothing, this is but a Cloud.* *Theodore* affirms, when *Julian* felt himself wounded, he cry'd out, *Vicisti Galilae*, thou hast conquer'd Oh *Galilean!* and threw the Javelin into the Air: The Citizens of *Antioch* sung Songs of Triumph upon those words, crying, *God and his Christ have gotten the Victory.* His Body was convey'd to *Tarsus*, and there bury'd without any funeral Pomp, by *Procopius* his Kinsman, after the *Persian Expedition* was over. The Corpse was treated by the People with all manner of Contempt in the Towns through which 'twas carry'd. This *Procopius* had been Secretary to *Constantius*, and Favourite to *Julian*: 'Tis said, he declar'd him his Successor; but the Authors of the best Authority, speak of no such Nomination: However, to avoid giving any suspicion of his raising any troubles on that account, as soon as he had laid the late Emperor in his Grave, he retir'd, and liv'd *Inognito* all the next Reign.

The

363.

The Christian Writers, *Theodoret*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, are very bitter in their Invectives against *Julian*: *Gregory Nazianzen* calls him *Traytor*, *Murderer*, and *St. Ferom*, *Mad Dog*; which is sufficient to inform us, what Allegiance or Respect a Christian Subject owes to an Apostate persecuting Prince. The Fathers treated *Julian* with very little Ceremony: However though by his Inveteracy against their Religion, he deserv'd the terms they in the heat of their zeal gave him; yet he was a Prince otherwise endow'd with as many Moral Virtues, as ever *Roman* could boast of. He was Valiant, Liberal, Learned, Chast, Temperate, Merciful and Prudent; he had a great deal of Wit, and wrote elegantly in Verse and Prose.

The next Morning after the Death of the Emperor, the chief Officers met in Council, to deliberate about the Election of a Person to fill the vacant Throne. They unanimously chose the Consul *Sallust*, a very worthy Man; who must be arriv'd out of *Gaul* in the Camp, or he could not, as we were told he did, have excus'd himself by reason of his Age and Infirmities. They were then at a loss whom to pitch on; at last some few made mention of *Jovian*, a Captain of the Guards, and the rest knowing him to be a Man of good experience in Military Affairs, consenting, he was elected.

*Jovian*  
*chosen.*

### *Jovian.*

*Counts.*

**F***Lavianus Jovianus* was the Son of *Varronian*, of the Rank of *Comites*; he was born at *Singidunum* in *Pannonia*, and when he was grown up fit for Service, went into the Army: Being a Christian, he threw away his Military Girdle, with others of that Religion, rather than sacrifice to the *Pagan* Deities. *Julian* valuing him for his Worth and Abilities, restor'd him his Commission, and advanc'd him to be the principal *Primicerius*, an Officer next in Command to the Tribune or Colonel of the *Guard du Corps*. On the Election of *Jovian*, the Soldiers who were nearest the place where the Officers were assembled in Council, shouted *Jovianus Augustus*, which their Fellows who were encamp'd four Miles about, mistaking for *Julianus*, they joyfully joyn'd in their Acclamations, hoping the Emperor

was

was recover'd. But being undeceiv'd, their Joy was A.D. 363.  
 turn'd into Lamentations; however, their Sorrow soon  
 abated, when they reflected on the Merit of *Jovian*,  
 their present Sovereign. The New Emperor on his E-  
 lection refus'd the Purple, declaring, *he was a Christian,*  
*and would not Command a Pagan Army*, at which the  
 Soldiers cry'd out, *We are all Christians*. His first Work  
 after his Accession to the Throne, was to endeavour  
 to restore the Church to her former Peace and Prospe-  
 rity. He revok'd all the Edicts his Predecessor had put  
 forth against the Christian Religion; he recall'd the Or-  
 thodox Bishops that had been banish'd: Among these,  
*Athanasius* a third time return'd out of Exile, and  
 was met by the People of his Diocess, with shouts  
 of Joy. At *Alexandria* by consent of the Emperor, he  
 conven'd a Council, who confirm'd the Decrees of the  
 Oecumenical Synod of *Nice*, for the *Consubstantiality*  
*of the Son and the Father*, and condemn'd the Heresie  
 of *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who deny'd the  
*Godhead of the Holy Ghost*.

The Circumstances the *Roman* Army were in, made  
 the Imperial Purple a much less valuable Present to *Jovian*,  
 than it had been to his Predecessors. He was  
 surrounded by his Enemies; his Men wanted Provisions;  
 and *Sapor* hearing by a Deserter, that *Julian* was dead,  
 to improve the Consternation the *Romans* were in, ga-  
 ther'd all his Forces together, intending to fall on  
 their Rear in their Retreat. Accordingly as soon as  
*Jovian* broke up his Camp, he was attack'd by the *Per-*  
*sians*, who had plac'd their Elephants in the Front to  
 affright their Enemies. These did good execution, till  
 the *Joviani* and *Herculeani*, two of the best Legions in  
 the Army, kill'd some of them, and clear'd the way to  
 the *Persian* Cavalry, which they charg'd, assisted by the  
*Jovii* and *Victores*, two other Legions, who oblig'd the  
*Barbarians* to give Ground, and suffer the *Romans* to  
 proceed. *Julianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, three  
 Tribunes, were kill'd in this Engagement. The next  
 day *Jovian* encampt in a convenient Place, and forti-  
 fy'd his Camp: The *Persians* came up to his Trenches,  
 and reproach'd the *Romans* for killing their Emperor;  
 for they were inform'd, he receiv'd his Death's Wound  
 from one of his own Soldiers. A Party of the Enemies  
 Horse broke into the Camp, and pierc'd almost as far



A.D. 363. as the Emperor's Tent ; but they were driv'n back with considerable loss. The *Persians* so harraßt the Army by their frequent Skirmishes, that the Soldiers were quite disheartned ; and after *Jovian* had march'd further two or three days, understanding they were near their own Borders, they tumultuously demanded to repass the *Tygris*. *Jovian* and his Officers represented the Danger of such an Attempt ; that Autumn coming on, the Rivers would be swoln by the Floods, and the Enemy was posted on the opposite Shoar to hinder their Landing. They desir'd them not to Præcipitate themselves into such imminent Peril : The Soldiers impatient of Contradiction, threatned both the Emperor and his Officers, unless they pass the River *Tygris*, to revolt. *Jovian* to satisfy them, commanded 500 *Gauls*, who were expert at Swimming, first to take the Water, that if they perish'd, it might deter the rest of the Army from it. The *Gauls* succeeding better than was expected, they reach'd the further shoar in the Night, and kill'd the *Persian* Guards, who were posted there to obstruct their Passage, then gave their Fellows notice of their good fortune by a Signal. The *Romans* were the more earnest to follow the *Gauls*, and were preparing to make use of a Bridge made of Bladders for their Transportation. When *Sapor*, allarm'd at this bold Attempt of the *Gauls*, sent the Emperor offers of Peace on very hard Conditions ; yet as severe as they were, the Bridge of Bladders failing, and the *Romans* having spent all their Provisions, *Jovian* was forc'd to hearken to them. *Sallust* the Præfect and *Arintheus*, were order'd to treat with the *Persian* Embassadors, who pretended their Master was mov'd to this Treaty, out of Compassion to the remainders of the Army, that they might retreat in safety ; he only desir'd to have what was his own restor'd to him. The Provinces and Cities which *Maximian* had unjustly taken from the *Persians*, five of the Provinces were beyond the *Tygris*, *Arzanena Moxoena*, *Zabdicena*, *Rheimena*, and *Corduena*. Another the most considerable of all, *Mesopotamia*, was on this side the River, which with the Cities of *Nisibis* and *Singara*, he requir'd to be put into his Hands. *Jovian* was frighted into the Treaty by an Insinuation of some Courtiers, that *Procopius* would set up for himself, unless he hasten'd home to prevent him. For these Reasons,

*Sapor offers him Peace.*

Hunge

sons, and the necessities of his Army, he concluded a Truce for 30 years, agreeing to surrender *Nisibis*, and part of *Mesopotamia*, together with the five Provinces beyond *Tygris*. The Inhabitants of *Singara* were permitted to remove into the Roman Territories, provided *Jovian* would not assist *Arfaces* King of *Armenia*, against the *Persians*, which was the most scandalous Article of the Treaty; for *Arfaces* was a Constant, Faithful Friend to the Empire: And being deserted by his Ally, the Roman Emperor, in whose quarrel he had invaded *Sapor's* Dominions, the *Persians* after the Romans had abandon'd him, fell upon him, took him Prisoner, and seiz'd his Kingdom. The Conclusion of this Peace was an event, that for a long time employ'd the Politicians of those Days, some arguing, that the Emperor ought not to have made it, and others, that he could not avoid it. Among the former, *Ammianus* blames *Jovian* for not marching away, while the Treaty was on foot, alledging, that the Province of *Corduena* being no more than 100 Miles distant, he might easily have reach'd it, and supply'd his Army with all sorts of Provisions in so fertile a Country. Others condemn him for not breaking the Truce, after he was out of Danger, giving several Instances of the Romans doing the same in their Treaties with the *Samnites*, *Numantines* and *Numidians*. If the Peace was necessary, *Julian* is to blame for bringing the Army into such Streights by his rashness in destroying the Fleet, which would have serv'd them in their Retreat; neither was it practicable for *Jovian* to march so far as a 100 Miles, without exposing his Men, who were fatigu'd by frequent Action, and weaken'd by Hunger and Thirst, to the Insults of a numerous Enemy that waited for an opportunity to destroy them. *Zosimus* writes, that notwithstanding the Truce, they at last with great toil and loss arriv'd at *Nisibis*. As for the Allegation of such as would have had the Emperor break the Truce, no Example can justify it; and none but Heathens, or some Modern French Politicians, who wrongfully stile themselves Christians, will ever make use of it. While the Treaty depended, several Roman Soldiers ventur'd over the River by stealth, in hopes to satisfy their craving Appetites, which for two days had been without Sustenance. Hunger was an Enemy more terrible than the *Barbari-*

*A thirty  
years Truce  
concluded.*

A.D. 363.  
Jovian  
marches  
back.

ans, and leaping into the Water, some of 'em were drown'd; others reach'd the opposite shoar, and were there kill'd by the *Persians* and *Saracens*. The whole Army afterwards pass'd the River, the Emperor and his Officers crossing it first in the Boats that were left; and when they were over, the Boats were sent back again to fetch the Soldiers, which was done so often, that at last they were all transported in that manner.

In the mean time the *Persians* who were watching for an opportunity to fall upon them by Treachery, laid a Bridge over the River, higher up at a good distance, with a design to pass it, and to bring off what Straglers and Booty they could find; but their Plot was discover'd, and a stop put to it, as an Infraction of the Truce. After this, *Jovian* by long Marches led the Army to *Hatra*, an Ancient Town in the middle of the Desert. Here the Emperor made Provision of Water and Meat, sufficient to last them in their March for the next seventy Miles, through so barren a Country, that for six days together, they could find neither Grass for their Cattel, nor Food for themselves. At *Ur*, a *Persian* Castle on the Confines of the Desert, *Cassianus*, Governor of *Mesopotamia*, who had been detach'd from the Army for that purpose, met them with a plentiful supply of Provisions. From *Ur* the Emperor dispatch'd away *Procopius* the Notary, and *Memorinus* a Tribune to *Gaul* and *Illyricum*, with Orders to call on *Lucillianus* his Father-in-Law, who had liv'd a retir'd Life at *Sirmium*, and perswade him to accept of a Commission, which they carry'd him, to be *Magister Militum*, and to hasten to *Milan*. They were also to notify the Death of *Julian*, and the Emperor's Election to the Government of those Provinces; and to displace *Jovinus*, whose Loyalty he suspected to make room for *Malarich* his intimate Friend, whom he made *Magister Militum* for the Province of *Gaul*. The Soldiers soon spent the supply of Provisions which *Cassianus* brought them, and were reduc'd to such streights, that they were forc'd to feed on their Draught-Horses; a Bushel of Flower was sold for ten pieces of Gold. At last having undergone incredible Fatigues, they arriv'd in sight of *Nisibis*, and the Emperor pitch'd his Tent in the Fields. The Citizens earnestly intreated him to enter the Town, and lodge in the Palace as his Predecessors had done, which he refus'd,

General of  
the Horse.

fus'd, being ashamed that so strong a City, the Barrier of the *Roman* Empire on that side, should be deliver'd up to a revengeful Enemy while he was in it. A.D. 363.

Though this Emperor was a Christian, yet having tasted the sweets of Imperial Power, his Ambition was so much flatter'd by it, that he soon learnt the Arts of those that went before him, to remove all Competitors from the Throne. There was one *Jovian*, chief of the Notaries, who had been mention'd on *Julian's* Death, as worthy to succeed him : This Person remembering that Nomination too often, was suddenly taken out of his Tent as he sat at Supper, and made away with.

The day after the Emperor's arrival near *Nisibis*, *Bineses*, who was one of the King of *Persia's* Hostages for *Sapor's* performing the Articles that related to him, prest *Jovian* to put the City into his Hands, pursuant to the late Treaty between him and his Master: The Emperor permitted him to enter the Place, and take possession of it. The *Persian*, as soon as he was seiz'd of the Town, by a Signal from the Castle, commanded all the Inhabitants to be gone; the Citizens with great earnestness pray'd the Emperor, that they might not be compell'd to leave their Native Seat, offering to be themselves at the charge of defending it. *Jovian* was deaf to their Prayers, excusing himself, by alledging the necessity of the Treaty, and the Sanction of his Oath to perform it. His denial provok'd the Citizens to make a severe Reflection on his Conduct, and their Reproaches so Exasperated him, that he commanded all the Inhabitants to quit the Town within three Days; and appointed a Party of Soldiers to see his Command obey'd, who threaten'd to kill all that refus'd to be gone. Upon which the Streets were crowded with the Multitude that left their Dwellings, shewing all imaginable signs of Sorrow and Despair, embracing and kissing the very Doors of the Houses, to take their last farewell of those dear Habitations, in defence of which, they and their Fathers had been at a vast expence of Blood and Treasure. The Citizens being driv'n out, *Constantius* the Tribune deliver'd up the Place, and the Forts about it, to the *Persian* Embassadors, and the Inhabitants with weeping Eyes, and akeing Hearts, like so many miserable Exiles, were conducted to *Amida*, the Emperor having given them the Suburbs of that City to Inhabit.



A.D. 363.

We related how *Jovian* in the beginning of his Reign recall'd the Orthodox Bishops, and proceeded to heal the Breaches, which *Julian's* Apostacy had made in the Church. Though he declar'd oftentimes he was for Peace, yet he always distinguish'd the Christians from the *Pagans*, and the Orthodox from the Hereticks: He commanded the Idol Groves and Temples to be shut up, and the bloody Sacrifices so frequent in the Reign of *Julian*, were forbidden: He would not tolerate the *Jews* in the publick exercise of their Religion. To the Christians he restor'd their Churches, their Estates, their Honours and Privileges; yet *Maximus* and *Priscus*, two Philosophers of *Julian's* Council, kept in favour with him, though they had been enemies to the Faith of Christ. However, if he had liv'd longer, he shew'd such a good Disposition towards the Christian Religion, and the Prosperity of the Empire, that there is no reason to doubt, but they both would have flourish'd.

From the Neighbourhood of *Nisibis*, *Jovian* march'd to *Antioch*, and from thence, in a very cold Season and bad Weather, to *Tarsus*: Here he gave Orders for adorning the Tomb of his Predecessor *Julian*, at which the Christians were offended. From thence he proceeded as far as *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Procopius* the Notary, and *Memorinus* the Tribune, who were return'd out of *Gaul*, and brought advice, that *Lucillianus* had accepted of his Commission, and beginning to execute his Office with too much Rigour, he was kill'd by the Soldiers in a Mutiny at *Rheims*. *Malarich* refus'd to accept of the place of *Magister Militum*, and *Arintheus* was sent away to succeed *Jovinus* in *Gaul*. With *Procopius* came *Valentinian*, who was an Officer in the Army in that Province, and happily escap'd in the Tumult, when *Lucillianus* was kill'd. The Emperor for his Fidelity, prefer'd him to be Colonel of the second Schole or Battalion of the *Scutarij*.

364.

When he arriv'd at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, he enter'd on the Consulship, and made his Son *Varronian*, whom he had by *Charity*, *Lucillianus's* Daughter, his Colleague, though he was so young, that he was taken out of his Cradle to be plac'd in the *Curule* Chair, as the Custom was, where he struggled and cry'd, and would not be kept in it, which was lookt on as an ill Omen; nor did he

he long survive the Honour his Father did him. After this A.D. 364. solemnity was over, *Jovian* hasten'd his Journey to *Constantinople*, and coming to *Dadaflana*, about 90 Miles from *Ancyra*, on the Borders of *Bithynia*, he order'd a Chamber that was provided for him, which had been newly Plaister'd with Lime, to be air'd with Coals; he lodg'd in it, and in the Morning was found dead, either suffocated by the smoke of the Lime, or the Charcoal that was burnt to air the Room. Some Authors report that he dy'd of a Surfeit, some that he was Poyson'd; but the common Opinion is, that his Death was occasion'd by the Vapours of the Coals, or the Dampness of the Lime: He Reign'd seven Months and 22 Days, and dy'd the 17th of *February*, In the 33d Year of his Age.

He was Beautiful, Tall and well proportion'd; his Eyes were grey and lively, his Mien Grave, and his Countenance pleasant; he was himself a Man of some Learning, and encourag'd it in others, he was too much addicted to Wine and Women; however if we might form a Judgment of what he wou'd have been, from what he was during the short time of his Reign, he wou'd have made an excellent Prince. His Body was with the Pomp usual in such Cases, Convey'd to *Constantinople*, and Buried with his Predecessors.

The Army afterwards decamp'd and proceeded to *Nice*, where the Officers held Counsel about the Election of a Successor to *Jovian*. The first that was Nam'd was *Equitius*, Tribune or Colonel of the first Schole of the *Scutarij*, a Person of a very singular humour, Noted for his Rudeness and Severity, for which reasons he was rejected. The next that was mention'd was *Januarius*, the present Governour of *Illyricum* a Kinsman of *Jovian's*; but they did not approve of him, being too far off: Then *Valentinian*, whom *Jovian* had left at *Ancyra*, with *Valentinian's* Orders to follow him to *Constantinople*, was propos'd and unanimously chosen the 25th of *February*.

He was born at *Cibale* near *Belgrade* in *Hungary*, of very mean Parents, *Gratian* his Father being a Ropemaker or Ropefeller; from whence he was call'd *Funacius*, tho' some write he had that Sirname giv'n him, for that 5 Soldiers cou'd not wrest a Rope out of his Hand: For his strength he was taken into the Army and Prefer'd to several Honourable Posts, by degrees rising to the Dignity

A.D. 364. of a Tribune, and *Comes Rei Castrensis*, or Warden of the Marches in *Africk* and *Britain*. Being dismiss'd the Service without any thing laid to his charge, he retir'd and liv'd privately in *Pannonia*, where he entertain'd *Magnentius* the Tyrant when he came that way to Fight, the Emperor *Constantius* fining him severely for it, when he had overthrown his Enemy.

His Son *Valentinian* was first Captain of the Band of *Targeteers*, then Colonel of the *Prætorian* Cohorts: He was one of the Officers who chose rather to quit their Commands than Sacrifice to Idols, and on a solemn Procession which the Apostate *Julian* made to the Temple of Fortune, as the Priests stood sprinkling their Holy Water at the Doors of the Temple on all that came by, some of the Water lighting on him, who march'd before the Emperor, he struck the Priest, telling him, 'twould not cleanse, but defile him. *Julian* seeing what pass, banish'd him for Life to a Garrison in the Desert, from whence *Jovian* recall'd him, and Prefer'd him to the command of a Cohort. This account is giv'n of him by *Theodoret*, but does not very well agree with other *Historians*, who report that he commanded a Cohort in *Gaul*, when *Procopius* and *Memorinus* arriv'd there to notify *Julian's* Death, and *Jovian's* Accession to the Throne. Before his Promotion he had marry'd *Valeria Severa*, and after he was Emperor, he divorc'd her to marry *Flavia Jústina*. By both of his Wives, he left Issue, as we shall see in the History of his Life and Reign.

Upon his being chosen to the Empire, Messengers were presently dispatch'd to give him notice of his Election, and the Government Civil and Military during the Interregnum was manag'd by *Equitius* and *Leo*, who serv'd under *Dagalaiphus*, *Magister Militum*. These took all necessary Precautions to secure *Valentinian's* Interest, who hearing of his advancement hasten'd from *Ancyra* to *Nice*, where he arriv'd on the *Bissextile* Day, and wou'd not be seen because 'twas unlucky to the *Romans*. The next Morning as soon as it was light the Army was drawn up to receive the New Emperor, who, adorn'd with the Imperial Habit ascended a Lofty Tribunal and was saluted *Augustus*: He then prepar'd to speak to the Soldiers according to the Custom, stretching out his Hand to engage their attention. Immediately a seditious Murmur was heard, and the Soldiers demanded that he wou'd choose

choose an Associate: The Emperor took no notice at A.D. 364.  
 first of the uproar, supposing 'twas by the Procurement  
 of the Male-Contents; but the noise encreasing and there  
 being reason to apprehend an universal Tumult, which  
 he of all Men had most cause to fear, with great Presence  
 of Mind he held up his Right Hand, checkt some of the  
 most Peremptory, and with difficulty got liberty to go on  
 with his Oration: He told them, *That having chosen him  
 to be Governour of the Roman World, which he neither ex-  
 pected nor desir'd, what was then in their own Power, was de-  
 volv'd on him whom from a Youth, they had known to have  
 liv'd Honourably and without blame. He acknowledg'd the  
 weight of the Empire was a heavy Burthen, and that to have  
 a Colleague might be very Proper; but he desir'd them to wait  
 with Patience till he was better settled in his high Station:  
 He hop'd Fortune always favourable to good Counsels, would  
 give him Temper and Moderation: He promis'd to be kind  
 to them, requir'd 'em to continue Loyal, and as if he was sa-  
 tisfy'd in their obedience, dismiss them to their Quarters of  
 Refreshment, to receive the Donative which was usually di-  
 stributed to them on such occasions.* His awful Mien had  
 such an Influence upon the Soldiers, that they submitted  
 to his Pleasure, approv'd of what he had said, and with  
 Ensigns display'd, he was brought to the Imperial Palace,  
 where he held a Counsel of his chief Officers, and askt  
 them, *Whom they thought most Proper to be joyn'd with him  
 in the Sovereign Power?* None of them had courage to  
 speak except Dagalaiphus, who boldly answer'd; *If he  
 had respect to his Friends and Relations, he had a Brother;  
 If to the Common-Wealth, it might be convenient to pitch  
 upon some other Person.* Valentinian was inwardly vext  
 to hear Dagalaiphus talk so freely on the matter, which  
 went no farther at this time; however he kept his Anger  
 to himself, and two Days after march'd towards Nicome-  
 dia, where he arriv'd the 3d of March: Here he put his  
 Brother Valens over his Stables, and made him a Tribune:  
 From Nicomedia, he proceeded to Constantinople, where  
 considering the great weight of Affairs that lay upon  
 him, he resolv'd to ease himself of part of the Cares, by  
 dividing the Empire between him and his Brother Va-  
 lens. On the 27th of March he brought him into the  
 Suburbs of the City call'd *Septimus*, and a Tribunal be-  
 ing Erected there, he ascended it with his Brother, and  
 declar'd him *Augustus*. He then carry'd him to the Pa-  
 lace.

He affect-  
 ed Val-  
 ens.



A.D. 364. lace in his Chariot, wearing the Imperial Robes and Crown, to shew they were equal in Power.

### Valentinian Valens.

Master of  
the House-  
hold, Offi-  
cers under  
Valenti-  
nian, the  
same as  
Lord  
Chancel-  
lor.

Neissa in  
Servia.

They di-  
vide the  
Empire be-  
tween  
them.

365.

AFTER the Solemnity was over, both Emperors were seiz'd with Violent Fevers, and continu'd Sick a long time : At last they both recover'd, and suspecting they had been bewitch'd or Poyson'd by some of *Julian's* Creatures or *Magicians*, they order'd *Ursatius* the *Magister Officiorum* and *Juventus Sciscianus* the *Quæstor*, to inquire into the Cause of their Distempers. Tho' these Inqui- sitors were very diligent in the matter, yet they cou'd charge nothing on the Persons accus'd ; so the business dropt. They had not been long recover'd of their illness before they were allarm'd, by news from all Parts of the Empire, that the *Barbarians* had Invaded it from every Quarter, as if they had been in a general Con- spiracy to subvert the Monarchy. The *Germans* wasted *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi* infested *Panno- nia*, the *Picts*, *Saxons* and *Scots* harraßt *Britain* ; the *Austro- riani* and other *Moorish* Nations committed dreadful spoil in the *Mauritanias*, the *Goths* made Excursions into *Thrace*, and the King of *Persia* was preparing to possess himself of *Armenia*, pretending that the Articles of the late Treaty were not binding after the Death of *Jovian*. The two Emperors stay'd 30 Days at *Constantinople*, and then past thro' *Thrace* to *Nussus* in *Mesia*, and at a Village call'd *Mediana*, three Miles from that City where they took up their Quarters, they made a Divi- sion of the Empire ; *Valentinian* taking to himself *Illyri- cum*, *Macedonia*, *Italy*, *Africk*, *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, left all the East with *Thrace* and *Egypt* to his Brother *Valens*. *Jovinus* and *Dagalaiphus* remain'd in the West with *Valentinian* ; *Victor*, *Arintheus* and *Serenianus*, re- turn'd into the East with *Valens*. *Equitius* was made Governour of *Illyricum* : Thus having concerted measures for their future Government, they divided their Forces, took their leave of each other at *Sirmium*, and then parted, *Valentinian* for *Milan*, and *Valens* for *Constanti- nople* ; both of them on their arrival in those Cities, tak- ing on them the Consular Ornaments and Office for the Year ensuing.

Their

Their Presence was absolutely necessary in the East and the West : For in *Europe* the *Germans* resenting the ill usage their Embassadors met with from *Ursatius*, whose Office it was to Introduce them to the Emperor, and he having highly affronted them, they represented his Carriage so odiously to their Masters when they return'd home, that those fierce Nations to be reveng'd took Arms and broke in upon *Gaul*.

In *Asia* *Procopius* was raising a very dangerous War, *Procopius* having assum'd the Imperial Habit, and Usurpt the Title *Ufurps.* of *Augustus*. *Valentinian* was on his way to *Paris* when he heard of his Usurpation, and was at a loss what he shou'd do in the matter : For hearing no News from his Brother *Valens* ; He imagin'd *Procopius* might have rebell'd upon his Death : *Equitius*, who gave him the Information, being so short in his Intelligence that he made no mention of *Valens*. *Valentinian* wou'd have march'd immediately into *Illyricum* to prevent the Usurper's seizing *Pannonia*, remembring how soon that Province was over-run by *Julian* in his Rebellion ; But the Emperor's Counsel advis'd him not to leave the West expos'd to the Irruptions of the *Barbarians*. The Cities of *Gaul* address'd to him to stay among them, and by his Presence and Name to awe the *Germans* of whose Barbarity they were terribly afraid. *Valentinian* yielded to their request, saying often, *Procopius* was only an Enemy to him and his Brother, but the *Germans* made War upon the Empire : Resolving not to stir from *Paris*, he sent *Dagalaphus* with an Army to repel the *Germans*, who on notice of his approach retir'd out of the *Roman* Territories. *Neotherius* and *Gaudentius* were dispatch'd away into *Africk*, to provide for the defence of the Provinces in that Part of the World. He stay'd in this City till the beginning of the next Year, and we must leave him there a while to see how his Brother manages himself in the East.

*Valens* spent most of his Consulship in *Constantinople*, preparing for a War with *Persia*, or rather providing against the Invasions of the *Goths*, who had rob'd and spoil'd the Borders of *Thrace*, and encourag'd by the little opposition they met with, made Inroads as far as the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. In this dangerous Posture were his Affairs, when he was diverted by *Procopius*, an Enemy more formidable to him than either  
*Goths*

*Goths* or *Persians* : This Person was Nephew or Cousin German to *Julian* ; and as we have said, 'twas reported, that the Apostate had order'd him to seize the Empire if he thou'd dye in his Expedition to *Persia*. He was a Man of few words. *Constantius* Prefer'd him to the Dignity of *Comes*, and when *Julian* invaded *Persia*, he left him with an Army in *Mesopotamia* to defend that Province. After the Apostate's Death he deliver'd up his Command to his Successor *Jovian*, and desir'd leave to retire, which was granted him. From that time he never appear'd in publick, but conceal'd himself at a Friend's House near *Chalcedon* : He us'd to cross over to *Constantinople* disguis'd in a mean Habit to know how matters went, and entertained himself among his Friends with hearing *Valens* rail'd at, for Protecting his Father in Law *Petronius*, whose Avarice and Cruelty were Insatiable.

*The Soldiers  
revolt  
to him.*

*Valens* passing over into *Asia* to make head against King *Sapor*, *Procopius*, whose Necessity had made him desperate, thought it a fair opportunity for him to discover himself, and put in his Claim to the Empire. Making acquaintance with some of the Soldiers who were left for the defence of *Thrace*, he engag'd them in his Interest by great Promises, to which they were ready enough to listen. *Petronius's* Administration being so intollerable that most of 'em wish'd for a Revolution, by degrees he drew over the whole Army to his side, and in an Equipage ill suiting with his pretended Quality, he met them at a Village near *Constantinople*, and they promis'd to stand by him as their Sovereign Lord. He then was Conducted by them into the City in a very fantastick Garb, more like a Player than an Emperor ; however he had a Purple Coat thrown over him. The Citizens seem'd neither to oppose nor approve of his usurpation. They passively beheld the Procession, and were so much offended by *Petronius's* Carriage that they did not think fit to take Arms for a Prince who permitted such a Tyrant to oppress them. He mounted a Tribunal that was erected for him, and spoke to the People with a faint Voice, as if he was afraid of the Issue of his attempt : He had little to say for himself besides his relation to the Imperial Family of *Constantine*. When he had finish'd his Oration, a few Men who were hir'd for that purpose shouted, as applauding what he had said, and the

Rabble

Rabble in a Tumultuous manner saluted him with the Title of *Augustus*. *Sophronius* the Notary, and afterwards *Præfect* of *Constantinople*, with other Persons of Quality, immediately Posted away to *Valens* to inform him of the Rebellion; they overtook him at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. He was then marching for *Antioch*; and hearing of the Revolution in *Constantinople*, he resolv'd to hasten back to suppress this Insurrection before it spread farther. *Procopius* in the mean time procur'd some Persons to affirm that they were just come out of *Gaul*; that *Valentinian* was dead and the whole Province ready to acknowledge *Procopius* for Emperor. To confirm the report of these Impostors, he took on him the Government as Sovereign of the whole Empire; he order'd *Nebrius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Cæsareus*, *Præfect* of *Constantinople* to be thrown into Prison, and appointed *Phronemius* and *Euphrasius* to succeed them. *Gomoarius* and *Agilo*, two Officers who had been formerly Cashier'd, were restor'd to their Posts in the Army; and the Usurper being afraid of *Julius* a *Comes*, who commanded the Forces in *Thrace*, that he wou'd Influence the Soldiers to return to their duty, he forc'd *Nebrius* to write to him in the Name of *Valens*, to hasten to *Constantinople*, where he was secur'd as soon as he arriv'd. To engage the Army the more, he presented *Constantius's* little Daughter, *Constantia* to them, and prevail'd with the Empress *Faustina* to accompany her: He implor'd the Protection of the Soldiers for the remainders of the *August* House of *Constantine* the Great, and pretended he aim'd at nothing more than to maintain the Interest of that Family against Usurpers. The Name of *Constantine* had the effect he intended; the Army declar'd they wou'd assist him to the utmost, and wou'd follow him whither soever he pleas'd to lead them. After he had secur'd the Legions in *Thrace*, he sent some of his Creatures to *Illyricum*, to draw over that Province to his Party, but carrying nothing along with them besides a few Meddals struck in Honour of the New Emperor *Equitius*, the Governour had 'em seiz'd and put to Death with exquisite Tortures; and to prevent his being treated in the same manner by *Procopius*, he fortify'd all the Passes into his Province, by which means the Usurper despair'd of doing any good on that side.



365.

*Valens* in his return towards *Constantinople* hearing what Progress his Competitor had made, was so terrify'd that he had thoughts of giving the Cause for lost, and abdicating the Empire, he was perswaded by his Friends to take Heart, and not so tamely quit his Sovereignty. By their advice, he sent two of his best Legions, the *Jovij* and the *Victores* to attack the Enemy in their Camp. *Procopius* advanc'd to meet them as far as *Migdus* in *Phrygia*: The two Armies joyn'd Battel, and in the midst of it the Usurper observing one *Vitallianus* to be very active against him; he gently saluted him in *Latin*, kiss'd his Hand, and gave him his own as a token of Friendship to the great surprize of both Armies. He then upbraided him and his Companions for taking the part of a Miserable *Pannonian*, who had oppress'd all Mankind; and so far he prevail'd on him and his Fellow Soldiers, that they veil'd their Ensigns, a sign of Desertion, and went over every Man to his Party; they saluted him Emperor, waited on him to his Tent, and call'd him *Invincible*, a Term of Honour which they bestow'd on their Generals in such Cases. *Rumitalca*, one of the Tribunes that Deserted to him, presently put some Soldiers aboardship, Sail'd to *Helenopolis*, and from thence hasten'd away to *Niece*, which City he secur'd for *Procopius*. *Valens* sent *Vadomarius*, a German King, who serv'd in the Roman Armies in the Quality of *Dux*, to reduce it, and himself besieg'd *Chalcedon*. *Rumitalca* in a sally not only drove *Vadomarius* from before the Walls of *Nice*, but intended to pass on to *Chalcedon* to attack *Valens* in his Camp, of which the Emperor having information, he made his escape by the Lake of *Sunona*, and the winding River *Gallus*. By his retreat *Chalcedon*, *Nice*, and all *Bythinia* were abandon'd to *Procopius*. *Valens* return'd as fast as he cou'd to *Ancyra*, and was reviv'd by the wellcome News of *Lupicinus*'s advancing to his assistance with the Legions out of the East. On their arrival he conceiv'd hopes of better Success, and order'd *Arintheus* with the chief strength of his Army to march against the Rebels. *Procopius* had Posted one *Hyperchius* with a few Troops at *Dadaštana*, where *Jovian* dy'd on the Frontiers of *Galatia*. *Arintheus* when he approach'd near the Enemy, scorning to engage with so despicable a Fellow as *Hyperchius*, who had formerly been a Servant to the *Castrens*, or Vice Chamberlain of the Household,

Duke.

His Men  
desert to  
Valens.

sent

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sent an Officer to his Soldiers, commanded them to lay hold on their Leader and put him in Irons, which they did immediately.

In the mean while *Procopius* was preparing to besiege *Cyzicus*, on Information that *Venustius*, whom *Valens* had order'd to bring Money to him to pay the Army, had thrown himself with the Treasure into the Town for his security : Besides the City lay convenient for a Communication between *Thrace* and *Bithynia*, *Serenianus*, the Comes *Domesticorum*, Steward of the Household was in the Place to defend it, with a tumultuous Rabble of People who had Chain'd up the Haven, and thought their Town was Impregnable. But *Agilo* a Tribune in *Procopius's* Army, who was a Man of Experience in the Military Art, cut the Chain and then the City soon became a Prey to the Usurper, who sent *Serenianus* Prisoner to *Nice*, and Pardon'd all the rest that he found there. He now bestow'd on *Hormisdas* the Son of the *Persian* fugitive of the Royal Blood, the Dignity of *Proconsul*, or Government of a Province, and began to behave himself Insolently and Cruelly, whereas before he affected to govern with Justice and Moderation : He Summon'd *Arbetio* to attend him, who excus'd himself, pretending he was Old and Infirm. The Usurper order'd his House to be rifled, which he had till then spar'd on account of their former Friendship. This disgusted many who wish'd well to his Cause, and imagining now he was Master at Sea, and of the Province of *Bithynia*, he might when he pleas'd possess himself of the other Provinces in *Asia*, he grew remiss, and was only Sollicitous about scraping as much Money as he cou'd together.

Before we proceed further in the relation of Civil Transactions, we shall take a view of the State of the Church. Upon the two Emperors accession to the Throne, they felt foul on *Julian's* Magicians, and especially *Maximus*, who had been the cause of much mischief to the Christians in general, and to *Valentinian* in particular. they made a Law against Idolaters, and forbad them to Celebrate their Nocturnal Mysteries. But their Zeal being a little too hasty, and the Heathens growing troublesome on this Inhibition, they thought fit to quiet them by putting forth an Edict for Liberty of Conscience. *Valentinian* favour'd the Orthodox Party and the *Nicene* Counsel, however he disturb'd none of the other persuasion

365.

Monks  
forc'd to  
Lift in the  
Roman  
Armies.

swasion on that account : His Brother *Valens* was a rigid *Arian* ; he was baptiz'd by *Eudoxius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*. When he was going against *Procopius*, he espous'd that Party, and at the Instigation of his Wife *Dominica*, he swore to defend their Heresie, and Persecute such as own'd the Article of *One Substance*, which all Christians were oblig'd to do by a Decree of the Counsel of *Nice*. The two Emperors confirm'd and enlarg'd the Authority of the Bishop's Court ; and perceiving a great Number of Persons under pretence of turning *Monks*, render'd themselves useles to the Common-Wealth, they commanded those Lazy Drones to be pull'd out of their Cells, particularly the *Monks* of *Aegypt* were Lifted in the Army, and those that refus'd to serve were slain.

366.

*Valens* having receiv'd Succours, from the West with the Additional Forces that *Lupicinus* brought him, made up a strong Army and march'd to *Pessinus* in *Galatia*, on the Borders of *Phrygia* ; from thence he proceeded into *Lycia*, intending to fall upon *Gomoarius*, who commanded there for *Procopius*. The Name and Authority of the Empress Dowager, *Faustina*, and the Princess *Constantia*, were very advantageous to the Usurper ; for even in those early times the *Divine Right* of Succession was by many adjudg'd to be solely in the Blood. To obviate this Mischief, *Valens* desir'd *Arbetio*, who had been *Constantius's* Favourite to appear, on his side. *Arbetio* had hitherto stood Neuter ; but the late ill Treatment he met with from his Friend *Procopius*, provok'd him so much that he came to *Valens's* Camp ; from thence he went to *Gomoarius*, and his Presence had the desir'd effect. He told the Soldiers *Procopius* was no better than a Highway Man, call'd them his Sons, Companions of his former Toils, and admonish'd them to leave a desperate and obscure Fellow, who had betray'd them by his Wiles to inevitable destruction. *Gomoarius's* Troops paid such Reverence to *Arbetio's* Age and Wisdom, that they follow'd his advice and joyn'd with *Valens's* Army, their General shewing them the way : Then the Emperor advanc'd towards the Rebels, and near *Nacolia* in *Phrygia* offer'd them Battel. *Agilio*, one of the Usurper's best Officers, seeing the danger he was in, Deserted, and carry'd off most of the Men that were under his Command, which was the greatest Part of the Army of the Rebels. *Procopius* amaz'd at such an unexpected Desertion, quitted his Horse and

*Procopius's*  
*Friends*  
*forsoke*  
*him.*

and fled to the adjacent Woods : He was follow'd by *Florentius* and *Barchalbas* a Tribune, whom he had forc'd against his will to joyn with him. They wander'd in the Woods all Night, and fearing to be discover'd in the Morning they seiz'd *Procopius*, bound him, and presented him to the Emperor, who order'd his Head to be struck and sent to *Valentinian* in *Gaul*. *Valens* also Commanded *Florentius* and *Barchalbas*, who brought the Usurper to him, to be put to Death, in which he shew'd himself to be equally Cruel and Ungrateful.

*Deliver him up to Valens ; he is put to Death.*

Such was the Miserable end of *Procopius* in the forty first Year of his Age, and the Example of his Punishment one wou'd think was sufficient to deter his followers from persisting in their Rebellion ; yet his Kinsman *Marcellus* Governour of *Nice*, when he heard he was dead, cut off *Serenianus's* Head, who was his Prisoner, and put on the Imperial Purple, either despairing of Pardon, or in hopes that the *Goths* who had promis'd to assist *Procopius* wou'd joyn with him. *Valens* immediately detach'd a select Party of Soldiers to surprize him, before he cou'd put himself in a better posture of defence. This detachment seiz'd him, bound him, threw him and his Accomplices into Prison, from whence they were the next Day taken out and Tortur'd to Death. The only good thing perform'd by *Marcellus* during his short Reign, was his making away with *Serenianus*, who as *Ammianus* writes was a Second *Phalaris*, and had he liv'd wou'd have made a dreadful slaughter of all that were concern'd in this Insurrection. *Valens* spilt Blood enough, and needed not the incitations of Cruel and Covetous Informers to set him upon Acts of Revenge and Rapine ; Those that were about him did not give over their Executions and Banishments till they had glutted their Cruelty and Avarice.

We left the Emperor *Valentinian* at *Paris*, where he resided till he was call'd Northward by the incursions of the *Barbarians*, who had defeated and cut off two *Comites*, *Carietto* and *Severianus*. *Dagalaiphus* upon this was order'd to march against them ; he was not over hasty in this Expedition, and before he had done any thing worth our notice, he was recall'd to enter on the Consulship with *Gratian* the Emperor's Son. *Jovinus* succeeded him in the command of the Army that was to oppose the *Barbarians*, and coming unawares upon a Body of the Enemy at *Scarpaigne* near *Metz* in *Lorraine*,  
he



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Jovinus  
defeats  
three Ar-  
mies of the  
Barbari-  
ans.

A Barba-  
rian King  
Hang'd.

he cut most of them off before they cou'd take to their Arms : He surpriz'd another Body of them not far off, as they were revelling at the side of a River, some drinking, some dressing, and others washing themselves in the water, whom he Treated as he had lately dealt by their Countrymen. A third Body was encampt at a little distance from the second, and he hop'd to give as good an account of them as of the two former. But he found them in another Posture, drawn up in *Battalia*, in the *Catalaunian Plains* near *Chalons* in *Campaign*. *Jovinus* perceiving they were Superior to him in Numbers, entrench'd himself to give his Men time to refresh : The next Morning he drew out, extending his Lines to a considerable Length, that the Enemy might not be encourag'd by comparing their own strength with his, whose Troops tho' they were fewer yet in goodness, they far exceeded the *Germans*, whose Courage was rather a Brutal rage, than a Vertuous firmness of Mind. Both Armies engag'd in the Morning, and the Fight lasted till Night. It had like to have been to the disadvantage of the *Romans* ; for *Balchobaudes* a *Gaul*, Tribune of the Legion call'd *Armatura*, a Man who was much giv'n to boast of his Performances, Ingloriously ran away and endanger'd the overthrow of the whole Army ; but *Jovinus* by his Prayers and Example so wrought upon the Soldiers, that they fought furiously to recover the Honour which this Cowardly Tribune had lost ; put the *Barbarians* to flight, and kill'd 6000 of them with the loss of 200 Men. Night ended the Pursuit, and the next Morning *Jovinus* drew up to offer the Enemy Battel, if they had not enough in the last Engagement ; but the *Germans* fled before him, and when he return'd from pursuing them, he found that a Party of his Men had taken their King Prisoner and Hang'd him ; at which ungenerous Action he was so enrag'd, that he wou'd have Condemn'd the Tribune to Death had it not been prov'd, that the fury of the Soldiers grown Insolent on their Victory, was not to be restrain'd. He then return'd to *Paris*, and was receiv'd with the highest marks of Honour by the Emperor, whose Joy for the Success of his Arms against the *Barbarians* was increas'd by the sight of *Procopius's* Head, which was at this time brought him out of *Asia*.

Sometime

Sometime before the Troubles in the Eastern and Western Provinces were over, there happen'd such terrible Earthquakes as neither Sacred nor Prophane History can Parallel; the Earth shook as if its Foundations were over-thrown, and the World was returning to its Original *Chaos*. The Tempest began about dawn of Day on the 20th of *July*, with dreadful Blasts of Thunder and Lightning, and was follow'd by the most horrible Earthquakes that Fancy can form in the Mind, or Words describe: A Scene of Horror and Despair, almost equal to the Image of the last tremendous Judgment. The order of Nature was Inverted; that which some hours before was dry Land, *Populous* Cities and fertile Fields, was now a ruffled Sea, where Ships were driv'n by the Violence of the Storm, on the tops of Trees and Houses, as at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: The vast Channel of the Abyss was left Naked, and Mankind with trembling beheld a dreadful Variety of Lofty Hills and Profound Valleys. This amazing Spectacle drew thousands of People of all Ages and Degrees to the shoar to view the Depths of the Ocean, and catch the Fish that were left sticking in the Mud; the Sea on a sudden disdaining to be held pent up in the Corners and Caverns of the deep, broke out of its Prison, and not only spread its Waves over the Places it had deserted, but with an Impetuous Torrent over-whelm'd the Neighbouring Coasts, bearing down all before it, destroying many thousands of Men, Women and Children. Ships were forc'd by the Hurricane, two Miles from the shoar, of which *Ammianus* himself was a Witness at *Methone*, a Town of *Laconia*. *Procopius's* Rebellion hapning at that time, 'twas thought by those who pretended to unfold the hidden Mysteries of Providence, that it portended the Mischiefs the Usurper should cause in the *Roman* World, tho' they had more reason to Interpret it, to be a terrible Presage of the Inundation of the Barbarous Northern Nations, who not many Years afterwards over-ran the Empire, and erected mighty Kingdoms out of her Ruins.

*A dreadful Earthquake.*

We must now return to *Valens* in the East, who having suppress'd the late dangerous Rebellion, thought he had *Valens* reason to declare War with the *Goths* for assisting the Usurper; he consulted his Brother about it before he would undertake such a Hazardous Enterprize, *Valen-* *makes War upon the* *Goths.*

366.

Danube.

Prestaw  
in Bulga-  
ria.Concludes a  
Peace with  
Athanaric  
their King.Who is  
driv'n out  
of his King-  
dom and  
dies at  
Constan-  
tinople.

*tinian* consented to his breaking with the *Barbarians*, upon which he sent *Victor*, Master of the Horse to know the reason why they who were in League with the *Roman* Emperor, shou'd joyn with a Rebel that rose against his Lawful Sovereign. The *Goths* in answer produc'd Letters from *Procopius*, which Imported that the Empire belong'd to him as nearest in Blood to the House of *Constantine* the Great, and if they were deceiv'd by his Pretences, 'twas an error which they hop'd might be excus'd. *Valens* was not very ready to excuse faults of that Nature; he said 'twas a frivolous answer, and taking it for such, past his Army over the *Ister*, on whose approach the *Goths* fled to the Mountains of *Serri*. *Valens* meeting no body to oppose him, was forc'd to return without doing any thing remarkable. He put his Troops into Winter Quarters about *Marcianopolis*, where he resided most part of this Year and the next to be near the *Gothick* Borders. He invaded their Country in three successive Campaigns: In the third, a Potent Prince of the *Barbarians* made head against him, yet he forc'd him to seek his safety by flight. Upon this Success *Valens* march'd back to his old Quarters at *Marcianopolis*, and the *Goths*, who were undone by the Interruption of their Trade for so long a time, sent Embassadors to beg a Cessation of Hostilities. The Emperor inpow'r'd *Victor* and *Arintheus* to agree on the Peace, and the Preliminaries of a Treaty with the *Gothick* Deputies. Peace being afterwards concluded, *Athanaric* was to come in Person and ratify it, and leave Hostages for performance of the Articles; The *Goth* answer'd, his Father had oblig'd him by an Oath never to tread on Roman Ground. 'Twas by no means decent that the Emperor shou'd wait upon him; so to reconcile this difference, they met in Boats in the middle of a River where the Peace was ratify'd and Hostages deliver'd. *Athanaric* for promoting this Treaty, was prosecuted by a contrary Faction among the *Goths*, and banish'd his Country: He retir'd to *Constantinople*, where *Valens* kept his Court after the Peace with the *Barbarians*; there this brave Exile ended his Days, and was bury'd with great Pomp after the *Roman* manner.

'Tis said the *Goths* desir'd the Emperor to send them some Doctors to instruct them in the Christian Religion, and that *Valens* by the influence which *Eudoxius* the *Ari-*

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an Bishop had over him, chose some of those Hereticks for that Mission, which was the cause of the *Goths* embracing the *Arian* Heresy, and opposing the Orthodox Faith in most Places under their Government.

366.

The Year following *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, Successor to *Julius* the First, departed this Life; he had been very much disturb'd in his Pontificate, by *Felix* a Deacon of that Church, whom the Emperor *Constantius* and the *Arian* Party had put into his See, and sent the true Pope into Exile, where he remain'd three or four Years, and then out of Jealousy to see *Felix* in his Seat, he made a base Compliance to what the *Arians* requir'd of him, subscrib'd to the banishment of *Athanasius*, and to a Confession of Faith which they had drawn up for him to Sign. Upon this he was restor'd to his Bishoprick and *Felix* displac'd, who notwithstanding he was chosen by the *Arians* did not answer their Expectation, and they thought he favour'd the Orthodox too much. On the Death of *Liberius*, *Damasus* a Spaniard, one of *Felix's* faction was chosen Pope the 18th of *September*; the contrary Party among the Clergy and the People made a Schism, and by force Consecrated *Ursicinus* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome* Bishop of the Diocels; the dispute grew to such a height, that 137 Men were kill'd in a Scuffle in the Church of *Sicininum*; both Parties were so inveterate and withal so Powerful, that *Vincentius* Præfect of the City, was forc'd to retire into the Suburbs and leave the Multitude to their fury. This Tumult gave great Scandal to the *Pagans*, who cou'd not tell how to judge favourably of that Religion, whose Priests acquir'd their Offices by so many Murders, and trampled over the Bodies of the dead to mount the Pontifical Chair. The Cheat was too plain to impose on the Heathens; 'twas not the Glory of God nor the Salvation of Souls which they aim'd at as they pretended, but their Coaches, their Revenues and their Temporal Power, which was so large since the *Roman* Emperors became Christians, that *Prætextatus* Protector of the Heathens, who prevail'd with *Valentinian* to revoke the Edicts against them, said when he was Præfect of the City, *Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian too.* The Emperor in this Controversy sided with *Damasus's* Party, which was the strongest. He banish'd *Ursicinus* to *Naples*: *Mariana* says he made him Bishop of that See,

367.



A.D. 367. and order'd *Pratextatus*, to suffer none of his Faction to come within twenty Miles of the City. Pope *Damasus* is accus'd of Adultery; yet his Character is left very clean in the Popish Histories, purely because he was vigorous in asserting the Precedence of his See, and so strenuously oppos'd the *Patriarch* of *Constantinople's* Rival in his Pretences, that he would not suffer him to claim the second place as his Right.

*Valentinian* remov'd from *Paris* to *Milan*, where he resided for several Months, and from thence he return'd towards the Frontiers of *Gaul*, as well to settle matters with the *German* Embassadors for keeping the Peace, which they had lately obtain'd of him, as to provide for clearing *Britain* of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who miserably harraßt the Isle within the *Roman* Pale. At *Amiens* he was taken ill, and his Distemper daily growing worse and worse; himself, and those that were about him, began to despair of his Life. The *Gauls* that were in his Court, at a private Meeting nam'd *Rusticus Julianus*, a cruel Bloody Man for his Successor, who had shewn much of his Sanguinary Disposition, while he was Proconsul of *Africk*. For this reason they laid him aside, and propos'd *Severus*, who was somewhat of a better Temper than *Julianus*; but *Valentinian's* recovery, put an end to their care for the Succession. He resolv'd immediately to make his Son *Gratian*, *Augustus*; having prepar'd the Soldiers for what he intended, he ascended the Tribunal, and since he had little to say in behalf of his Son, who was scarce twelve years old, he enlarg'd on the Merits of his Family: The Army were easily induc'd to proclaim *Gratian* Emperor. *Eupraxius*, a Moor, General of the Foot, crying out, *The Family of Gratian deserves as much*; who for his appearing so warmly in the matter, was made *Quæstor*.

*Gratian*  
declar'd  
*Augustus*.

The Emperor till now, had disssembled his natural Cruelty with a shew of Mildness and Justice; but it broke out about this time with the greater fury for having been so long restrain'd. *Diocles* his Treasurer in *Illyricum*, he commanded for a very little fault to be burnt alive, and *Diodorus* another Officer of Note, was put to Death for Commencing a Suit against a *Comes* of great interest at Court, as also the Apparitors, whom *Diodorus* employ'd to summon the *Comes* to appear and answer the Suit, when he was going to wait upon the

Empe-

Emperor. These Persons being Christians, the Citizens of *Milan* where they were executed, Solemniz'd their Memory, and call'd the Place where they were bury'd, *at the Innocents*. We have hinted before, that the *Britains* were very much distress'd by the *Scots* and *Picts*; they were not only plunder'd by these Invaders, but by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, who infested their Coasts, and rifled and destroy'd the *Maritime Towns*. *Nectaridus*, Admiral of the *British Fleet*, was Slain in an Engagement with them, and *Balcabaudes Dux*, or War-den of the Borders, was reduc'd to the last extremity: The Emperor first sent *Severus*, Steward of his Household, thither, who had no better Success, than those that Commanded there before him. After him *Jovinus* had the management of the War in *Britain*, but did nothing worthy the Reputation he got in the *German Wars*. Then *Valentinian* dispatch'd away *Theodosius*, a Man of great experience in Military Affairs, who taking with him the *Heruli*, *Batavi*, *Jovij*, and *Victores*: Four of the best Legions in the *Roman Armies*, embark'd at *Bononia*, and arriv'd at *Rutupia* in *Britain*. He there landed his Forces, and then march'd directly to *Lundinium*, (so *Ammianus* calls it) to which City Posterity for many Ages gave the Name of *Augusta*. *Theodosius* divided his Army into several Bands, the better to attack the Enemy, who rob'd in small Companies. The *Romans* overtook several Parties of them, driving away Men and Women into Captivity, and carrying off a great Booty. These they defeated; and restor'd to the poor *Britains* their Habitations, their Goods and Estates; a small portion of what was retaken, he distributed among his Soldiers for their Encouragement: *Theodosius* being never able to come at these Robbers in a Body, found 'twould take up time to disperse 'em entirely by force, he therefore endeavour'd to reduce 'em by Policy. He publish'd a Proclamation of Pardon to such as had forsaken their Colours, if they return'd to their Duty: By which means many who had joyn'd the Enemy came in, and depriv'd them of a considerable Strength. He also wrote to the Emperor to send him an Assistant, who might manage the Judicial Affairs of the Island. *Valentinian*, order'd *Civilis* to govern there as his Deputy, a wise and just Man; and *Dulcitius a Dux*, to serve under him in the Army. Upon their

Bologne,  
Richbo-  
rough  
near Sand-  
wich.

A.D. 367. arrival in *Britain*, a Council was held to consider how they should proceed for the good of the Island, and 'twas resolv'd to take the Field, and clear the Country of the Invaders, which they perform'd in a little time, routed them in several Engagements, and settled the Province in Peace. Sometime after *Britain* had like to have been disturb'd by *Valentinus*, who had been banish'd thither for some Offences committed in *Pannonia*, where he formerly Commanded. He had form'd a design to Usurp, by the assistance of the Exiles in the Island, and part of the Soldiers whom he had engag'd in his Interest; but *Theodosius* got intelligence of the Plot, surpriz'd *Valentinus*, and a few of his Accomplices, whom he deliver'd to *Dulcitius*, ordering the Traitor to be put to Death, and the rest that he had drawn into the Conspiracy, were set at liberty, without further enquiring into the Matter. The Emperor when he recall'd *Theodosius*, made him Master of the Horse for his good Services in *Britain*, and a Statue was erected to him in honour of his Victories.

The Provinces in *Africk* were in a worse condition than that of *Britain*; for besides the Invasions and Robberies of the *Austoriani*, *Romanus* the Comes, employ'd all his Power to Impoverish the poor *Africans*, and enrich himself; which he did by all manner of exactions to such a Degree, that his Government became intolerable. In *Isia*, *Isauria*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, were wasted by the Incursions of the *Barbarians*; but a good Body of Forces being sent against them, they were driv'n up into a Corner, and finding no means of escaping, were compell'd to beg a Peace, which was granted.

*Valentinian* resided most part of the year at *Triers* and *Cologne*, to observe the motions of the *Franks*, who began to be troublesom to their Neighbours on the Frontiers of *Gaul*; *Rando*, a German of Royal Descent, surpriz'd *Mentz*, plunder'd the City, and carry'd away as many Prisoners as he pleas'd: This loss was made up by the Death of *Vithicabius*, the Son of *Valdomarius*, a King of the *Germans*: The young Prince was very Brave, and a great Enemy of the *Romans*, whose Emisaries hir'd one of his Servants to murder him. The Traitor after he had committed the Fact, fled to the *Romans*, and was kindly receiv'd by them; by which

we may perceive, how much the *Roman* Spirit was sunk, A.D. 367. that it could descend to such Barbarous means to get rid of their Enemies. To revenge himself of the Affronts he had receiv'd, the Emperor taking his Son *Gratian* with him, pass'd the *Rhine*, Invaded the *German* Territories; and meeting with their main Army, encamp'd on a Hill: he attack'd them notwithstanding the disadvantage of the Ground, and obtain'd a Signal Victory over them at *Solicinium*, now call'd *Sultz*, in the Dutchy of *Wintemburgh*: After which he put his Troops into Winter Quarters, and return'd to *Triers*. The two following years *Valentinian* spent on the Frontiers of *Gaul*, to carry on the Fortifications he intended to make on the Borders. While he was thus employ'd, News came that *Sapor* King of *Persia*, perfitting in the breach of the Truce, which *Jovian* had bought so dearly of him, had seiz'd *Armenia*, taken *Arfaces* the King Prisoner, put out his Eyes, and shut him up in a Castle, where he was Murder'd; that he had turn'd out *Sauromaces*, whom the Emperor had set over the *Iberians*, *Georgians*, and plac'd one *Aspacuras* in his room, whom he honour'd with a Diadem. The Government of *Armenia* he committed to *Cylax* the Eunuch, and *Artabanes*, two Deserters that formerly govern'd the Province for the *Romans*, and now sided with the *Persians*. *Arfaces*'s Queen, his Son *Paras* and his Treasurer, were secur'd in *Artogerassa*, a City of *Armenia*, which *Sapor* order'd the fugitive *Romans* to besiege, and to rase it. *Cylax* and *Artabanes* contriv'd to get into the Town, to perswade the Queen to Surrender; but she prevail'd upon them so much, by her Prayers and Tears, that they suffer'd the besieg'd to sally out on their Enemies, whom they surpriz'd, and gave the Queen an opportunity to make her escape with her Son, into the *Roman* Dominions, where they were favourably receiv'd by the Emperor, who appointed *Neocæsarea*, a City of *Pontus*, for the place of their Residence. *Terentius*, *Dux*, or Governour of those Parts, was order'd to carry the young Prince into *Armenia*, and to assist *Cylax* and *Artabanes* in the defence of the Country: However, *Valens* not being willing to break openly with *Sapor*, would not allow *Paras* to be proclaim'd King, till a fairer occasion presented. *Sapor* being inform'd of *Paras*'s return to *Armenia*, and that the *Romans* intended to assist him

368.

369.



AD. 369. in his Pretensions to the Crown, was so enrag'd at it, that he invaded the Kingdom, and laid waste all that was before him with Fire and Sword. *Paras* and his two Governours were so frighted at the Progress of his Arms, that they fled to the Mountains; the *Persian* King follow'd them, and hunted after them a long time to no purpose. He then laid Siege to *Artogerassa*, took the City, burnt it, and carry'd away *Arfaces's* Widow and Treasurer, which he found there. *Valens* on News of his Proceedings, sent an Army to the assistance of the *Armenians*, which *Sapor* understanding, he dissembled his Resentment, and wrote Letters to *Paras* full of Flattery and Deceit; Insinuating, that the *Romans* were his Masters; and that 'twas Dishonourable for a Prince to be under the Tutelage of two Fugitives, offering him his Friendship and Assistance. His Insinuations had such an effect on the foolish young Man, that he cut off the Heads of his Governours, and made a Present of them to King *Sapor*. After this the King would easily have possess'd himself of all *Armenia*, had he not heard that *Arintheus* was advancing with a powerful Army to joyn the *Armenians*; upon which *Sapor* desir'd, that the Truce which *Fovian* had made might be observ'd, and the Peace continu'd on the Terms of that Treaty. This *Valens* refus'd to yield to, and order'd *Terentius* with 12 Legions, to restore *Sauromaces* to the Kingdom of *Iberia*. When the *Romans* were arriv'd on the Banks of the River *Cyrus*, *Aspacuras*, whom the *Persian* King had plac'd on the Throne, fearing he could not resist such Numerous and Valiant Troops, offer'd to treat with *Sauromaces*, who was his Kinsman. The Emperor consented to his Proposals; and the River *Cyrus*, which divides *Iberia* into two equal parts, was agreed to be the Boundary of the two Kingdoms, *Sauromaces* having that part lying next to *Armenia* and *Lazica*, and *Aspacuras* the other half, which joyns to *Albania* and *Persia*. This agreement exasperated *Sapor* beyond measure: He exclaim'd, that what was done, was contrary to the League by which it was Stipulated, that the *Romans* should not assist the *Armenians*. He complain'd that his Embassy was slighted, and resolv'd with all possible diligence, to raise a mighty Army to revenge the Affront he had receiv'd.

While

While these things were transacting in *Asia*, *Valentinian* was busie in fortifying the Passes on the *Rhine* : He had finish'd the Fortifications on the *Neckar*, and sent a Party of Men to build a Fort in the Enemies Country; notwithstanding the Fathers of the Hostages that were in the hands of the *Germans*, earnestly pray'd him not to attempt it. Of the Men that were order'd to build the Fort, not one escap'd, the whole Party being cut off by the Enemy.

In the meanwhile *Maximinus*, *Præfectus Aumone* at *Rome*, whose Office it was to take care of the Provisions of the City, a Man of mean Extraction, by his Impudence and Flattery, rose to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*; and behav'd himself with such Insolence and Barbarity, that all *Italy* groan'd under his Tyranny. Senators were put to the Torture, Persons of the Highest Quality of both Sexes Butcher'd, and *Valentinian* countenanc'd him in all his Acts of Violence and Injustice during his Reign : At last *Gratian* his Son gave way to the clamours of the People, and commanded that he should die by the hands of the Hangman. This year *St. Ambrose* was made Governour of *Milan*, of which City he was afterwards elected Bishop. In the next year, we find the *Saxons* first mention'd in the *Roman* Story ; they infested the Coasts of the *Maritime* Provinces, landing Men out of their Sloops in several places, Pillaging and burning the Country ; at last *Severus* with a good Army overtook them, and reduc'd 'em to such Streights, that they were forc'd to beg a Peace, which was granted them : However, as they were retreating homewards in great security, depending on the performance of the Treaty they had Concluded, they were all cut off by a Party which lay in Ambush for that purpose ; a piece of Treachery which *Ammianus* has no way to excuse, but by calling them a company of Thieves and Robbers. The Emperor finding there was more to be got by Treason than by Arms, resolv'd to make use of the *Burgundians*, a Warlike Nation, against the *Germans* : He offer'd them his Alliance, which they willingly accepted, and agreed to bring their Quota of Men into the Field by such a time ; accordingly they came to a place of Rendezvous, but *Valentinian* was so busie about his Fortifications, or pretended to be so, that he forgot to send an Army to joyn the *Burgundians*,  
who

A.D. 370. who were not strong enough to fight the *Germans*; and sent to the Emperor to bring them off, which he delaying, they put all the Prisoners they had taken to the Sword, and went home again. *Valentinian* neglected his Confederates, in hopes that they would either do the business without him, or perish in the Attempt; which was the same thing to him, as if the *Germans* had been overthrown, for he was equally afraid both of the one and the other.

We have already mention'd the sad condition *Africa* was in, under the wicked Government of *Romanus*, who though he had committed all kinds of Rapine and Violence, yet by bribing high, he secur'd a friend at Court, who represented his Actions so fairly to the Emperor, that he was never call'd in question. To increase the misery of these Provinces, the *Austoriani* for many years harraßt the fertile Country about *Tripolis*, occasion'd by the Death of a Countryman of theirs call'd *Stachao*, who was taken within the *Roman* Pale; and being convicted of designing to betray the Province, he was burnt as a Spy and a Traytor, which so enrag'd the *Austoriani*, that they invaded the *Roman* Territories with Fire and Sword. The Citizens of *Leptis* who had suffer'd most, apply'd to *Romanus* for Relief; but he would not meddle in the matter, except they would furnish him with large quantities of Provisions, and no less than 4000 Camels for his Expedition. He kept their Deputies in suspence 40 Days, and at last dismiss them without answering their Request, which put them on a necessity of making their case known to *Valentinian*. Accordingly they sent *Flaccianus* and *Severus* with a true State of their Affairs. *Romanus* had notice of their Deputation, and by an Express inform'd *Remigius* his Kinsman, Steward of the Emperor's Household, of the danger he was in, unless he stood his Friend, and perswaded his Master to refer the business to the Vicar or Deputy-Governour of *Africa* his Creature, and to himself. When the Deputies arriv'd at Court, they told their Grievances to the Emperor; and *Remigius* representing their Affair in a quite different manner, the business stuck a long while before any thing was done in it. The *Barbarians* perceiving that the *Romans* neglected the relief of their Subjects in *Africa*, were encourag'd to continue their IncurSIONS: They destroy'd all the Territories

tories of *Leptis* and *Oea*, a Town situated between that A.D. 370.  
 and *Sabrata*; which three Cities gave the Name of *Lepido*,  
*Tripolis* to the Province and City, so call'd to this day, Tripolis,  
*Romanus* sitting idle, as if he was not at all concern'd in Vechio.  
 the matter. At last the Emperor heard of the Wast the  
*Astoriani* had made in his Dominions, and the multi-  
 tude of *Romans* they had slain; he immediately order'd  
*Palladius* to hasten to *Africa* with Money, to pay the  
 Arrears due to the Army there, and to bring him a true  
 account of the State of Affairs in the *Mauritania's*. In  
 the mean time the *Barbarians* attack'd *Leptis* it self,  
 and for eight days lay before the Town; but the Inha-  
 bitants defended themselves so resolutely, that their  
 Courage abated, and they rais'd the Siege. The *Lep-  
 tines* receiving no answer from their Agents of the Suc-  
 cess of their Voyage, sent *Fovinus* and *Pancratius* to  
 Court with fresh Instructions, to inform the Emperor of  
 the miserable Condition they were in. They met *Seve-  
 rus* and *Flaccianus* at *Carthage*, who told them what they  
 were to expect from *Valentinian*; however, they pro-  
 ceeded to execute their Commission. *Severus* dy'd at  
*Carthage*, and *Flaccianus* return'd home to report to the  
*Lepitines*, how he had succeeded in his Embassy.

*Romanus* was a little surpriz'd, when he heard of *Pal-  
 ladius's* approach, and on what Errand he came: He  
 knew he was ruin'd, if he could not gain him over to his  
 Interest, and engage him to represent the business to his  
 advantage. He therefore dealt with the principal Offi-  
 cers of the Army, who were as guilty of the late Mis-  
 carriages as himself, to bribe *Palladius* with the best  
 part of the Money he brought over to pay their Arrears,  
 that they might write favourably of them to his Master.  
*Palladius* being a Man of a mean Mercenary Temper,  
 took their Money, which was all *Romanus* desir'd.  
 When the former arriv'd at *Leptis*, and saw what they  
 had suffer'd, he exclaim'd bitterly against *Romanus*,  
 and threaten'd to let the Emperor know how he had  
 fail'd in his Duty, and been the cause of the ruin of  
 his Country about *Leptis*, the most fruitful within the  
*Roman* Pale. *Romanus* on his side had nothing to say  
 for himself, but that he would also inform *Valentinian*  
 how he had put the Money, with which he should have  
 paid the Soldiers, into his own Pocket; which being a  
 Charge that he could not deny nor excuse, *Palladius*  
 thought



A.D. 370. thought it would be safest for himself to have a good understanding with *Romanus*, that they might both be silent, with reference to each others Offences. As 'twas agreed on between them, when he came to Court, he assur'd *Valentinian*, that his Subjects in *Africk* complain'd without a cause. He was a second time sent thither, and joyning entirely with *Romanus*, they both together manag'd the *Leptines* so cunningly, that they prevail'd with them to disown *Jovinus's* Remonstrances, and deny that they had empower'd him to talk as he did: For which the poor Man was put to Death, and many others that were forward in exposing *Romanus's* Villany. In the end, the just hand of Providence fell heavy on the Conspirators, some of them hang'd themselves, and others dy'd by the Hangman.

This year the *Persians* invaded the Empire: *Valens* commanded a *Comes* and *Vadomarius*, whom we have mention'd to oppose them; yet to make it a Defensive, and not an Offensive War. Both Armies observ'd one another all this Campaign, and at the end of it, the two Monarchs, *Valens* and *Sapor* consented to a Truce. The Emperor himself crost over into *Asia*, and resided at *Antioch*, to be nearer the *Persian* War, in case it had gone forward. While he was in that City, one *Procopius*, a Man of a troublesom uneasie Temper, accus'd *Anatolius* and *Spudsius*, two of the Emperor's Servants in the Revenüe, of Conspiring to murder *Fortunatianus*, a Person of the first Quality, and in great favour with the Emperor: The Charge was exhibited before *Modestus*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, and the Accuser procur'd one *Palladius*, an obscure Person, and *Heliodorus* an Astrologer to be put to the Rack, as Accomplices with *Spudsius* and *Anatolius*. *Palladius* to avoid the Torture, cry'd out, that these were slight matters in comparison of others which he would discover, ; and being encourag'd to confess what he knew, he depos'd, that *Fidustius*, *Ireneus*, and *Pergamius*, all Men of Note, who had born Offices in the State, had by secret and abominable Arts, found out the name of the Man that should succeed *Valens* in the Imperial Throne. *Fidustius* being charg'd with the Crime, pleaded Guilty, and acknowledg'd, that himself, *Hilarius* and *Patritius*, two skilful Magicians, had by their Art found out, that *Valens* should be succeeded by an excellent Prince, and that they themselves

A Plot against Valens discovered.

selves should come to an untimely end, for their Curiosity. *Fidustius* being tortur'd almost to Death, confess that the Person they meant, was *Theodosius*, one of the second Degree of the Notaries, a *Gaul* by Descent, tho' born in *Sicily*, and that he had been acquainted with the Discoveries they had made, by the means of *Eusebius*, who had formerly been Vicar of *Asia*: *Eusebius* was immediately apprehended, and the Emperor being fully inform'd of their Clandestine Practices relating to the Succession, breath'd nothing but Vengeance and Death against all that should be found guilty. He was naturally of a revengeful Temper, and his Severity was encreas'd by the Suggestions of the *Præfēt Modestius*. *Theodosius* was taken into Custody at *Constantinople*, and several Persons considerable for their Employments and Quality, were seiz'd in all parts of the Eastern Provinces, and thrown into Prison for joyning with *Fidustius* in his Magical Experiments: The first that suffer'd for this Treason, was *Orgathius*, who accus'd some thousands as accessary; but the number of the Criminals which he nam'd was their safety, it being impossible to prosecute all of them. His Accusation did him no Service, nor them any Prejudice; for he was put to Death, and with him dy'd the Evidence of their pretended Crimes. The Cruelties exercis'd on this occasion were so dreadful, that *Salia*, the Emperor's Treasurer for *Thrace*, being charg'd with the Plot, and brought out of Prison to his Tryal, dropt down Dead at the sight of the Torments that were prepar'd for him. *Patritius* and *Hilarius* came next in turn, and differing in their Confessions, they were whipt for their Prevaricating, and the Tripes produc'd which they us'd in their Conjurations. *Hilarius* seeing 'twas in vain to stand out longer against such Proof, acknowledg'd, that they had recourse to Divination, and gave a particular account of the Magical Ceremonies they perform'd: However, he clear'd *Theodosius*, who, he said, knew nothing of it. *Patritius* confirm'd *Hilarius's* Confession, and then they were order'd to withdraw half dead with Tortures. After they were gone, *Theodosius* was bid to speak; he endeavour'd by his Prayers to prevail with his Judges, to intercede for his Pardon; but being commanded to tell what he knew, he confess'd, that *Eusebius* declar'd the matter to him, which he would have discover'd, had

A.D. 370. it not been for the same *Eusebius*, who perswaded him not to do it; saying, *What should come to pass, was not to be effected through the prevalence of any Ambitious Passions, but by the absolute necessity of fate.* *Eusebius* own'd as much on the Rack; yet *Theodosius* was convicted by Letters under his own Hand to *Hilarius*, intimating, he did not doubt of Success, though he could not yet think of a Method of putting the Design in execution. Then *Eutropius*, Proconsul of *Asia*, thought to be the Author of the *Abridgment of the Roman History*, was accus'd; but dismiss'd; the Philosopher *Pasiphilus* having clear'd him on the Rack: *Simonides* a young Man, who also profess'd Philosophy, confess'd, that *Fidustius* had told him of their secret Practices, which out of firmness of Mind he would not reveal. The Trials being over, *Valens* on the report of the Judges, at a breath commanded all the Prisoners Throats to be cut, which was done, to the inexpressible horror of the Spectators. *Maximus* the Philosopher, *Julian's* Favourite and Master, was one of those that suffer'd: He own'd that he had heard of the Prediction of the Oracle, which he had not discover'd, out of respect to his Profession, though he had foretold, that those who had consulted with the Infernal Powers about the Succession, should lose their Lives. *Maximus* was carry'd to *Ephesus*, the place of his Nativity, and there Beheaded. To justify this barbarous Execution, an infinite number of Books of Divination were Collected, and burnt in the sight of the Judges, as dangerous and prohibited. *Diogenes*, a Man as eminent for the Nobility of his Birth, as for his Wit, Eloquence, and good Nature, who had formerly been Governour of *Bithynia*, was put to Death as concern'd in this Conspiracy, though in reality, his greatest Crime was a great Estate, which he had to forfeit: *Alypius* Vicar in *Britain*, got off with Banishment, and the forfeiture of his Goods and Lands. *Palladius* met with so much encouragement to go on with his Informations, that while there were any Estates left, that with the least colour of Justice, could be seiz'd by the Death of the Owners, the Conspiracy was kept on foot, and Persons daily accus'd of it, to the terror of all the *East*; where Learning it self was become dangerous, and the Philosophers were forc'd to disown their Science, and burn their Books, lest the Emperor's Informers should

should find out Magick in them : However, *Valens* A.D. 370. himself had recourse to wicked Arts, to know his Successor. *Mariana* writes, that *Jamblicus* discover'd to him, the Name of him that should succeed in the Empire, in this manner. He wrote all the Letters of the Alphabet on the Ground, and on every Letter plac'd a grain of Corn; then turning a Cock loose while the Diviner mutter'd some Mysterious Words, they observ'd which Letters the Cock first eat the Corn off, and those were suppos'd to be the Name they sought for: Another way was to blind a Man, and mark the Letters he pointed to. By these foolish Inventions they hit upon the Letters  $\odot E O D$ ; upon which the Emperor Persecuted and Murder'd all those that he cou'd come at, whose Names began with the same Letters, as *Theodosius*, *Theodorus*, and *Theodulus*. He slew *Honorius Theodosius* of *Italica* in *Spain*, of the Family of *Trajan*, as will be related hereafter forgetting the Maxim, *That there never was, and never will be a Prince that can put his Successor to Death*. This *Theodosius* left two Sons, *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, of whom the former was the Famous Emperor, *Theodosius* the Great.

*Valens* not contented with the Violent Persecution he rais'd on account of the Succession, set another on foot as fierce against the Orthodox Christians. He banish'd all those that *Constantius* had formerly banish'd, and pack'd Synods of *Arian* Bishops, to condemn *Gregory* Bishop of *Nissa*, *Basil* his Brother, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosata*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and others; about which time *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Constantinople* dy'd, and the Orthodox elected *Evagrius* in his room. The *Arians* chose *Demophilus*; and there hapning some Contests at the Election between the two Parties, the Emperor order'd some Soldiers to assist the *Arians*, and drove *Evagrius* into Exile. The Orthodox were insulted and abus'd by their Adversaries, and eighty of the Priestly Order coming to *Nicomedia*, where *Valens* then resided to make their Complaints to him; the Emperor was so enrag'd, that he gave order to *Modestus*, to apprehend and put them to Death. The Præfect put 'em aboard a Vessel, and set fire to the Ship, which was driv'n by a strong Eastern Gale into the Haven *Dacidazus*; there she burnt down to the Water, and the Men were all consum'd with her. The Emperor



A.D. 370. peror when he was at *Edeffa*, about this time, resolv'd that a Company of Soldiers should fall on the Orthodox at Divine Service, in *St. Thomas's Church*; but here *Modestus*, who was to execute the bloody Service, shew'd himself a little more Humane, than he appear'd to be at *Nicomedia*; for he diverted the Emperor from his wicked Purpose, by representing, that there were more People than ordinary assembled in that Church, on the report of his intended Massacre, to have the Honour of Martyrdom; and that in his way he met a poor Woman with her young Son in her Hand, hasting to the Church, to die with the rest of her Catholick Neighbours, whom he could not by any Arguments or Threats dissuade from going thither: At which uncommon Example of Christian Courage, the Emperor's Fury was abated, and he gave over his bloody Design.

A.D. 371. *Valentinian* in the beginning of the next Summer, march'd to *Contionacum*, between *Triers* and *Ments*, intending to surprize *Macrianus*, a German King, who was very troublesom to the Romans. The Emperor by Deserters had Information of the place of his Abode, and would not stay to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*, but crost it with his Army in Boats, sending away *Severus*, who commanded the Foot to come upon the Enemy unaware. *Severus* halted at *Aque Mattiace*, fearing to be over-power'd by the number of the Barbarians, till more Forces joyn'd him, and then in the Night he advanc'd towards the Enemy; but contrary to express Command, his Soldiers made fires, and such a noise, that *Macrianus's* Guards took the Alarm, and convey'd him off to a place of Safety, in inaccessible Mountains. *Valentinian* not to end the Campaign without doing something remarkable, appointed *Fraomarius* to be King over the *Bucinobantes*, who inhabited the Country about *Spire* and *Worms*; which Kingdom, though small, was more than he could defend against the Neighbouring Princes, who turn'd him out of his Territories; and the Emperor to requite him for the Crown he had lost, made him Tribune of a German Legion in Britain.

Wisba-  
den.

We have already mention'd that *Valens* reviv'd the Edict of Banishment, which *Constantius* put forth against the Orthodox Christians. *Athanasius* was a fourth time forc'd to leave his See, to which he did not return till

after

## Chap. I. Valentinian, Valens.

97

A. D. 371.

after the death of that Arch Heretick *Eudoxius*, the Emperor then grew weary of persecuting him, and permitted him to live quietly at *Alexandria*, where he remain'd two or three years, and now ended his Labours and Sufferings with his Life: For his many excellent Qualities, and Heroick Piety, he justly obtain'd the surname of Great. After his Death, *Valens* plac'd an *Arian* Bishop in his See, and those Hereticks seiz'd the Churches belonging to the Catholicks, for their own use.

A. D. 372.

In the *West*, *Valentinian* was disturb'd by News from *Africa*, of a Rebellion in those Provinces, which began thus: *Nubel*, the most considerable Prince in *Mauritania*, Tributary to the *Romans*, dying left several Sons behind him; of whom one call'd *Firmus*, that he might succeed to the Sovereignty, murder'd his Brother *Zamma*, who was in favour with *Romanus*, Governor of the Provinces; and *Firmus* was afraid that he would have been prefer'd to him in the Succession: *Romanus*, by means of *Remigius* his friend at Court, render'd *Firmus* every way odious to *Valentinian*; and when any of *Firmus's* Friends offer'd to put in an answer to the Crimes laid to his Charge, *Remigius*, whose Office it was to receive such Papers, put them off, by telling 'em that 'twas not fit the Emperor's High Affairs should be interrupted by such trifles: *Firmus* seeing he was like to be cast without coming to a Trial, revolted from the *Romans*, took the Title and Ornaments of a King, and stood on his defence. *Valentinian* on notice of this Revolution, order'd *Theodosius*, who had done such Signal Services in *Britain*, to transport himself thither with an Army, and reduce the Rebel, before he became too strong.

*Theodosius* embarkt at *Arles*, and landed at *Igilgitanum*, now *Gigeri*, in the Kingdom of *Algier*: On his arrival he secur'd *Romanus* and *Vincentius* his Deputy, and prepar'd to carry on the War vigorously against the *Moors*. *Firmus* terrify'd at the report of the great things he had done in *Britain* and *Gaul*, beg'd pardon for his Offence, and offer'd Hostages for his future Obedience. *Theodosius* promis'd, that upon the receipt of the Hostages, he should be pardon'd; but finding *Firmus* Prevaricated with him, he fell upon the *Tindenses* and *Massinissenses*, two Nations commanded by two of

H

*Firmus's*

A.D. 372. *Firmus's* Brothers, and routed them: He also raz'd *Petra*, a City which *Salmaces*, another Brother of his was building. *Firmus* discourag'd by such an unprosperous beginning of the War, prevail'd with some Christian Bishops, to intercede for him with *Theodosius*; who at their request, accepted of his Submission, and admitted him to his Presence. When the *African* approach'd near the *Roman* General, he alighted from his Horse, fell at his Feet, and weeping, bewail'd his Folly and Rashness, begging him to forgive what was past. *Theodosius* having receiv'd from him plenty of Provision for his Army, and Hostages for his future Loyalty, dismiss him without any further Punishment: Two Days after he deliver'd up *Icosium*, restor'd the Prisoners, and every thing else that he had taken from the *Romans*. At *Tipasa*, *Theodosius* was met by the Embassadors of the *Mazices*, a Nation that had joyn'd with *Firmus* in his Revolt, who making their Submission and desiring to be forgiv'n, he gave them no better answer, than that *he would certainly make War upon 'em*, and bad them *go tell their Masters so*. From thence he march'd to *Casarea*, an ancient Town, which being falln to decay, he employ'd his Soldiers in repairing the Fortifications, and left it tenable. While they were busie about the Work, he learnt that *Firmus* had only dissembled with him to gain time, that he might surprize him and his Army. He then proceeded to *Sugarbarri*, where he seiz'd the fourth Cohort of the Legion *Sagittarij*, who had deserted to the *Moors*; yet he inflict'd on them no worse Punishment, than to put them on the meanest Services in the Field. He Detach'd several Parties to annoy the Enemy; and *Bellenes* and *Fericus*, two principal Men among the *Mazices*, being taken Prisoners by *Maximus* and *Gildo*, a Brother of *Firmus*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*, he order'd them to be put to Death, to deter others from rebelling, by the example of their Fate. After this he advanc'd into the Territories of the *Mazices*, and gave Battel to the Forces they had rais'd, for the defence of their Country: In which he prov'd Victorious, and destroy'd almost all their Army; yet he did not obtain the Victory without loss on his own part, which with Sickness, and other accidents of War, had reduc'd his Troops to 3500. The *Barbarians* hearing how his Forces were diminish'd,

Acor.

diminish'd, came pouring down upon him with their whole Strength, and had certainly cut off his Retreat, but that the *Moors* mistook a Party of their own Men, who had some *Roman* Fugitives in their Van, for a fresh supply coming to *Theodosius*, and fled away in the Fight, leaving the Passage open for *Theodosius* to bring off his Men to *Muzucanum*, where he took up his Quarters; and finding the Enemy were too strong for him, he laid by his Arms a while, and had recourse to his Policy in War: He sent some Agents who were Masters of the Art of Persuasion, to divide the Nations that were in the Confederacy against the *Romans*, and draw them over to his Interest, by Promises or Threats. *Firmus* perceiving these Emissaries were like to succeed in their Negotiations, left the Army, and fled to the Mountains; and his Men when their Prince was gone, went every Man to his home, leaving their Camp to the *Romans*.

*Theodosius* now Master of the Field, put all that oppos'd him to the Sword, and set such Governours over the Nations he subdu'd, as he could confide in. *Firmus* apply'd himself to the *Isastenses* for Protection, who cheerfully undertook to protect him. *Theodosius* on notice that they had espous'd his Quarrel, march'd against them, and gave them two or three great Overthrows, in one of which, *Firmus's* Brother *Mazaca* was taken, and dy'd of his Wounds: *Evasius*, one of their chief Leaders, and *Florus* his Son, were burnt alive for being most instrumental in raising this War; and *Firmus* himself very narrowly escap'd falling into the Conqueror's Hands: *Theodosius* persu'd him farther into the Country. As he advanc'd towards the Territories of one of the *Moerish* Kings, the *Barbarian* sent to demand who he was, and what his business was there? He answer'd, That he was an Officer of *Valentinian*, Lord of the World, and come to suppress a Thief, and a Robber, whom except he would speedily deliver up into his Hands, he and the Nation he rul'd, should utterly perish: The next Morning the *Moors* gave him Battel; the two Armies fought till Night. In the midst of the Engagement *Firmus* appear'd very well mounted, and with a loud Voice, endeavour'd to persuade the *Romans* to deliver up their General, as a Man who delighted in Blood, and on whom they ought not to look, but with Horror: His

*Firmus*  
persuades  
the Ro-  
mans to  
Desert.



A.D. 371. Speech had such an effect on some of *Theodosius's* Soldiers, that they left the Field. Night putting an end to the Combat, he drew off his Men to a Castle not far distant, where he muster'd his Forces, and such as had not done their Duty in the Battel, or were influenc'd by *Firmus's* words, he punish'd, some by cutting off their Right Hands, and others by burning them alive:

Forfaken- The *Moorish* King not long after abandon'd his Confe-  
by the derate *Firmus*, and sent one of his Councillors to *Theo-*  
Moors. *odosius*, to make his Peace, which was granted: The  
Hangs The *Barbarian* order'd the Body to be thrown cross a  
himself. Pack-horse; and having obtain'd a Pass from the *Ro-*  
*man* General, carry'd it to his Camp, where he pre-  
sented it to him, who joyfully receiv'd it, and return'd  
in Triumph to *Sitiffs*, now *Steffa* in *Algier*.

Thus happily did this brave *Roman* put an end to a War, which might have prov'd fatal to the Empire: Her Troops were employ'd elsewhere, and she had very few to spare for this Service; yet with these few, he subdu'd many fierce Nations, and settled those Provinces in Peace, that had many years been harraßt by foreign Enemies, and Domestick Tyrants: Yet for the reward of these noble Acts, he was four or five years afterwards beheaded at *Carthage*, by the command of *Valens*: He desir'd to be Baptiz'd before he dy'd; which we thought fit to mention now, that we might not break the thread of his Story. What were his Crimes we cannot relate, finding no footsteps of any Charge against him: 'Tis probable the malice of the Courtiers who envi'd him, might suggest the danger of his Power and Ambition; and that the first Letters of his Name, made him suspected by the Emperor's Magicians.

Theodosi-  
us, Father  
of Theo-  
dosius the  
Great, put  
to Death.

Moravi-  
ans.

While *Theodosius* was employ'd in *Africa*, the *Quadi* took Arms, being disgusted that *Valentinian* in carrying on his Fortifications on the Frontiers of his Provinces, had built a Fort upon their Ground, on the other side of the *Ister*: They remonstrated by their Embassadors, that the Land where he was building the Fort, belong'd to them, and desir'd him to desist; of which the Emperor by the perswasions of the Praefect *Maximinus*, a cruel Incendiary, took no notice: Nor of their King *Gabinus's* modest Entreaty, That the Subjects of the Empire might give no cause of Jealousie to his People. *Max-*  
*iminus's*

*iminus's* Son *Marcellinus*, had the Inspection of the A.D. 372. Work; and seeming to approve of the King's request, invited him to a Feast; at which breaking all the Laws of Hospitality, he caus'd him to be Murder'd. The *The Qua-* *Quadi*, and all the Neighbouring Nations, rose in a di *Invade* mighty rage to revenge the Death of this Prince, and *the Em-* made a terrible inroad into the Roman Territories. It *pire.* happen'd that *Constantia*, *Constantius's* Daughter, was then on her way from *Constantinople* to *Gaul*, where she was going to be Marry'd to *Gratian*: The *Barbarians* came so closely upon her, as she was at Dinner, that she very narrowly escap'd being taken. *Probus* the *Pre-* *fectus Prætorio* in *Pannonia*, commanding in those parts, fortify'd himself in *Sirmium*. The *Barbarians* on In- *Sciria.* formation that *Equitius*, who was the contriver of *Gabinus's* Death, had hidden himself in *Valeria*, resolv'd to pursue him thither; and in their way defeated two Legions, the *Pannonian* and *Mæsiacæ*, who were contending among themselves about the Post of Honour, and being attack'd severally, were routed. *Theodosius*, the Son of him who suppress'd the *African* Ufurper, and Governour of *Mæsia*, though he was very young, yet with a small Army overthrew, and made a dreadful Slaughter of the *Sarmatians* that invaded his Province, upon which they desir'd Peace, and it was granted them.

The next year *Paras*, whom *Valens* had settled in the Throne of *Armenia*, was very much insulted by *Terentius*, the Roman General: He continually reproach'd the young Prince with the Death of *Cylax* and *Artabanus*; and represented him to *Valens*, as an Enemy to the Empire. He invited him to a Royal Entertainment at *Tarsus*, in *Cilicia*, where he was confin'd as soon as he arriv'd, and not suffer'd to wait on the Emperor, nor acquainted with the reason of his Restraint: However, he got intelligence, that *Terentius* had done him ill Offices, and had written to Court for a new King to be set over *Armenia*: Being apprehensive that *Paras* would renounce the old Alliance his Ancestors had made with the Roman Emperors, and joyn with the *Persians*. The King finding his Life was in danger, escap'd out of Prison by the assistance of 300 Select Men of his own Subjects, who supply'd him with Horses, and carry'd him off, notwithstanding he was closely pursu'd by the Ro-

A.D. 373. *mans.* The Emperor hearing of his escape, concluded he would fall off from him ; and order'd 1000 Archers to post after him, and bring him back : They being well acquainted with the Country, took the shortest way, which *Paras* who was a stranger did not know, and seiz'd two Passes that they thought he could not avoid ; but a Traveller informing him of the danger he was in, he turn'd out of the Road, made his way through a thick Wood, and arriv'd in Safety in his own Kingdom. *Valens* was heartily vext that he was balkt, and resolv'd, whatever means he us'd, to destroy him. He wrote to *Trajan*, who commanded the Legions in *Armenia*, to effect it. In obedience to the Emperor's Orders, *Trajan* insinuated himself into his Confidence, and would often shew him Letters full of kind Expressions from *Valens* : By these Arts he got such credit with him, that *Paras* ventur'd to Dine at his House. *Trajan* receiv'd him in a manner suitable to his Quality, and having drunk freely with him, pretending to withdraw on some necessary occasion, he sent in a *Russian*, whom he had provided for that purpose, who set upon the young King, and the Youth defending himself, was cut to pieces. The King of *Persia* believing he had in *Paras* lost a useful Friend, was much afflicted at the News ; yet he disssembled his Resentment, and dispatch'd away an Ambassador to *Valens*, to perswade him, that *Armenia* having been the cause of so much Mischief, it would be for their common Interest to ruin it : Or if he did not approve of this Proposal, to withdraw his Garrison out of *Iberia*, and suffer *Aspacuras* to reign quietly over that Kingdom : *Valens* answer'd, he was resolv'd to stand to the Partition Treaty, that was lately agreed to. *Sapor* by his Ambassador reply'd, that 'twere convenient to leave the adjusting these Matters, to those Persons *Jovian* had employ'd in his Treaty. To please him, the Emperor order'd *Victor*, the *Magister Equitum*, and *Urbicius* Governor of *Mesopotamia*, to go his Embassadors into *Persia*, with Instructions, to desire King *Sapor* to be contented with his own Dominions, and leave *Armenia* free ; otherwise he should be forc'd to provide for its safety, in a way that would not be very pleasing to him. The Embassadors exceeding their Instructions, accepted of a small part of *Armenia* ; and *Sapor* sent the *Surenas*, the next Person in his Kingdom

*Paras King  
of Arme-  
nia, trea-  
cherously  
Murder'd  
by the Ro-  
mans.*

dom to himself, to engage *Valens* to ratifie what *Victor* A.D. 373. and *Urbicius* had done; which the Emperor refusing, both sides prepare for War.

The *Persians* were first in the Field, lying near the *A War* Country that occasion'd the Dispute; and obtain'd some *with Per-* Advantages, before *Valens* could get his Forces to the *sia*. borders of *Persia*, which he intended to enter with three Armies: But in the mean while the *Goths* allarm'd his Ministers at *Constantinople*, with apprehensions of an Irruption into *Thrace*; which put *Valens* on a necessity of acting Defensively in the *Persian Wars*, in which he lately promis'd himself such mighty things.

And now the just Judgment of God overtook *Remigius*, who had assisted *Romanus* in his wicked Practices in *Africa*: He was for some Offence turn'd out of his Office of *Magister Officiorum*, and *Leo* put in his place. After which he retir'd to his Seat near *Mentz*, and hearing the *Præfæctus Prætorio* was inquiring into his Conduct, with reference to *Romanus's* Exactions and Tyranny in his Province, he was so afraid of the Consequence of this Inquisition, that he hang'd himself. *Valentinian* proceeded in raising Forts, Castles, and other Works, for the defence of the Borders of the *Western Empire*. As he was inspecting the building of a Fort at *Basil*, he had notice that the *Barbarians* had invaded *Illyricum*, and had made such a Progress, that his Presence was necessary to put a stop to them; but *Macrianus* the *German King*, gave him so much disturbance on the *Rhine*, he durst not leave his Frontiers expos'd on that side: He offer'd him Peace, and had an Enterview with him on the River *Rhine*, where a Treaty was concluded, which the *German* kept honourably to his Death. *Valentinian* after the conclusion of the Peace, went to *Triers*, to prepare for his Expedition to *Illyricum*, intending to manage the War with the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi* in Person. Early the next year, he remov'd to *A.D. 375.* *Valenti-* *Carnutum*, a City of *Austria*, where he staid three *nian goes* Months, making Preparations to chastise the *Quadi*: *against the* He detach'd *Merobaudes* and *Sebastian* with a Party of *Barbari-* Foot to waite their Borders, and himself follow'd with the *ans, the* Main of the Army past the *Danube*, by a Bridge of *Quadi* Boats at *Acincum*, and invaded their Country on ano- *and Sar-* ther side. Being attack'd at once by *Merobaudes* and *matæ*. Bu- the Emperor, they were amaz'd and confounded, not da-



A.D. 375. knowing which quarter of their Territories to defend first. In this Confusion the Romans easily subdu'd them, kill'd a great Multitude, burnt their Houses, and then return'd in Safety. The Emperor march'd back to *Acincum*, intending to Winter in *Pannonia*, to be ready for an early Campaign next Spring. Marching to his Quarters, he stop'd at the Castle of *Bregetio*, near the City now call'd *Gran*; where he was forewarn'd of his Fate by several Omens, that were in those days much taken notice of. Here the Embassadors of the *Quadi* in a very submissive manner, beg'd Pardon for past Offences, and offer'd to furnish him with Troops, and Provisions for his Army, if he would give them a Peace: The Emperor admitted them to an Audience, and demanded what they could say for themselves? They answer'd, the late Disturbances were the Contrivance of a few amongst them, and not done by the general Consent of their Nation; who were provok'd, by building the Fort contrary to Justice, and the Roman Interest. *Valentinian* was furiously enrag'd with them, and upbraided 'em with Ingratitude, with so much Passion, that he sunk down upon his Seat, as if he had been struck from Heaven: His Blood Stagnated, he was seiz'd with a cold Sweat, and depriv'd of the use of his Speech. Thus Dead in appearance, he was carry'd to his Chamber, where he fell into Convulsion Fits, and expir'd the 17th of November, in the fifty Sixth year of his Age, and the 12th of his Reign. *Socrates* writes, that the occasion of his violent Passion, was not so much at what the Embassadors said, as how they look'd. He was amaz'd to see them so ugly, and in such mean Equipage; but when he understood they were some of the top Men of their Country, both for Figure and Fashion, he fell into a terrible Rage, crying out, *The Romans were wretched indeed, to be at so much pains to reduce such a Rascally People*: Speaking so violently, that he broke a Vein, and dy'd by the loss of Blood.

He had, as we have said, two Wives, who were both living together. He Marry'd *Severa* his first, before he was advanc'd to the Throne; 'tis said, his Empress was so fond of a young Woman call'd *Justina*, who waited on her, that she made her, her Favourite and Companion, permitting her to Bathe with her in her own Bath; and she was so charm'd with the Beauties,

Who beg'd  
a Peace.

The Empe-  
ror taken  
ill.

Dies sud-  
denly.

she

she by this means discover'd, that she could not forbear ex- A.D. 375.  
 rolling her to her Husband, as the fairest of Women. The  
 Emperor at the report of her hidden Perfections grew A-  
 morous, and contriv'd how he might enjoy her, without  
 giving Offence either to save his own Honour, or the  
 Ladies, he did not offer to make her his Mistress; but pub-  
 lish'd an Edict, to make it lawful for any Man to have two  
 Wives: After he had thus solv'd his Scruples of Consci-  
 ence, he celebrated his Marriage, and left several Children  
 by her. *Zosimus* confutes this Story at once, by affirming,  
*Justina* was the Widow of *Magnentius* the Tyrant. By  
*Severa*, he had the Emperor *Gratian*; by *Justina*, *Valentini-*  
*an* the Second, and three Daughters; *Galla* the Wife of  
*Theodosius* the Great, *Grata* and *Justa*, who dy'd Virgins.

The Character of *Valentinian* is a mixture of several  
 Vices and Vertues: He was Cruel, Coverous, and Cre-  
 dulous: He was envious and revengeful, hated all that  
 were eminent for Learning, Nobility, Riches, Valour,  
 or that dress'd better than himself. He us'd to rail at  
 Cowards, and yet would be dejected on very trivial  
 occasions. In his choice of Judges, he was careful not  
 to promote Men of cruel and wicked Principles; yet  
 if any of them prov'd so, he would make his boasts,  
 that they were his *Lycurgus's* and *Cassii*, and wrote  
 to them not to slacken their Hand, but to persevere in  
 their rigorous Proceedings. His Vertues were as Con-  
 spicuous, and above all, the great care he took to pro-  
 vide for the safety of his Provinces, by building Ci-  
 ties and Forts, and raising Ramparts to defend them  
 from the Insults of their Enemies: He was exact in  
 Military Discipline, and Chast beyond exception, if we  
 can excuse his having two Wives. He frown'd upon all  
 those that allow'd themselves too much liberty in their  
 Morals; and advanc'd none of his Relations, except  
*Valens*, his Brother, if it was not for the interest of the  
 Commonwealth. He prefer'd none to places of Trust,  
 Profit, or Honour, but Men of Merit; and would not  
 suffer them to be bought and sold; neither would he  
 commit the Government of the Provinces, to those who  
 were any ways concern'd in the Revenue: He wrote  
 well; he could Paint, and Carve, and was very indul-  
 gent to the Artists of this Profession. He had a good  
 Memory, and a particular faculty in inventing new  
 sorts of Arms: He spoke fluently, lov'd Neatness, and  
 was

A.D. 374. was Magnificent in his Treats. As to his Religion, his Beautiful Wife *Justina*, who was an *Arian*, prevail'd over him so far, as to be passive in the Disputes, between the Orthodox and the *Arians*: He seldom interpos'd in matters of Church-Government, saying, *It was not proper for him, being a Layman.* When *St. Ambrose*, who was Governor of Milan, was forc'd by the Clergy and People of that City, to lay by his Sword, and put on the Miter, which happen'd in the last year of this Emperor's Reign; *Valentinian* is reported to have said, *That he acknowledg'd the goodness of God towards him, in giving him such an Officer, as was fit to be made a Bishop.* 'Twas very common in those Days, for Christians to put off their Baptism till they were nigh their end; and this Custom was the reason that *Valentinian* was never Baptiz'd: However, he was a great Enemy of *Paganism*, and so far espous'd the quarrel of the Orthodox Christians, that when *Valens* desir'd him to assist him in his Wars, he sent him word, *He could not give aid to a Prince, who made War against the Son of God.*

### *Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II.*

THE Body of the deceas'd Emperor was embalm'd, and carry'd to *Constantinople* to be bury'd among the *Augusti*. The chief Officers of the Army met in Council, and considering the *Gallick* Legions were Murinous, and might oppose their Resolutions, they sent for *Merobaudes*, who commanded them in the Emperor's Name, to come to them, and assist at their Deliberations; ordering him to divide his Forces, and put them upon Action. *Merobaudes* suspecting the Matter, sifts it out of the Messenger; yet he follow'd his Instructions, detach'd a great Body of his Forces under the command of *Sebastian*, a dangerous Person for his Interest in the Army, to march towards the *Rhine*, pretending he had such Orders from his Master, to repel the *Barbarians*, who made Incurfions upon the Borders. He then went to *Bregetio*, and on his Arrival 'twas resolv'd, that *Valentinian*, the late Emperor's younger Son, a Child of four years old, should be proclaim'd *Augustus*: He liv'd with his Mother *Justina*, at *Murocin*

Valentinian the second declar'd Emperor.  
Meurs.

*neta,*

neta, at a great distance from *Pannonia*; yet in six days A.D. 374. *Cerealis*, *Justina's* Brother, who was sent for him, brought him to the Camp, and he was solemnly declar'd Emperor. *Gratian's* elder Brother was highly displeas'd with the Officers, for proceeding so far in an Affair of that Nature, without his Consent or Knowledge: However, he comply'd with their Election, admitted *Valentinian* to be his Partner in the Empire, and liv'd with him like a Brother, and a Friend.

In the mean time a black Storm was rising in the *East*, which in the end, overthrew the *Roman* Monarchy. The *Huns* invaded the Territories of the *Alans*, a Nation as barbarous in their Manners and Customs, as themselves, whom they Conquer'd, and forc'd those that were left alive, to joyn with them, and together to fall upon the *Gothick* Nations, their own Country being either too little or too barren, to maintain the prodigious swarms of People which it bred: And though that of the *Goths* was not the pleasantest part of *Europe*, yet 'twas better than their own, so they resolv'd to dispossess them of it. They first attack'd the Dominions of *Ermeneric* and *Ermanaric*, who were so frighted at such a strange and unexpected Invasion, that the latter kill'd himself to prevent falling into their Hands, and the former abandon'd his Territories to the Invaders: Then they pour'd in *Athamaric*, who had assist'd *Procopius*. He was a Martial Prince, and resolv'd to stand on his Guard: He sent out Scouts, to discover the Motions of these Rovers. The *Huns* past by his Scouts, fell upon him unawares, kill'd most of his Men, and put the rest to flight, himself amongst the rest flying to the Mountains: From whence passing over the River *Gera-fus*, he reach'd the Banks of the *Danube*, and there rais'd Works to defend himself from the *Huns*, who were so encumber'd with the Booty they had taken, that they could not pursue him very fast. The report of the dreadful Irruption of these barbarous People, and the Progress they made, struck the other Nations of the *Goths* into such a Pannick fear, that they came to a Resolution to leave their Country to the fury of the Invaders, and possess themselves of *Thrace*; as well because 'twas more fruitful than their own, as for that it was separated by the *Ister*, which is very broad in those parts, from the Regions the *Huns* had conquer'd. To this end

Crim-Tartars.  
Lithuanians.

The Huns  
drive the  
Goths out  
of their  
Country.



A.D. 375. end they seiz'd on the Coasts of the *Danube*, under the Conduct of *Alaricus*, and sent Embassadors to *Valens*, humbly to implore Pity and Protection, that they might be receiv'd into his Territories, being driv'n out of their own; and to desire that *Thrace* might be assign'd them to inhabit, promising to live quietly, and to be aiding and assisting to him on all occasions. The Rumour of these Revolutions amongst the barbarous Nations, equally surpriz'd and terrify'd the Inhabitants of the other parts of the World: They were amaz'd to hear of such vast Multitudes of *Barbarians* expelled their Dwellings, by People more barbarous than themselves. The Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, who inhabited *Thrace* and *Greece*, trembled to see such Swarms of Men covering the Banks of the *Ister*; and having no Country of their own, threatening their Neighbours with the same Fate, of which they now so mournfully Complain'd: Common Prudence would have been enough to have put the Ministers of State on Arming the *Romans*, to defend the Empire from such dangerous Neighbours. If by the special Providence of God, whose Hand began now to strike at the foundations of that Monarchy, which for four hundred years had been the Terror of the World; Those that were at the Head of the Government, had not been corrupt and unskillful Persons, who either were not wise enough to foresee the ill Consequence of admitting such Numbers of Strangers into the Heart of the Empire, or honest enough to resist the Temptations of Gold; which the *Gothick* Embassadors liberally distributed among them, to bribe them to betray their Master: They flatter'd the Emperor *Valens*, and Complemented him on the fair occasion, which bounteous Heaven had put into his Hands, to benefit himself and the Empire. They represented the Offers of Supplies of Men, that the *Goths* made him, to be one of the most fortunate Events, that ever happen'd to him in his Life: For now he might treasure up his Revenues in his Coffers, and send the Mutinous Legions to People the Waste Parts of his Dominions: The *Goths* would bear the burthen of his Wars, and furnish him with Troops, sufficient not only to defend, but to enlarge his Empire: So effectual were their false Reasons, that *Valens* gave order to Transport them. The Commissioners who were appointed to receive and survey them, were con-

founded

The Goths  
desire to  
be admit-  
ted into  
Thrace.

Valens  
admits  
them.

founded by such an infinite Multitude, and could give A.D. 375. no account of their Numbers. The Courtiers were so fond of their new Guests, that they would not have a Man of them left behind, lest it should be a loss to the State, little thinking, though nothing was more Obvious, that they were fetching over so many thousand Men, to turn themselves and their Families out of their Houses, and give Laws to those, who for many Ages had given Laws to the rest of Mankind. The great Promoters of their Admission, were *Lupicinus* and *Maximus*, who were equally rash and covetous. After they had procur'd the Emperor to permit them to settle in *Thrace*, they behav'd themselves so Insolently, as if they intended by driving 'em to Despair, to hasten the Destruction of their Country; and were afraid, lest they should not live long enough to see themselves and their Children subjected to a People they had till then despis'd. Some Authors affirm, *Valens* Commanded the *Goths* should be Disarm'd, as fast as they landed in *Thrace*; but the Officers who had in charge to bring them over, brib'd by Presents of their finest Women, most beautiful Boys, strong Slaves, Linnen, and other valuable Merchandise, conniv'd at their keeping their Arms. 'Tis also said, the Emperor intended to disperse their Children up and down in the remote Provinces, as Hostages for the Fidelity of their Fathers: Which prudent Design was frustrated, by the same base Mercenary Methods, that had been practis'd in the whole management of this pernicious Affair. Though *Zosimus* relates, there were such Hostages given, that *Valens* sent them to *Julius* the Roman General, in the Eastern Provinces, to be kept and Educated, and that after the Emperor's Death, *Julius* without consulting the pleasure of his Successor *Theodosius*, by vertue of a Commission from the Senate of *Constantinople*, put 'em all to the Sword. From this time the Reader may expect to meet with great Disturbances, frequent Commotions, bloody Wars, and dreadful Scenes of Confusion and Slaughter: And from this remarkable *Æra*, we may date the fall of the *Roman*, and rise of the *Gothick* Empire. *Valens* and *Valentinian* the Second, being Consuls in the 1128<sup>th</sup> year of *Rome*, forty six years after the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*, and in the year of our Lord, 376.

## C H A P. II.

*From the Admission of the Goths into  
Thrace, to the Death of Theodosius  
the Great.*

*Containing the Space of 19 Years.*

A.D. 376. **W**E have avoided in this place, and many others, to take notice of the *Olympiads*, both because that *Epoca* is out of use in our Christian Histories; and that of our Saviour's Nativity, is the most common, and the most useful. The *Goths* being landed in *Thrace*, those of them that had not Money to purchase a Settlement, wander'd upon the Coast, and were so much abus'd by the *Roman* Officers, who were appointed to receive them, that they were almost starv'd; *Lupicinus* perceiving they began to resent their ill usage, for fear of a Mutiny, order'd a Party of Soldiers that quarter'd in those parts, to keep them in awe; but the Insolence of those Troops serv'd only to exasperate them. Some time after *Lupicinus* invited *Alavivus*, and *Fritigern*, two of the chief Captains or Kings of the *Goths* to Dinner at *Martianopolis*, where he resided, and order'd the Gates to be shut, to keep out the meaner sort, who desir'd to be admitted into the City, that they might buy what Necessaries they wanted: The Guards that were at the Gates deny'd them admittance in a very rude manner, which provok'd the *Goths* to give them hard Words; and the Soldiers answering them in their kind, they fell from Words to Blows; most of the Guards were kill'd, and stript by the *Barbarians*; which *Lupicinus* hearing, commanded the *Goths* that waited on *Fritigern* and *Alavivus*, to be murder'd in the midst of the Feast. When the *Goths* without, heard how their Countrymen within were treated, fearing their

## Chap. II. Valens, Gratian, Valentinian.

III

their Kings would be detain'd Prisoners, fell into a desperate Rage, and threatned to be severely reveng'd on the Romans : But *Lupicinus* growing Drunk, *Fritigern* and his Companion pretending to appease the Tumult, got away, and were receiv'd by their Soldiers with great Joy : This Inhospitable Treatment provok'd them to such a degree, that they immediately consulted how they might best raise a War, and prosecute their Revenge. *Vithrich* King of the *Greuthuni*, another Nation of the *Goths*, being overthrown by the *Huns*, and finding his Neighbours had exchanged their Dwellings for the better, led his Men to the Banks of the *Ister*, and dispatch'd away Messengers to *Valens*, for liberty to Transport himself and his Subjects into *Thrace*, as *Fritigern* had done : The Emperor flatly deny'd him ; however, by the advice of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, two of his principal Favourites and Officers, he took the opportunity, while the Soldiers who were posted for defence of the Coasts of *Thrace*, were remov'd to observe the stragling *Goths*, and the Ships that cruiz'd on the *Gothick* shoar, were gone upon other Service, to pass over in some Boats, which he got ready in a very little time ; and though these latter comers were not at first very welcom to the former, yet now their mutual Interests united them, and they all joyn'd against the Romans, as their common Enemy. *Fritigern* at the Head of the *Thervingi*, who were first admitted, destroy'd all where-ever he came, with Fire and Sword ; and *Lupicinus* marching out with too much Precipitation to oppose them, was met by the *Barbarians*, twelve Miles from *Martianopolis*, and defeated ; the Tribunes, and most of their Men were kill'd, and himself forc'd to fly back to the City : The Defeat was the more fatal, because the *Barbarians* with the Spoils of the Field, furnish'd themselves with *Roman* Arms, and rovd about the Country Robbing and Burning without controul. When *Valens* heard how the *Goths* had taken Arms, and overthrown one of his Generals, he was at a great loss what to do, whether he should proceed to the Borders of *Persia*, to carry on the War with *Sapor* in Person, and leave the *Gothick* Insurrection to his Lieutenants ; or whether he should clap up a Peace with the *Persian* King, and march against those ungrateful Rebels : At last he resolv'd to send away *Victor*, to accommodate

A.D. 376.

*Lupicinus*  
provokes  
the *Goths*  
to raise a  
War with  
*Valens*.

*Lupicinus*  
defeated by  
them.



A.D. 374. commodate matters with *Sapor*, and return himself to *Constantinople*: He commanded *Profaturus* and *Trajan*, with the Legions drawn out of *Armenia*, to hasten away before him; they were both Men of much Ambition, and little Capacity, and accordingly they succeeded in their Enterprize: Their Soldiers were brave indeed, but they were not enough to resist the vast numbers of the *Barbarians*; however, they seized all the Passes of Mount *Hemus*, to shut up the Enemy among those craggy Rocks, in hopes to starve or pen them up, till the *Auxiliary* Forces which *Gratian* was sending to their Relief, under the command of *Frigeride* and *Richomeres*, were come up: The greatest part of *Richomeres's* Troops deserted in their march, perswaded to it as was reported, by *Merobaudes*, who was apprehensive that so strong a Detachment, would leave the Frontiers of *Gaul* too much expos'd. *Frigeride* was taken ill of the Gout, or at least pretended Sickness, and staid behind, to the great Detriment of the Affairs of the Empire. The *Goths* in the mean time continu'd their Devastations in *Thrace*, and encourag'd by the addition of more Forces, under *Sweridas* and *Colias*, two Captains of their Nation, they were so bold, as to attack *Adrianople*. *Sweridas* and his Companions had been admitted into the City by *Valens*, who on the News of the rising of the *Therving*, order'd, that they and their Men should be remov'd towards the *Hellespont*. The *Goths* refus'd to leave the City, unless they were furnisht with Provisions, and were allow'd two Days for their March; their refusal, and the Mischiefs done by their Countrymen in the Neighbourhood of the City, provok'd the Magistrates and the Citizens to threaten to destroy them, if they would not be gone. The *Goths* enrag'd at their opprobrious Language threw Stones and Dirt at them, attacht, and routed them, Sally'd out of the City, and joyn'd *Fritigern*, whom they perswaded to Besiege it. *Fritigern* to please them, sat down before the place, but knowing his Men were not very skilful in Sieges, he advis'd them to give it over; and while they were Masters of the Field, to make the best of their opportunity, and plunder the rich Province about it: However, to distress the Citizens, he turn'd the Siege into a Blockade, and while part of his Forces scour'd the Country, another part kept the Town

*Fritigern*  
*Besieges A-*  
*drianople.*

*Leaves it.*

Townsmen within the Walls, reducing it to great Streights. *Fritigern* and his Troops rang'd over *Thrace*, committing horrible Spoil and Cruelty, inventing new ways of Barbarity, to satisfy their brutal Lust of Blood and Revenge. Infants were torn from the Breasts of their sad Mothers, and born on the tops of Spears, or had their Brains dash'd out in the sight of their fond Parents: Wives having been the miserable Spectators of the Slaughter of their Husbands, were abus'd by their Murderers; and Sons drawn over the dead Bodies of their Fathers, to be carry'd into Bondage. *Richomer*es with a few Troops that were left, joyn'd *Trajan* and *Profuturus*, upon which the Roman Generals march'd to *Salices*, where a Body of *Goths* lay as a Guard to their Booty and Baggage, and intended to fall on their Rear when they broke up. The Barbarians by Deserters had notice of their Design, and making a Signal of Danger to the Parties that were abroad, they soon became too strong for the Romans; who perceiv'd through the unwariness of their Generals, they were brought into a necessity of fighting on unequal Terms: However they gave Battle, and fought a whole Day with their usual Courage: Both sides had enough of the Combat; the Romans drew off to *Martianopolis*, and the Barbarians kept in their Camp behind their Carriages for seven Days; in which time the Romans seiz'd some other Passes of Mount *Hemus*, and had now shut up the *Goths* between that Mountain and the *Danube*, in a Country destitute of Provisions, which had been before remov'd to the Garrison Towns. *Valens* receiving daily bad News from *Thrace*, detach'd *Saturninus* with the Horse, to assist *Profuturus* and *Trajan*. The *Goths* on notice that the Roman Cavalry were advancing to joyn their Army in *Thrace*, were afraid of the Number and Courage of those Veteran Troops, and tempted the *Huns*, the very Nation that had driven them from their Homes, to enter into an Alliance with them by Promises of vast Booty: Accordingly the *Huns* and *Alans* came to their assistance, and like a mighty Torrent bore down all before them. *Saturninus* perceiving that his Forces were of no use against such Swarms of People, made a fair Retreat; the Barbarians spreading themselves from the *Ister*, to the Mountain *Rodope*, the whole Province was filled with Rapine, Slaughter, Blood and Fire. At *Dibantum*, *Barzimeres*

A.D. 376. *meres* Tribune of the *Scutarii*, was Posted with his Legion and some other Forces: He was a Man of great Experience in the Art Military, and knowing the danger he was in, drew up his Men into a close Body and resolv'd to break through the Enemy; he behav'd himself so bravely in the Execution of his design that he had Escap'd, if his Hands had been as good as his Heart; but being weary'd with maintaining a long Fight, and wounded in several places, he and his Men were surrounded by the *Gothick* Horse and cut to pieces, having sold their lives dearly by the slaughter they made of the Enemy, who could well spare as many Men more out of their Infinite numbers for another such Victory. Encourag'd, by this Success the *Barbarians* advanc'd towards *Berea*, where *Frigeride* was at last arriv'd with the Succours which *Gratian* had sent out of *Gaul*. *Frigeride* on their approach retreated into *Illiricum*, being in no Condition to resist so many Nations: In his retreat he met with *Farnobius*, Captain of the *Taifaly*, who had cross'd the *Danube* to share in the good fortune of his Countrymen the *Goths*. He attach'd the *Barbarians*, kill'd *Farnobius*, and had cut off all his Men had they not thrown down their Arms, and by miserable Cries prevail'd with him to give them Quarter. He took them all Prisoners, not a Man escaping, and dispers'd them about *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Parma* in *Italy*, to till the Ground and labour in the Field.

The Goths  
routed.

377.

Bavarians

377.

The next Year the *Lentenses* a German Nation, broke the League and invaded the Roman Territories; which hapned thus.

One of their Countrymen who was of the Emperor's Guards having leave to return home, was ask'd What News? He told them, *Gratian* was sent for by his Uncle to assist him in his War with the *Goths*. The *Lentenses* thought this a fair opportunity for them to enrich themselves by Plundering the Borders of the Empire, and with this design they entred the Frontiers of *Gaul* and fell to Robbing and Spoiling: The same reason that made them take Arms tempted several other German Nations to Rise and Invade the Roman Borders. *Gratian* finding he should want his Troops at Home, countermanded those he had order'd to march towards *Thrace*: He in the mean while Muster'd

ster'd all his Forces that were in a readines to op- A D. 377.  
 pose the *Barbarians*, and gave the command of them  
 to *Nennius*, and *Mellobaudes* a King of the *Franks*,  
 who serv'd the Emperor as Steward of his House-  
 hold, and was prefer'd to be Consul: These two Ge-  
 nerals hearing the *Lentienfes* were at *Argentaria* to the  
 Number of forty thousand, march'd thither, attack'd  
 and routed them, killing *Priamus* their King and above  
 thirty thousand of his Men: This Success Elevated *Grat-*  
*ian* so high in his own Opinion, that he fancy'd he  
 could easily put an end to the Troubles in the East,  
 and soon after he went that way. In his march he  
 forc'd the *Lentienfes* to beg a Peace, which he granted  
 them on condition they sent their Youth to serve in  
 the *Roman* Armies. Having settled the Affairs of *Gaul*,  
 he proceeded towards *Thrace*, and we must leave him  
 a while on his way thither, to take a view of the  
 dismal State of that Province.

The Ro-  
 mans  
 overthrow  
 the Bava-  
 rians.

*Frigeride*, after he had defeated *Farnobius*, very wa-  
 rily was preparing to fortify the Streights of *Succi*, to  
 prevent the *Barbarians* breaking into *Illiricum*: Yet at  
 this juncture, tho' he should rather have been Cour-  
 ted to continue in the Service than have been dismiss'd,  
 when he was so much wanted, the Emperor took  
 away his Commission, and gave the Command of his  
 Troops to *Maurus*, a Man of Quality; but of a con-  
 trary temper to *Frigeride*, being rash and inconstant,  
 an unfit Person to be employ'd in such difficult Times.  
*Valens* upon his arrival at *Constantinople* made other  
 removals among his Military Officers; he turn'd out  
*Trajan* who commanded the Infantry, and in his place  
 put *Sebastian*, who was lately arriv'd from *Italy*, and  
 very well deserv'd the Post that he gave him for his  
 Courage and Experience in War. His first Enterprize  
 was very fortunate; for hearing a Body of the *Barba-*  
*rians* were roving about the River *Hebrus*, he sur-  
 priz'd them, kill'd the greatest part of them, and  
 brought off an Incredible Booty. *Fritigern* being much  
 concern'd at this defeat, and fearing the rest of his  
 Countrymen, who were stragling about the Country in  
 small Parties for Plunder, might have the same fate,  
 he drew them together from all Parts, and march'd  
 towards the Coast of *Cabyle*, now called *Cavalla*;  
 which gives Name to a Gulph in the *Archipelago*.



A.D. 377. In the mean while *Gratian* was come as far as *Sirmium*, and gave his Uncle notice of his advancing to his assistance, desiring him to stay for his arrival, and not to venture a Battel with the *Barbarians* till he came up; nor put the Victory in the Power of Fortune, which if he had patience to stay they might make sure of by their junction. *Valens* was a little jealous of his Nephew's Reputation; the defeat of the *Germans*, and taming the *Lentenses* were actions that Fame resounded from every quarter, and it stung him to think that the old Emperor should be out-done by the young one. *Sebastian's* Success was another spur to him, to push forward and share in the Glory of repelling the *Goths*. To this end he reinforced his Army by taking into his Service some veterane Troops which he hir'd of the Neighbouring Princes; and to mortify *Sebastian*, he again imploy'd *Trajan*, whom he had displac'd. Hearing the *Barbarians* were in motion to seize some Passes which would intercept his Provisions if they were in their possession, he detach'd a select Party of Horse and Foot to prevent the Enemy, which they did, and then the Emperor march'd to *Adrianople*, incamp'd near the Town, and Fortify'd his Camp, waiting with impatience for the arrival of his Nephew. Upon receipt of fresh Letters from *Gratian*, to the same purport with the former, a Council of War was held, in which 'twas hotly disput'd, whether *Valens* should defer fighting till the Auxiliaries came up, as *Victor* advis'd, or as *Sebastian* would have it, fall on the *Goths* immediately, while the Soldiers were in Heart, encourag'd by their late Success. The Emperor gave way to the last Opinion, as flattering his Jealousy and Ambition; some Sicophants insinuating, that he would by this means have no Rival in his Glory, and that Conquering alone, his Colleague could not pretend to lessen his Fame by dividing it with him. While he was preparing for this decisive Battle, a Christian Priest came from the *Gothick* Camp with terms of an Accommodation, humbly desiring in the Name of *Fritigern*, that he and his People who were driven from their Seats might be permitted to dwell in *Thrace*, to enjoy quietly the Fruits of their Labours: On which condition he promis'd that they should live peaceably, and be ready to serve the *Romans* to the utmost

utmost of their Power. *Valens's* best Counsellors advis'd him not to slip so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the War; but his Flatterers were for proceeding with the Enemy by force, representing that it was ignoble and not becoming the Character of a *Roman* Emperor, whose Majesty had been affronted in such a high degree, to treat with *Barbarians*; so the Terms were rejected and the Priest dismiss'd. The Army was then order'd to march towards the *Goths*, all the Baggage being sent into *Adrianople*, and about Noon they discover'd the Enemy preparing for an Engagement; upon which the *Roman* Generals drew up their Men in a fighting posture: The Right Wing march'd in the Van with such vigour and speed that it struck terror into the *Barbarians*, of whom part, led by *Alathens* and *Saphrax*, sent to the Emperor pretending to desire Peace. *Valens* scorning them as a base abject People, requir'd them to deliver up the Chiefs of their Nation for Hostages of their Obedience: The *Goths* feign'd several trivial excuses to spin out the Treaty till their own Horse arriv'd, which they expected every hour, designing by delaying the time to tire out the *Romans*, who were spent by the heat of the Weather, it being about the beginning of *August*, which was increas'd by the multitude of fires they had kindled in the Country. *Fritigern* also to amuse the Emperor, offer'd by new Messengers to submit to him, and join him with all his Forces, provided some of his principal Nobility were sent him as Hostages: This Message was more acceptable than the former, and *Equitius* a Tribune, who had been Consul, and was related to the Emperor, was nam'd to be one of them, who refusing the employment, having before had Experience of the *Barbarians* Treachery and Cruelty when he was their Prisoner, *Richomeres* generously accepted of it. As he was going to the Enemies Camp, some *Roman* Archers commanded by *Bacurius* an *Iberian*, and one *Cassio*, impatient to engage, fell on the *Goths*, and thro' their rashness prevented the good effect of *Richomeres's* noble offer; for the *Goths* would not suffer him to pass, and the Horse being come up, as also some Troops of the *Allans* from the Mountain, they bore down upon the *Romans* with such Numbers and Violence that they forc'd 'em to give ground, and kill'd all that stood in their way tho' they defended themselves with great Courage, and

*Valens  
marches  
against the  
Goths.*

A.D. 377. sold their Lives dearly to the Conquerors. The Left Wing of *Valens's* Army broke thro' the Enemy as far as their Carriages, and had they been well seconded would have put a stop to the *Barbarians*: The Foot divided from the Horse were left expos'd to the fury of the *Goths*, who over-powering them by their disproportionate Numbers, surrounded 'em and made a terrible Slaughter. The *Romans* fought like Men desperate, and when they had broken their Pikes charg'd the Enemy with their Swords, fighting till the Field was cover'd with the Carcasses of the Slain, and the Legions had no footing to stand firm to the Charge. At last they were quite tir'd out with the heat and toil of the Day, and despairing to recover the Victory out of the Hands of the *Goths*, who like an impetuous Torrent over-whelm'd the Plain, they turn'd their backs and fled. *Valens* giving all for lost threw himself into the Hands of the *Lancearii* and *Mattiarii*, two Legions that had sustain'd the shock without flying, hoping they would defend his Person, and secure his Retreat. *Trajan* perceiving the Emperor was Deserted by his Guards, Cry'd out that he would perish unless he was speedily rescu'd. *Victor* hastened to bring up the *Batavi* to his assistance: They were Posted for a reserve to the Guards, but they fled with the rest, and *Victor* shifted for himself, finding it was in vain to make any farther resistance. *Richomeres* and *Saturninus* follow'd his Example. The *Victors* so closely pursu'd the Vanquish'd, who were hindred in their flight by the dead Bodies that lay in their way, that few of them escap'd: The *Barbarians* put all to the Sword who yielded, and those that defended themselves, they neglected. Night coming on, sav'd the Lives of those few that were left. 'Tis said the Emperor fell in the twilight, and that he chose rather to dye by the Hands of the Enemy, than to out-live such a dreadful Overthrow. Some of his Officers desir'd him to fly from the Conqueror, and had provided Horses for him that would have carry'd him out of danger; but the Blow that he had receiv'd in the defeat of his Army made Life a pain to him, and Death only could heal the Wound he had receiv'd in his Honour. He staid in the place of Battel till the *Barbarians* came into the Field and slew him and his followers; tho' others report that being wounded by the shot of an Arrow, he was born by his Men to an House not far from *Adrianople*,

The Romans defeated.

Dutch.

Valens slain.

## Chap. II. Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II.

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*noble*, to which the Enemy pursu'd him, and the few brave Men that would not Desert him defended themselves in it for some time, till the *Goths* not suspecting *Valens* was there in Person set fire to the House, rather than give themselves the trouble of a longer dispute. All that were in the Cottage were consum'd in the flames, and amongst the rest, the unhappy Emperor. There is no certain account of the *Romans* who dy'd in this Battel; at least two thirds of their Army were kill'd on the spot and in the pursuit; the greatest Overthrow they had receiv'd since that of *Cannæ*. The most considerable Persons that fell were *Trajan*, *Sebastian*, *Equitius* and *Potentius*, a young Gentleman of great hopes, who was much lamented for his own sake, and in Honour of the memory of his Father *Ursicinus*.

Thus Perish'd the Emperor *Valens* the 9th of *August*, A.D. 377. In the fiftieth Year of his Age, and fifteenth of his Reign, himself and *Valentinian* the Second being Consuls. He had offended the Orthodox so much by his siding with the *Arians*, that both the Catholick Historians and the Pagans give a very indifferent account of him. They say he was Clownish, Covetous, Cruel, Jealous, Cholerick and Abusive; yet they acknowledge he was an hearty and constant Friend, an upright Judge, and cautious how he admitted his Relations to places of Trust, except they had good qualities to recommend them to his Favour. Like his Brother, he had a watchful Eye over the Provinces, and was careful to provide for their safety. As much as he lov'd Money, he eas'd the People of many Taxes, and never laid any new burden upon them; the Money he rais'd being most part Fines and Forfeitures, which he levy'd with great vigour on the Estates of those that were Convicted of Treason. He never would make Grants of Lands to his begging Courtiers, without giving those that were in possession of them fair notice and time to defend their Titles. We shall not enlarge further on his Character, leaving it to the Reader to compare his Virtues with his Vices, and to give it for or against him as he thinks he deserves it.



*Gratian, Valentinian II.*

THE next Day after the *Goths* had obtain'd this memorable Victory, they vigorously attack'd *Adrianople*, being inform'd by Deserters that many Persons of the first Quality, and *Valens's* Treasure were shut up in that City. The Citizens resolutely defended themselves, and soon gave the *Barbarians* to understand that 'twas not the loss of a Battel that would ruin the *Roman* Empire, or dispirit the Minds of those People who till now had Lorded it over them as their Masters. 300 of *Valens's* Army that had escap'd in the rout, and were deny'd entrance into the Town, deserted to the *Goths*, who making an ill use of their Power put them all to the Sword, which was both a Cruel and Impolitick act; for this Severity prevented the like defection for the future. The *Barbarians* often summon'd the Citizens to surrender, sometimes threatning them, at other times speaking them fair; but their good words and their bad were equally unsuccessful: The Inhabitants despis'd their Threats, and would not trust to their Promises, being proof against their force and their fraud. At last the *Barbarians* grew weary of a tedious Siege, and wish'd they had followed the advice of their King *Fritigern*, who would have dissuaded them from attempting it, saying, *he had no quarrel with Walls*. After several repulses the *Goths* broke up their Camp and march'd toward *Perinthus*, intending to seize that City, which was not so strong as *Adrianople*, and lay in the Road to *Constantinople*. As soon as they had rais'd the Siege, the Citizens of *Adrianople* retir'd with their best Effects, some to *Sardica*, and others to *Macedonia*, thinking they should find out the Emperor, of whose Death they had not the least intimation. The *Barbarians* were so out of Love with Sieges, that they durst not come nigh the Walls of *Perinthus*: Perceiving the Inhabitants would defend themselves, as those of *Adrianople* had done, they left the City behind them, and dividing their Army into four Bodies, they approach'd nearer to *Constantinople*, hoping to find the Citizens in such a Consternation, that they should easily make a prey of their wealth. In their march they burnt and destroy'd all the Country, and advanc'd within sight of the City Gates

Sophia in  
Bulgaria.

Gates without meeting any opposition: But then a Party A.D. 377.  
of *Sarazens* who were in the Emperor's Pay, and were The Goths  
prevail'd upon by the Empress *Dominica* to fall out and approach  
attack the *Goths*, join'd with some Citizens, charg'd the near Con-  
Enemy and came off with equal advantage, which dis- stantino-  
heartn'd the *Barbarians* and encourag'd the Citizens to ple.  
make a vigorous defence. The *Goths* having taken a  
view of the vast circuit of the Walls of the City, the  
Works that were rais'd about it, and consider'd the  
number of the Inhabitants, despair'd of succeeding bet-  
ter there than they had done at *Adrianople*; so they re-  
solv'd to raze the Fortifications they had made upon the  
*Straight*, to break up their Camp and turn their Arms on  
some other Quarter: To which resolution an accident  
that hapn'd in the late Fight with the *Sarazens*, very  
much contributed: One of these Mercenaries, whose Hair  
was long like a *Savage's*, and hung down behind him,  
whose Body was all naked except his privy Parts,  
making a hideous noise, and holding a Dagger in his  
Hand, ran into the midst of the *Goths*, kill'd one of  
them, put his Mouth to the Wound and suck'd his Blood:  
Which monstrous Spectacle so daunted the *Barbarians*,  
who were not it seems so barbarous as the *Sarazens*, that  
guessing at the temper of the rest of their Enemies by  
the bloody disposition of this *Sarazen*, they were afraid  
to have any thing more to do with 'em; so they de-  
camp'd in the Night and went Northward, marching as They march  
far as the *Julian Alpes*, a Ridge of Hills which divides out of  
*Carinthia* from *Carniola*, and reach to the *Adriatick Sea*. Thrace.  
Having related the extravagant adventure of the *Sarazen*,  
before we proceed further in the History of the *Go-*  
*thick* Invasion, it may not be improper to mention how  
the *Roman* Emperor came to have these *Sarazens* in his  
Army: He had for a long time Wars with that barbar-  
ous People, which at last ended in a Truce with their  
King, who dying sometime after, his Widow *Mavia* re-  
viv'd the War, pretending the Truce expir'd on the Death  
of her Husband: She was a perfect Heroine, of Masculine  
Strength and Courage, and having possess her self of  
several Towns on the Frontiers of *Siria* and *Palestine*,  
the Emperor thought it his interest to come to terms with  
her, and grant her an Honourable Peace. One of the  
Articles of the Treaty was, that she should have *Moses* an  
Hermit, famous in those Days for his Sanctity and Miracles,  
sent

A.D. 378. sent to instruct her in the Christian Religion: *Moses* succeeded so well in his Mission, that the Queen and a great part of her Subjects, were converted to the Faith of Christ. In return for the good Offices the Hermit had done her, she sent a Party of her Subjects to assist the *Romans* in the defence of *Constantinople*: And we have already related how serviceable they were to the Citizens.

After the Death of *Valens*, the report of the horrible Spoil committed by the *Goths* in *Thrace*, reaching the *Eastern Provinces*, the People were alarm'd at the Progress of the *Barbarians*, especially, when they were inform'd of the Emperor's Defeat and Death.

A general Terror then seiz'd upon all Men, and they trembled with apprehension, that the Storm which hung over their Heads, might break, and overwhelm them. *Julius* the Roman General in the East, considering there were great numbers of *Goths* quarter'd up and down in the Cities and Forts of *Asia*, who though they were in the Emperor's pay, and commanded by *Romans*, yet might joyn with their Country-men, if they should come that way: For the security of those Provinces, he resolv'd to prevent the mischief by a proceeding equally severe and safe: He privately wrote Circular Letters to all the Officers in his Government, at a day prefixt, to draw all the *Goths* out of their Quarters, into the adjacent Fields, giving out, that 'twas for them to receive their Pay, and then to put every Man to the Sword, which was executed without noise or delay. By this prudent, though bloody, course, the *Eastern Provinces* were deliver'd from eminent danger. Thus far the *Roman History* is preserv'd, by the care and pains of that famous Historian, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whose Period reacht from the Reign of *Nerva*, to the Death of *Valens*: The whole Work contain'd 31 Books, of which thirteen are lost, and eighteen left; but not so perfect and entire as we could wish. He was himself an Eye-witness of most of the Events that happen'd in his time, being a Captain of the Emperour's *Guard du Corps*. He seems impartial through the whole course of his History, unless where the prejudice of his Education byass'd him too much on the side of Paganism. Take him with all his Faults, he was the best Historian of his Age, and for the Origen and Antiquities of the *Gauls*, *Franks*, *Germani*

*mans* and *Burgundians*, he is the only Author that has A.D. 378. given any light into those distant and dark Ages of the World. *Victor*, the *Magister Equitum*, or General of the Horse, who has been said to have escap'd in the late Defeat, pass'd on to *Pannonia*, to inform *Gratian* of the miserable State of the *Romans* in *Thrace*: The Emperor immediately held a Council with his General Officers at *Sermium*, to consult what was to be done for the preservation of the *Western* Provinces: He drew all the Forces he could raise together, near that City, and march'd with all possible speed through *Mæsia*, to *Constantinople*, where he provided for the Safety of the *East*, and the Defence of the Coast of the *Danube*; and finding the weight of the War, and the burden of the Government lay heavy upon him, he began to consider of choosing a Partner to share in the Care and Toil, as well as in the Dignities of the Throne.

The Man he pitch'd upon was *Theodosius*, Son of that *Theodosius*, who had done such Signal Service to the Empire in *Britain* and *Africa*: He was born at *Italica* in *Spain*; his Mother's Name was *Thermantia*; his Father bred him up in the Army; his own Merits, as well as his Father's Interest, rais'd him to the highest Military Posts; he commanded in *Mæsia*, when the *Goths* invaded that Province in the Reign of *Valentinian* the First. While he was yet very young, he defeated the *Barbarians*, and drove them out of the *Roman* Territories: However, resenting the Death of his Father, or to prevent being treated in the same manner, he had laid down his Commission, and liv'd retir'd with his Mother at *Italica*. Thither *Gratian* sent to him to return to Court, and assist with his Counsel and Service, in such a dangerous juncture of Affairs. For the year following the Emperor made *Ausonius* and *Olybrius* Consuls; the former was his Tutor, the finest Wit, and the most eminent Poet in his Time; yet no more to be compar'd with the Writers of the *Augustean* Age, than the *Roman* Armies in the decadence of the Empire, are to be nam'd with the invincible Legions, with which the *Scipio's*, the *Cæsar's*, and the *Pompey's* rais'd her to the universal Monarchy. Upon *Theodosius's* arrival at Court, he was order'd to command in the *East*; some Authors, Ancient and Modern, *Mariana* amongst the rest, write that he immediately enter'd upon Action, and



A.D. 379. and forc'd the *Barbarians* to sue for a Peace: Upon conclusion of which, Lands were assign'd them to inhabit; and *Athavarick* the Son of *Fritigern* was deliver'd up as an Hostage for the performance of the Treaty: The more probable opinion is, that *Gratian*, without staying to see how he would deserve his Advancement by his future Actions, contented himself with what he had already done: And as soon as he arriv'd, summon'd a meeting of his Nobility at *Sirmium*, to whom he made a Speech, addressing himself particularly to *Theodosius*; and told him and them, that he intended to commit the *East* to his Charge. *Theodosius* thank'd him for the Honour he did him, which he said, was far above his Deserts; and the Burthen he would lay upon him, greater than he could bear. *Gratian* persisting in his Resolution, whatever the other could say to dissuade him from it, *Theodosius* was declar'd *Augustus* the 19th of *January*, A. D. 379. He was 33 years old, when he was advanced to the Imperial Throne: The time of his Election confutes the account which some Writers have given, that his Expedition against the *Goths*, was before he was made Emperor: For 'tis incredible to think, he could come from *Spain* in the Winter Season, and proceed so successfully in the War in the compass of a few Weeks.

### *Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius.*

*Gratian* depending on the care of the New Emperor, to defend his Dominions, assign'd him the *East*, and *Thrace*; his Brother *Valentinian* had for his share, *Italy*, *Illyricum* and *Africk*; for himself he reserv'd *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*: And having so well provided for the security of the *Eastern* Provinces, by setting a Prince over them whose Courage and Conduct the *Barbarians* had already experienc'd, he left *Sirmium*, and went in Progress through the vast Province of *Gaul*, to awe the *Suevi*, who inhabited that part of *Germany*, which now makes the Dutchies of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenbourg*; and the *Alamanni* inhabiting that which is at present the Circle of *Westphalia*, the Emperor's presence kept those Nations quiet; and to preserve Peace on the Borders of *Gaul*, he resided at *Triers*.

## Chap. II. Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius. 125

The affairs of the Church mended apace, after the A.D. 379.  
Death of *Valens*; for *Gratian* by an Edict, restor'd all the Orthodox Bishops and Presbyters, that had been banish'd by his Uncle, to their Places: Yet the *Arian* Heresie had got such footing in the *East*, that he was necessitated to temporize, and allow liberty of Conscience to all, except the grosser sort of Hereticks, such as the *Eunomians*, who deny'd the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: The *Photinians*, who asserted, that our Saviour was meer Man, and no more, till the Spirit descended upon him at his Baptism: And the *Manichees*, who among other Blasphemous Tenets, deny'd the Resurrection from the Dead. At *Antioch* the *Arians* were turn'd out of their Churches, and the Orthodox Faith began every where to thrive and flourish.

After *Gratian* departed from *Sirmium* to visit *Gaul*, *Saloniché*.  
*Theodosius* remov'd to *Theffalonica*, in *Macedonia*, to prepare for the *Gothick* War: But having no longer our faithful Guide *Ammianus*, the Reader must content himself with a very short account of this Prince's Actions against the *Barbarians*, there being few Memorials of them extant; and those that are left, so often disagree, that 'tis hard to determine, whether the New Emperor carry'd on the War in Person, or whether it was manag'd by his Lieutenants. Before his Accession to the Throne, fresh swarms of *Scythians* and *Goths* got over the *Isther* into *Thrace*, and were become troublesome to the Provinces of *Mesia* and *Illyricum*; for after they had over-run all *Thrace*, and shut up the *Romans* in the Towns and Castles, they began to extend their Conquests, and make Inroads into the other Provinces.

While *Theodosius* lay at *Theffalonica*, *Modares* a *Scythian* Prince, who had deserted to the *Romans*, and been very faithful and serviceable to 'em, for which he was prefer'd to command a Body of their Forces, detach'd a small Party, to discover the posture of the Enemy: These reporting that the *Goths* were revelling in their Camp, some of 'em Drunk, others dead asleep, and the rest tipling in their Tents; *Modares* order'd his Men to leave their heavy Armour behind them, and only with their Swords and Targets, to enter their Camp, and surprise them in the midt of their Drunkenness and Security: Accordingly they fell upon them, cut 'em all off,

A.D. 379. off, plunder'd their Camp, and brought away 4000 Wa-  
*The* Goths gons full of Women and Children, that always made a  
*surpriz'd,* part of the *Barbarians* Baggage, besides an innumerable  
*and routed.* company of Slaves; thus, saith *Zozymus*, *Thrace* was pre-  
 serv'd from impending Ruin. This Author out of Ha-  
 tred to the Christians, is unwilling to allow *Theodosius*  
 any part of the Glory of Repelling the *Barbarians*: He  
 makes little mention of his appearing in the Field; on  
 the contrary, he accuses him of living Luxuriously at  
*Theffalonica*, of burthening the Revenue with more Mi-  
 litary Officers than were necessary, permitting them to  
 defraud the Soldiers of their Pay. He charges him  
 with being profuse in his Table, and entertaining vast  
 numbers of handsom Eunuchs, who govern'd him and  
 the Empire, which soon impoverish't the *Exchequer*, and  
 made the best part of the Legions Desert: He adds,  
 The Provinces and Cities were exhausted by exorbitant  
 Taxes; that for want of Troops, he admitted the *Bar-  
 barbarians*, on the other side of the *Danube*, to come over  
 into *Thrace*, and took them into his Army, in which  
 the *Goths* were willing enough to list, hoping by de-  
 grees to be too many for the *Romans*; and the more  
 easily to master them, that he was forc'd afterwards to  
 send them into *Egypt*, and draw the Legions from thence  
 to fill up their places; by which means that Province  
 was expos'd to the Invasion of the Enemy on that side:  
 He exclaims against his Negligence and Stupidity,  
 his spending his time with Dancing-Masters and Buf-  
 foons, and suffering himself to be impos'd on by the  
*Barbarians*: But his most heinous Crime of all was, *his*  
 putting down the Service of the Gods, in all parts of *his* Do-  
 minions; and all that believ'd there were Gods, were in  
 danger: Nor was it safe to look up intently to Heaven, and  
 worship the things that are there seen. 'Twas for the  
 sake of this Article, that the rancour of his Malice  
 rak'd together so much filth to throw on the Memory  
 of this good Emperor, whom not only all the Chri-  
 stian Authors, but even the *Pagans* have Recorded, as  
 one of the best Monarchs that ever wore the *Roman* Di-  
 adem: Even this virulent Declaimer, is oblig'd by the  
 brightness of his Vertues, and the glory of his Actions,  
 to confess in other places of his History, *That he had heal'd*  
*the Maladies of the State*; and to commend *his Generosity,*  
*his Clemency, and the goodness of his Nature*; which The-  
 mistius,

## Chap. II. Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius. 127

*Theodosius*, another Pagan Author says, was more efficacious A.D. 379. in extinguishing the Scythian Flames, than his Garrisons his Archers, his Armenians, his Spaniards, or the multitude of his Horses barb'd with Steel. He fell Sick of a dangerous Disease at *Theſſalonica*, and desir'd to be Baptiz'd: He order'd *Acholius*, Bishop of the Diocess, to attend him; and then ask'd him of what Faith he was? The Bishop answer'd, *Of that deliver'd by the Apostles, and continu'd by the Council of Nice*. This was what the Emperor wanted; and he presently receiv'd that Sacrament at his Hands. A few days after he went to *Constantinople*, and restor'd the Catholics to their Churches, which the *Arians* had detain'd forty years. He publish'd an Edict, prohibiting and condemning all Heresies, commanding all his Subjects to embrace the Faith that *St. Peter* commended to the *Romans*; and would not permit such as had been Baptiz'd, to be drawn back to the Service of the Stage. Knowing the *Arians* were always boasting of their Councils, having by the partiality of former Emperors had the Majority of most of those that had been call'd in the *East*, he resolv'd to subdue them by their own Weapons: And notwithstanding Pope *Damasus* was against it, summon'd a General Council to sit at *Constantinople*, as will be related in the course of our History. No wonder his Piety and Zeal provok'd the Pagan Wits to blacken his Memory with all the vile Reproaches that Bigottry or Malice could invent; but his good Deeds, and his good Laws, are eternal Monuments of the Falshood and injustice of such as have endeavour'd to load his Character with Vices, which were inconsistent with his Temper, and his Religion.

We hear little of *Theodosius* in the following year, besides his publishing several Edicts, to reform some Abuses that had crept into the management of the Publick Affairs: By one he impowr'd the *Prætorian Præfects* to degrade the Governours of Provinces, and inferior Judges, and reduc'd 'em to the vilest condition of Men; declaring them incapable of any real or titular Honours, if they were found corrupt in the discharge of their Trusts. He also declar'd by a Law, what sort of Persons should be admitted into the Legions, excepting Slaves, and ordinary Mechanicks; such as Bakers, Cooks, Victuallers, as also Prisoners and others, that were lookt

upon



A.D. 380. upon as vile: Which shews, he was in no want of Men, as *Zozymus* alledges; for had his Forces been half diminish'd in the first year of his Reign, he would not have been so scrupulous about receiving Persons to fill up their Places. He publish'd a severe Edict against Informers, making it Death to inform thrice, though the Accuser had prov'd his Charge: By another he discountenanc'd the odious Practices of begging Estates; too much encourag'd before his time, and since: By this Law, he clog'd his Grants with so many Restrictions, and rais'd so many Difficulties in confiscating Estates, as prevented a wicked Custom, of bringing Wealthy Men into Plots, to beg their Lands, if they were convicted of Treason. 'Tis needless to mention any more of the wholsom Laws made by him in the beginning of his Reign; though if these were not sufficient, there are enough to be found in the *Theodosian Code*, collected by his Son, to confute the Malicious Charge brought against him by *Zozymus*: This year dy'd *Gregory the Great*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and Brother to *Gregory Naziansen*.

381.

The next year *Gratian*, and *Valentinian the Second*, who began now to be talk'd off, kept their Court at *Milan*, and *Theodosius* his at *Constantinople*. *Zozymus* relates, that about this time, two German Nations, the one commanded by *Fritigern*, the other by *Alathen* and *Saphraces*, prest so hard upon the *Gauls*, that they constrain'd *Gratian* to permit them to pass the *Danube*, and seat themselves in *Pannonia*, and *Mesia*, on condition they quitted the Province of *Gaul*, to improve the opportunity which the Emperor's Compliance gave them: They resolv'd to pass from *Pannonia* into *Greece*, and possess themselves of the Cities in that Province. In their march they attackt *Athamerick*, who as has been said, was driv'n out of his Country by the *Huns*, and had planted himself on the Banks of the *Danube*; they were afraid lest he should break his Neutrality, and joyn with the *Romans*: He was not quite recover'd of a dangerous Sicknesh that lately threatn'd his Life, when these *Germans* invaded his new Settlement; and being unprovided to resist such formidable Powers, he was forc'd to abandon his Towns to the Enemy, and fly to *Theodosius* for Protection. The Emperor receiv'd him with as much Humanity, as if he had been his fast Friend and Confederate: *Athamerick* relaps'd into his late Sick-

ness

ness at *Constantinople*, and dy'd. *Theodosius* continuing A. D. 381. the marks of his Generosity and good Nature after his Death, bury'd him with such Royal Pomp, that the *Barbarians* were amaz'd at the Splendor of the Ceremony; and so charm'd with the Emperor's kind treatment of their King, and his Followers, that they return'd home, resolving never more to molest the *Romans*: On the contrary, those that came over with *Athamerick*, post'd themselves on the Coast of the *Danube*, to guard the *Roman Territories* from the Incursions of their Countrymen.

We cannot forbear observing, that there seems to be an Error in *Zozimus*; and those that mention this Event after him, particularly Mr. *Howell*, *Fritigern*, *Alatheus* and *Saphraces*, who are said here to be Captains of two German Nations, are without doubt the same *Fritigern*. *Alavio* and *Sapbrax*, who commanded the *Gothick Armies* in *Thrace*, whom we have so often mention'd. How they got from the *Julian Alps* to the other side of the *Rhine*, and from *Scythians*, were turn'd into *Germans*, is what we must leave as much a Mystery, as we found it. 'Tis our Misfortune, that for several years we must wander in the dark, and can have no certain Guide to lead us out of this Obscurity. Some Authors affirm, that *Athamerick* was forc'd to beg a Peace, which was granted him on Honourable Terms; and himself entertain'd at *Constantinople* with extraordinary Magnificence: That he staid there three Months, and then fell sick and dy'd: Others write, that being a violent persecutor of the Christians in his Dominions, he was expel'd by his own Subjects, and fled to *Theodosius*, to implore his Assistance. He arriv'd at *Constantinople* the 14th of *January*, and the Emperor treated him as splendidly, as became his own Quality and his Guests: In a fortnights time he was taken off, by a Disease that had troubled him before; all agree, that it was the same *Athamerick*, who though he pretended his Father oblig'd him to Swear, that he would never set foot on *Roman Ground*, yet had his Bones now laid in *Roman Earth*. We have been the longer on this Subject, to shew the Reader what Difficulties we have to encounter with, in reconciling Authors that differ so much about the same fact.

A.D. 381. About this time, *Theodosius* undertook an Expedition against the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, who were encourag'd by the Progress their Neighbours the *Huns* and *Goths* had made in the Empire, to pass the *Danube*, and try their Fortune in the *Roman* Territories: These the Emperor compell'd to return into their own Countries; and *Zozimus* is forc'd here to acknowledge, that by this his Success, the *Soldiers* Hearts began to revive, and their hopes to flourish. The Labourer, who had neglected his Fields, fell chearfully to work again, there being no Enemy to reap or destroy the Harvest, which he had sown with Toil and Pain. This year also *Promotus*, one of *Theodosius*'s Generals, whom he had posted in *Thrace* with a good Body of Foot, hearing *Odotheus* was passing the *Danube* with fresh Multitudes of *Scythians*, march'd to oppose him; shipt part of his Forces on some Vessels on the *Ister*, and with the rest, attack'd the *Barbarians* that were already Landing: Both Parties made such a dreadful Slaughter of the Enemy, that the River was almost choak'd with the Bodies of the Slain, and the Shoar cover'd with an innumerable sight of Carcasses.

The Fame of these Victories humbled the *Persian* King so much, that he sent Embassadors to *Theodosius* in a suppliant manner, to desire a Peace; which he had refus'd to *Valens*, of which League saith *Orosius*, all the East to this Day, reaps the Advantage: *Zozimus* places the overthrow of *Odotheus* by *Promotus*, and the arrival of the *Persian* Embassadors in this year. Other Writers put both the Events five Years forward, which seems most probable; but we chuse to follow *Zozimus* in this place, that the defence of *Theodosius* his Conduct might be the nearer to the Charge he brings against him. We shall conclude the Transactions of this year, with giving some account of the Second *Oecumenical* Council, which met in May at *Constantinople*; condemn'd the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians* and *Apollinarians*, confirm'd the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and compos'd the Differences that were risen between several Orthodox Prelates, about the Succession to the Diocesses of *Antioch* and *Constantinople*. While the Council sat, the Emperor publish'd an Edict, forbidding the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, or other Hereticks to build Churches. At this time also by the Command of the Emperor *Gratian*, a Synod was held at *Aquileia*, in which St. *Am-*  
*brose*

brose assisted ; it consisted of thirty two Bishops, including the Deputies of the *African* and *Gallican* Churches. In this Council the *Arian* Heresie was again condemn'd : The Emperors forbad the *Pagans* to build Conventicles or offer Sacrifice, though they were forc'd to dispense with this Law afterwards , the Zeal and Interest of the *Pagans*, being as yet too strong for the Christians. A.D. 381.

The next year the Emperor *Theodosius* kept his Court at *Constantinople*, making excellent Laws for the good of his People : One extraordinary Instance of the severity of his Justice, and the Fatherly care he had of his Subjects, was his punishing *Natalis*, who had been Governour of *Sardinia* in *Valens* his Reign : Having discover'd that he had fleec'd the *Sardinians* by his Exactions, and got off before they could have time to Appeal, or make their Complaints, that their Grievances might be Redress'd ; he sent him back to the Island, and Commanded all who had any thing to say against him, to bring in their Charge, and that he should clear himself according to Law, to prevent the mischiefs that were caus'd by the oppression of the Governors of Provinces, who when they had got as much as they could out of their Governments, were wont to hasten to Court, and get out of the reach of an Accusation. The Emperor order'd, that for the future all Judges, all Officers of the Courts of Justice, and even Governours themselves, should stay three Months, or at least thirty days in the Metropolis of the Province, after their time was expir'd, to be justify'd by the People, or be liable to answer for their Male Administration ; which Law is so useful, that it is of it self sufficient to convince the Reader of *Zozimus*'s barbarous Partiality. 382.

On the 16th of *January*, in the following year, *Theodosius* declar'd his Son *Arcadius*, *Augustus* : He was about seven years of Age, when his Father made him his Colleague in the Supream Power. *Theodosius* took care to have him Educated so well, that he might render himself worthy of the Imperial Dignity. For this end he desir'd Pope *Damasus* to recommend him to a Pious, Learned Man, to be Tutor to the young Prince : The Pope chose *Arsenius*, a *Deacon* of his Church, for the Office, to whom, when he arriv'd at *Constantinople*, the Emperor deliver'd both of his Sons, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*. 383.



A.D. 381. About this time, *Theodosius* undertook an Expedition against the *Scyri* and *Carpadocæ*, who were encourag'd by the Progress their Neighbours the *Huns* and *Goths* had made in the Empire, to pass the *Danube*, and try their Fortune in the *Roman Territories*: These the Emperor compell'd to return into their own Countries; and *Zozimus* is forc'd here to acknowledge, that by this his Success, the *Soldiers Hearts* began to revive, and their hopes to flourish. The Labourer, who had neglected his Fields, fell chearfully to work again, there being no Enemy to reap or destroy the Harvest, which he had sown with Toil and Pain. This year also *Promotus*, one of *Theodosius's* Generals, whom he had posted in *Thrace* with a good Body of Foot, hearing *Oedothus* was passing the *Danube* with fresh Multitudes of *Scythians*, march'd to oppose him; shipt part of his Forces on some Vessels on the *Ister*, and with the rest, attack'd the *Barbarians* that were already Landing: Both Parties made such a dreadful Slaughter of the Enemy, that the River was almost choak'd with the Bodies of the Slain, and the Shoar cover'd with an innumerable sight of Carcasses.

The Fame of these Victories humbled the *Persian* King so much, that he sent Embassadors to *Theodosius* in a suppliant manner, to desire a Peace; which he had refus'd to *Valens*, of which League saith *Orosius*, all the East to this Day, reaps the Advantage: *Zozimus* places the overthrow of *Oedothus* by *Promotus*, and the arrival of the *Persian* Embassadors in this year. Other Writers put both the Events five Years forward, which seems most probable; but we chuse to follow *Zozimus* in this place, that the defence of *Theodosius* his Conduct might be the nearer to the Charge he brings against him. We shall conclude the Transactions of this year, with giving some account of the Second *Oecumenical Council*, which met in May at *Constantinople*; condemn'd the *Eunomians*, *Arians*, *Macædonians*, *Photinians* and *Apollinarians*, confirm'd the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and compos'd the Differences that were risen between several Orthodox Prelates, about the Succession to the Diocesses of *Antioch* and *Constantinople*. While the Council sat, the Emperor publish'd an Edict, forbidding the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, or other Hereticks to build Churches. At this time also by the Command of the Emperor *Gratian*, a Synod was held at *Aquileia*, in which St. *Ambrose*

## Chap. II. Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius. 131

*brose* assisted ; it consisted of thirty two Bishops, including the Deputies of the *African* and *Gallican* Churches. In this Council the *Arian* Heresie was again condemn'd : The Emperors forbid the *Pagans* to build Conventicles or offer Sacrifice, though they were forc'd to dispense with this Law afterwards , the Zeal and Interest of the *Pagans*, being as yet too strong for the Christians. A.D. 381.

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A. D. 383. *us*, to be instructed by him in Philosophy and Ethicks, saying, *you are from this time more their Father, than I am.* Some time after going into the School, to see what Progress they made in their Learning, he found *Arsenius*, their Master, standing, and *Arcadius* the Scholar sitting: The Emperor was angry with *Arsenius*, for not maintaining the Authority of his Office; the Master told him, *that it did not become him to sit, while he was teaching an Emperor.* *Theodosius* was so ill satisfi'd with his Excuse, that he took off the Diadem which his Son wore, made *Arsenius* sit down in the Chair, and the Boy to stand as a Scholar ought to do; adding, that his Children to be worthy of the Empire must be wise and good, as well as great. *Arcadius* was so far from benefiting by his Masters Lessons, that as 'tis said of *Nero*, he Plotted against his Life, and to avoid the danger, the poor Philosopher fled into *Egypt*, where he liv'd and became Eminent for the Sanctity of his Life.

We must now take a view of the Western part of the Empire, and enter on the last Scene of *Gratian's* Life. As *Zozimus* is out very often in the Character he gives of Persons, so he frequently errs in the fact, and reports things in a different manner from the rest of the Historians of his Age. He says that upon *Gratian's* refusing the Office and Robe of *Pontifex Maximus*, which the *Pontifices* offer'd him, being the first Emperor that would not accept it, the chief of them said, *If the Emperor will not be Pontifex Maximus, in a short time a Pontifex should be made of a Maximus.* To make their words good, when *Maximus* usurp'd the Imperial dignity in *Britain*, and afterwards invaded *Gaul* with the *British* Legions which revolt'd to him; the Province influenc'd by the Priests made a general defection, and *Gratian* being forc'd to fly out of it into *Illyricum* for his safety, was pursu'd by *Andragathius*, *Maximus's* General of the Horse, who overtook him at the Bridge of *Singidunum* and kill'd him. *Zozimus* is out both in the beginning and end of this Story, for none of the Emperor's Christian Predecessors ever us'd the Title of *Pontifex*; and the true reason of the Priests resentment was his taking away their Pensions and Allowance for *Pagan* Sacrifices; this provok'd his Heathen Subjects at the instigation of their Priesthood to side with *Maximus* the Tyrant, by whose Treason he was murder'd at *Lugdunum* or *Lions*, as we shall further prove in the following Pages. *Maximus*

## Chap. II. Gratian, Valentinian II. Theodosius. 133

*Maximus* was by Birth a *Spaniard*, others say he was A.D. 383. Born in *Britain*, where he commanded the *Roman Army*, *Maximus* and by his liberality and affability gain'd the Hearts of *Usurps in* the Soldiers and People. He repell'd the *Scots* and *Picts*, *Britain*, who miserably wasted the Borders of the Province; and for the Victories he obtain'd over those Nations, he was declar'd *Augustus* by his Army, which Title he pretended at first to refuse; but when the Soldiers persist'd in their Rebellion, and would have him assume the Imperial Purple, he comply'd with their importunity. To make his Title the more popular, he claim'd it by the *Divine right* of succession, as descended from *Constantine* the Great, tho' there appear'd nothing in his Pedigree to justify his pretences. From *Britain* he past over into *Gaul*, and was join'd by the Legions in that Province, who were dis- *Transports* gusted that *Gratian* had order'd his mercenary *Alans* to an Army oppose the Usurper, whom he did not think such a con- over to siderable Enemy as to require his veterane Troops to be *Gaul*. sent against him. *Gratian* frighted at this desertion, remov'd from *Triers* to *Paris*, leading with him those Troops that remain'd faithful to him. *Maximus* follow'd him with all his Forces: The two Armies lay with- *The Legi-* in sight of each other 4 or 5 Days; frequent Skirmishes *ous revolt* hapn'd every Day, and the remainder of *Gratian's* Sol- to him. diers follow'd the example of their Fellows; he took with him 300 Horse and fled Southward: Having been deny'd admittance into other Cities, he past on to *Lions* and was receiv'd by the Citizens. The Usurper hastn'd thither after him, and finding by force he could not get him into his Power, try'd to ruin him by Treachery. He caus'd Letters to be written to the Emperor, that the Em- press *Constantia* was on her way to *Lions*, that she came in a Litter, and in such a Road. The Traytor put one of his Officers *Andragatheus* into the Litter, a Villain fit for any execrable deed, with orders to watch his opportunity and murder *Gratian*; who hearing his Wife was near the City in her Journey to Visit him, receiv'd the News with Joy, for he tenderly lov'd her and went forth to meet her, attended by very few Persons. The Rus- sian seeing him advancing hastily towards the Litter to embrace his Wife, leap'd out upon him and slew him, *Gratian* *murder'd* *Aug. 25. An. Dom. 383.* *Merobaudes* and *Saturninus* being by *Andra-* Consuls, some Authors write that the Consul *Merobaudes* *gatheus* betray'd him, and others say, 'twas another *Merobaudes* who



A.D. 383. who debauch'd his Army near *Paris*. We shall not trouble the Reader nor our selves to decide the Controversy ; 'tis sufficient to let him know he came to his end in the flower of his Age, having liv'd scarce 28 Years, of which he Reign'd about Sixteen ; 8 Years and odd Months with his Father *Valentinian* ; 3 Years with his Uncle *Valens* ; and 4 Years and 7 Months with *Theodosius*.

Tho' the *Panegyrick* which his Preceptor *Ausonius Gallus* of *Bourdeaux* has left upon him, is in many Places too fullsome ; yet there are Truths enough in it to warrant the Testimony of all his Contemporary Writers, who affirm that this Emperor was an excellent Prince, mild, merciful, pious, sober, temperate, chaste, modest, courteous, generous, grateful ; and in short, posselt of all the Virtues necessary to make a good Man, and a good Prince : The only fault laid to his charge by *Zozimus* is, that he was govern'd by such as are wont to corrupt Princes, and that he delight'd in killing wild Beasts. 'Tis certainly no very Heinous Crime for a young Prince to have Favorites, or love innocent sports. There is no particular mention of his injuring his Subjects himself, or suffering those whom he favour'd to injure them. *St. Ambrose* highly extols him for his Piety and Worth ; all Writers whether Christian or Heathen speak so well of him, that we have no room to doubt, but he deserves a Place among the best of the *Roman* Emperors, both as a true Son of the Church, and a true Father of his People.

### *Valentinian II. Theodosius, Arcadius.*

THE Tyrant *Maximus* us'd the Body of the Dead Emperor with great indignity, forbidding that it should be Bury'd : And having thus far succeeded in his usurpation, to make the remaining part of his work the more easy, he put to Death all those who had been eminently faithful to their late Sovereign. *Merobaudes* the Consul was murder'd by his order ; and *Ballio*, another of *Gratian's* chief Commanders, to avoid the torture kill'd himself. Being thus secur'd as he thought from any attempts against his Sovereignty, by the Friends and Servants of the late Emperor ; he sent the Præfect or first Gentleman of his Bed-chamber as his Ambassador to *Theodosius*, not to beg Pardon for killing his Collegue, but

## Chap. II. Valentinian II. Theodosius, Arcadius. 135

but to offer him his Friendship as Successor to *Gratian*, A.D. 383. and to enter into a League with him for defence of the Roman Empire, which if he refus'd, the Præfect had instructions to denounce War. *Theodosius* finding the Usurper was in possession of all *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*; that he had drawn the Legions of those Provinces to his side, and would be a formidable Enemy, thought it most politick to temporize a little, and by seeming to accept of his Proposals to wait for a better opportunity to chastise him for his Rebellion: Besides he was apprehensive, that if he declar'd War with him immediately, the Usurper would fall upon *Italy* with the Powers of *Britain*, *Spain* and *Gaul*, which might have been fatal to *Valentinian*, for whom he had a Fatherly regard, and made his Interest his own, as indeed it was; for had the Tyrant subjected the whole Western Empire, *Theodosius* who had work enough on his Hands to preserve the East from the incursions of the *Barbarians*, would have found his own dignity in danger.

All *Italy* was in a terrible Consternation on News of the revolt of the *British* and *Gallick* Legions to the Usurpers, and of the Death of *Gratian*; the Citizens of *Rome* were afraid the Tyrant would in a few Days be at their Gates; and *Valentinian's* Council were at a loss what methods to put him upon for his Preservation; his Army was much inferior to *Maximus's*, and dispirited by the Emperor's misfortune, and the Usurper's Prosperity. In this extremity, *St. Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan*, boldly *St. Ambrose* undertook to go Embassador to the Tyrant, and endeavoured by the force of his arguments to prevail with him, *Valentinian's* to leave the young Emperor in Peace; when he came to the Usurper's Court at *Mentz*, *Maximus* demanded *Embassador* why *Valentinian* did not come himself? Telling the Bishop he needed not to have been afraid of the usage he should have met with, for he would have treated him as kindly as if he had been his own Son. The Bishop reply'd, 'twas neither decent nor safe for a young Child to Travel over the Alps with his Mother in the midst of Winter; and without his Mother it was not fit he should venture on such a Journey, especially in the present juncture of Affairs. After a long Dialogue between the Bishop and the Tyrant, the Success of his Embassy was as happy as could be expected. *Maximus* consented not to disturb *Valentinian* in the possession of *Illyricum*, *Italy* and *Africk*. *Procures the Usurper to leave the Emperor in*

The Peace.

A.D. 383.

The State of the Church in the Western Empire was in a deplorable condition; the *Pagans* seeing the Emperor was involv'd in so much trouble grew insolent. *Symmachus* who was *Præfect* of *Rome*, believing *Valentinian* would be unwilling to disoblige any of his Subjects while there was so dangerous a Competitor near him, took hold of this occasion to present a Petition to him in the Name of the Senate, to restore the worship of the *Pagans*, which by means of *St. Ambrose* was absolutely deny'd. This Year there were two Synods held at *Constantinople*, by command of the Emperor *Theodosius*, who earnestly endeavour'd to reconcile the differences in Opinion, which were grown to a great height among Christians: The first Synod was Summon'd to condemn the Heresy of the *Messalians*, a Sect, who believ'd they had the Gift of Prophecy: The other was to consider of an accommodation between the Orthodox and the *Arians*; the *Eunomians*, who believ'd that Faith would save a Man let him be never so wicked; and the *Novatians*, who confounded the Jewish and Christian Religions together. At this Synod the Emperor carry'd himself very civilly to the *Arian* Bishops, in hopes by fair words to make them the more willing to comply with the Orthodox: His caressing the Hereticks alarm'd the zealous part of the Catholick Bishops, and particularly *Amphilochus* Bishop of *Iconium*, now *Cogne*, the Capital of *Caromania*, in the lesser *Asia*. This Prelate coming into the Chamber where the Council sat, and the Emperor and his Son *Arcadius Augustus* with them, saluted the Emperor *Theodosius* as the other Fathers had done; but took no notice of *Arcadius*. *Theodosius* supposing *Amphilochus* had wilfully or ignorantly mistaken him, commanded him to address himself to *Arcadius*, and pay him the Honour due to the Emperor his Son: The Bishop reply'd, he had done his duty in Complimenting the Father. *Theodosius* was provok'd at his answering him in such a manner, resenting it as a high Affront on himself and Son: Upon which *Amphilochus* with aloud Voice told him, 'tis true, the same Honours that were due to you, are due to your Son: Be pleas'd therefore to consider what a heinous Sin those commit against God the Father, who not only deny their duty to God the Son, but are so bold as most impiously to revile and blaspheme him. *Amphilochus's* seasonable Reproof so touch'd the Emperor,

that

## Chap. II. Valentinian II. Theodosius Arcadius. 137

that he ever after was an Assertor of the Orthodox Faith, A.D. 383. espous'd the interest of the Catholick Church, and by an Edict forbad the *Arians* to hold any Publick Assemblies. The next Year *Theodosius* kept his Court at *Constantinople*; his chief employment was to beautify that Imperial City. He requir'd a Contribution from his Subjects towards repairing the Haven, which he made one of the most commodious Ports in the World; from whence 'tis thought the *Turks* by way of Eminence to this Day, call *Constantinople* the Port. He made many excellent Laws for regulating abuses in the Government of the Provinces, for discountenancing and restraining Luxury, and Extravagance, and for the ease of his Subjects in their donations and payments. On the 9th of September, the Empress was deliver'd of *Honorius* her second Son; and in October Pope *Damasus* dying, *Ciricius* succeeded him in the Chair of St. Peter. He made a Decree against the Marriage of the Clergy, and *Theodosius* by an edict forbad the *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eunomians*, and other Hereticks whom he had formerly silenc'd to Publish any of their dangerous Tenets. The Tyrant *Maximus* Summon'd a Synod to meet at *Bourdeaux*, by whom *Priscilian* and his followers were Condemn'd. This Heretick refin'd upon the Gnostick Heresy, and held besides, *that the use of Flesh, Meat and Marriage, were unlawful*: They confounded the three Persons in the Trinity, saying, *Our Saviour was the Father and the Holy Ghost*; and added several other abominable Articles to those we have mention'd. *Priscilian* appeals to *Maximus*, who was then at *Triers*. *Martin* Bishop of *Tours* perceiving there were two Bishops, *Idacius* and *Ithacius*, that would be satisfy'd with nothing less than the blood of those wretches, he pray'd the Tyrant to spare their lives, alledging 'twas a new and unheard of Crime, for a secular Judge to decide Causes of the Church; but the Remonstrances of the two cruel Prelates whose severe disposition and persecuting Spirit agreed better with the Usurper, than the Piety and Moderation of the good Bishop of *Tours*, had more influence over him than St. *Martin*; so *Priscilian*, *Felicissimus*, and others, were deliver'd over to the secular Power and put to Death, which is the first instance of any Blood spilt among Christians, on account of differences in Opinion about Religious matters, and the making Heresy a Capital Crime, was contrary to the Judgment

385.  
The first  
instance of  
putting  
Persons to  
Death for  
their Reli-  
gion among  
Christians.



A.D. 385. ment of *St. Martin*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Augustine*, the former refusing to Communicate with *Ithacius*, or any of the Bishops of his bloody Principles ; and tho' by force *Maximus* compell'd him to do it ; yet he heartily repented of it, and had seen so much Pride, Faction and Corruption among the Prelates, that he never after would assist at their Synods, being of the same Opinion with *Gregory Nazienzen*, who abdicated the See of *Constantinople* at the second General Council which met in that City : Observing in that meeting and others, with what heat the Fathers carry'd on their Parties and Factions, he left his Diocese, went into his own Country, resolving to come no more into such Assemblies, saying, *he had never seen any good to come by Synods*. About September, *Valentinian* past out of *Gaul* into *Italy*, and took up his Quarters at *Verona* to be near the Frontiers of *Rhetia*, which Province the *Futhungi* invaded and destroy'd. *Bauto* the Consul march'd to oppose the *Barbarians*, who being much Superior in strength to his Army, he was forc'd to call the *Huns* and *Allans* to his assistance ; and happy was it for *Maximus*, that these Troops were thus diverted from falling upon *Gaul*, which they intended. The *Huns* drove the *Futhungi* out of the *Roman* Territories, and were afterwards prevail'd with for a Summ of Money to leave the Province of *Gaul* in Peace ; yet *Maximus* pretended that *Valentinian's* employing the *Barbarians*, was with a design to set them upon him when they had done his Business in *Rhetia* ; and he urg'd this as one of the Reasons, for which he made War upon the Emperor three Years afterwards. About this time the Empress *Flacilla* dy'd, and was very much lamented both by *Theodosius* her Husband, and by his Subjects : She was a Princess of extraordinary Piety and Charity, and every way worthy the high Station, to which she was advanc'd. Some Authors place the Victory *Promotus* obtain'd over the *Gruthungi*, in the following Year ; and others, as has been said, put it five Years backward. *Gerontius*, Governor of *Tomos*, a City of *Thrace*, on the Frontiers of that Part of the Province, which the Emperor had assign'd to some of the best of the *Barbarians* for their Habitation, observing that the *Goths* abusing *Theodosius's* Generosity, were troublesome to their Neighbours, and hearing they had form'd a design to possess themselves of *Tomos*, he resolv'd to prevent them, and

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## Chap. II. Valentinian II. Theodosius, Arcadius. 139

fully'd out with his Guards only ; the rest of the Garrison refusing to follow him, attack'd the *Barbarians* and the Soldiers within the Town ; seeing from the Walls how manfully their Fellows fought with the Enemy, march'd forth and joyn'd the Governor, who by the addition of these fresh Men routed the *Goths*, making a great Slaughter. *Gerontius* in this Action went beyond his Commission, and was call'd to an account for it by his Master, tho' he pleaded that the *Barbarians* were Rebels, and had rob'd and kill'd the *Romans* ; yet says *Zozimus*, 'twas with much difficulty that he obtain'd his Pardon by the intercession of the *Eunuchs*, whom he had brib'd for that purpose. The Examples of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, who put his Son to Death for fighting contrary to his order, tho' he was Victorious, and *Papirius Cursor*, who wou'd have done the same when he was Dictator, by the General of his Horse, that fought and defeated the Enemy without his consent, vindicate the rigour of *Theodosius's* Justice.

The next Year the Emperor entring into the Tenth Year of his Reign, and *Arcadius Augustus* into his Fifth, *Theodosius* Celebrated his own *Decennalia* and his Son's, *Quinquennalia*, at which time 'twas Customary to distribute a Donative among the Soldiers, as well as at a Coronation. Besides the Summs wanted on this occasion, the Emperor was providing for a War with *Maximus* to revenge the Death of his Benefactor *Gratian*, which requir'd large Supplies from the People. Having concluded a Peace with the King of *Persia*, and driv'n the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, he resolv'd to undertake an Expedition into the West to Chastize the Usurper, whom he had not suffer'd to maintain his Usurpation so long, if his Affairs in the East had not made his Presence necessary there, and employ'd all his Forces.

The Summs requisite to carry on the War, and to please the Army by a generous Donative when they came to be rais'd, were burthensom to the Provinces, and particularly to the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, who rose in a seditious manner, demolish'd the Emperor's Statues, dragg'd the late Empress *Flacilla's* thro' the Streets, and at last dealt as rudely by those of *Theodosius's* two Sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. *St. Chrysostome*, who then resided in that City, by the force of his Reason and Eloquence, calm'd the Tumultuous rage of the Populace, and brought.

A.D. 388.

387.

An Insurrection at Antioch.

A.D. 387.  
Appeas'd by  
St. Chry-  
sostom's  
Preaching.

The Empe-  
ror threaten-  
s to deal  
severely by  
the Anti-  
echians.

The Bishop  
goes to  
Court to  
mediate for  
them.

brought them to a due sense of their guilt, and the Punishment they deserv'd. When the Emperor heard of the Sedition he fell into a dreadful Passion, and in the heat of his resentment dispatch'd away Commissioners to inquire into the matter, and severely to punish the Offenders. As soon as these Judges arriv'd at *Antioch*, they depriv'd the City of the Honour of being the *Metropolis* of *Asia*, which Priviledge they transferr'd to *Laodicea*: They shut up all the Baths, Theaters and Forum's; the chief Persons that were known or suspected to be concern'd in the Tumult, were apprehended, Imprison'd, and threaten'd with the Torture. Guards were Posted in all Quarters of the City to prevent any Insurrection, the Judges were preparing to proceed in the Execution of their Commission to try the Prisoners, whose Estates were seiz'd, and the Citizens had no hopes of Relief or Comfort but in Heaven, and the Prayers of *St. Chrysostome*. The report of the miserable condition into which the Madness of the Multitude had brought the City of *Antioch*, the Mistress of the East, drew the Hermits out of their Cells in the Neighb'ring Deserts, to mediate with the Judges in behalf of those that had offended, and by strong Arguments drawn from Reason and Religion, they prevail'd with the Commissioners to suspend their further Proceedings till the Emperor's pleasure, on the representation of the Citizens Sorrow and Repentance was known. This Request being granted, they were at a loss whom to send to *Constantinople* with their humble Petition for Mercy and Pardon. *Flavian* the Bishop was the only Person, who knowing that they lay under the weight of the Emperor's displeasure, had Courage enough to look affronted Majesty in the Face. He hasten'd to Court to appease *Theodosius's* Wrath, and intercede for his guilty Flock. *Chrysostome* makes a very elegant and moving description of the Circumstances of the Bishop's Embassy; he Writes of it with so much Action and Eloquence, that the Reader is as much touch'd as if he saw it in the Scene: He tells him, that *Flavian* being arriv'd at Court, stood at an awful distance in a dejected sighing Posture, like a Man who knew himself guilty and heartily repented of his Crime, not daring to approach his offended Sovereign with an erected Countenance. The Emperor spying him, was mov'd to see him look so Sorrowfully and Penitently, and tho' he

knew

## Chap. I. Valentinian II. Theodosius, Arcadius. 141

knew his Errand, came up to him and Expostulated the A.D. 387  
 matter, without giving him or his fellow Citizens any  
 hard Words : He ask'd him, *In what he had behav'd him-  
 self so ill since his Advancement to the Throne, as to provoke  
 them not only to treat the Living with so much Inhumanity,  
 but to let their fury extend to the Dead : He little ex-  
 pected such usage from the City of Antioch, which he  
 prefer'd to all the Cities of his Empire.* The Bishop,  
 who play'd his Part as well as any Actor on the  
 Stage, fetch'd a Profound Sigh, pour'd forth a flood  
 of Tears, and as soon as he cou'd recover the use of  
 his Speech reply'd, *Yes, Sir, 'Tis this Goodness of yours  
 that makes our Crime and our Ingratitude the more un-  
 pardonable : Should you burn our Houses, raze our Walls,  
 and give us all over to be destroy'd by Fire and Sword,  
 'twou'd be no more than we deserv'd, and we shou'd to  
 all Posterity be Infamous as an ungrateful People. Had  
 we been assaulted and carry'd away into Captivity by  
 Barbarians, we shou'd still have been comforted by con-  
 sidering that you our Prince and Benefactor wou'd deli-  
 ver or revenge us ; but now of all Men, we are most  
 Miserable ; to whom shall we fly for Deliverance, since  
 you in whom were all our hopes of our Friend are become  
 our Enemy ? However let us not Despair. For when God  
 had Created Man and plac'd him in Paradise, and af-  
 terwards for giving himself up to the Temptations of  
 the Devil, thrown him out of Eden ; yet he was so far  
 from forsaking him, that after he shut up Paradise, he  
 open'd Heaven. And Sir, Will you suffer the Devil, that  
 for our own ruin has tempted us to commit this dete-  
 stable Crime, to Triumph over us ? Rather imitate your  
 Almighty Maker, and to be reveng'd on the common Ene-  
 my of Mankind, Restore the Poor, Penitent, Bleeding  
 City of Antioch to her former favour, and you will be  
 more admir'd by the whole World for this Conquest over  
 your Passion, than for the glittering Diamonds that Adorn  
 your Imperial Crown.* He enlarg'd on these Topicks  
 with such Eloquence and Efficacy, and so livelily re-  
 presented the deplorable State of the Citizens of An-  
 tioch, who were almost dead with Shame and Re-  
 morse, that the good Emperor cou'd scarce forbear  
 weeping ; but recollecting himself, he with-held the  
 Tears that stood in his Eyes, and made this mild  
 answer, *What a great matter is it if we who are spite-  
 fully*



A.D. 387. *fully us'd, forgive those that affront us : We who are our selves no more than Man, when the Lord of the World descending from Heaven for our sakes, was crucify'd by those he came to Redeem, could yet pray for them that bound him to the Cross ; saying, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do, should not we then forgive our Fellow-Servants ?* Having spoken thus, he order'd the Bishop to hasten back, and comfort them with the welcome news of Pardon and Favour. *Flavian* sent away an Express before him, to let the Citizens know how he had succeeded in his Embassy : And when he himself arriv'd at *Antioch*, with the Act of Grace and Oblivion, which the Emperor gave him, we may imagine 'tis true, what is related ; that he was receiv'd, as if he had been an Angel come down from Heaven, to save and deliver them from Death and Destruction.

*Procures  
their Par-  
don.*

*Maximus  
prepares to  
cross the  
Alps.*

*St. Am-  
brose goes  
the Ambassador  
to persuade  
him to  
Peace.*

We must now pass into *Gaul*, where we left *Maximus* in possession of that Province, *Britain* and *Spain*, which he enjoy'd quietly, till his own Ambition to get more, lost him what he had already acquir'd. He could not be easie, while *Valentinian* was Master of so great a share of the Empire : Wherefore he contriv'd how to remove him out of the way, as he had done by *Gratian*, and to add his Provinces to his own. For this purpose he prepar'd to pass the *Alps* : He got what Forces he could raise together ; but reflecting on the Difficulties that lay in his way, he began to cool, and seem'd willing to continue the Alliance he had enter'd into with the young Emperor. *Valentinian's* Ministers knowing their Master was not strong enough to oppose him, by Arms, were willing to improve the good humour the Usurper appear'd to be in, and sent Ambassadors to treat of a firm and lasting Peace between them. The chief Person of the Embassy, was *St. Ambrose*, Bishop of *Milan*, who was follow'd by the Emperor's Favourite *Domninus*, a Syrian, whom *Maximus* Carest, and courted in a very high Degree : He also spoke so fair to him, of his good Intentions towards *Valentinian*, that *Domninus* thought his Master could not have a better Friend. He dissembled so far with the Syrian, that he entrusted him with part of his Army, to lead them into *Italy*, for the Emperor's Service, to be employ'd against the Barbarians, who made Inroads into *Pannonia*. *Domninus* took the

Cont

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Command of these Troops, and led them with Joy over the *Alps*, a near and safe way, which was all the Tyrant wanted: He sent some Scouts before him, to observe what Road *Domninus* took, and to intercept all Persons that could carry News of his Approach. He then follow'd with all his Forces, and march'd with such Secrecy and Diligence, that he got over the Mountains into *Italy*; and was advancing towards *Aquileia*, before *Valentinian* had notice of his Motions. The Emperor in a fright embarkt with his Mother *Justina*, and *Galla* his Sister, and sail'd to *Theffalonica*; from whence he sent to *Theodosius*, to desire him to take the distressed Family of *Valentinian*, into his Protection. *Theodosius* took with him some of the Senate, and remov'd to *Theffalonica*; where 'twas resolv'd in Council, that War should be declar'd with *Maximus*: And while necessary Provision was made for this Enterprize, the Emperor *Theodosius* Marry'd *Galla*, to the great joy of his Colleague *Valentinian*, and his Mother the Empress Dowager, and the whole *Roman* Empire, who wish'd well to the remains of this Illustrious House. *Theodosius* remain'd at *Theffalonica* this year, and the next preparing for his march into *Italy*, he encreast the Soldiers pay to encourage them. He made *Promotus* General of the Foot, and *Timasius* of the Horse: He chose some Persons, in whom he could Confide, to convoy *Justina*, *Galla*, and *Valentinian* to *Rome*, where he knew they were belov'd; and that their Presence would be a means to keep the Citizens in their Duty. Himself intended to march through the upper *Pannonia*, and so over the *Appennine* Hills into *Italy*, hoping he might come upon the Usurper in *Aquileia*, before he had any Information of his Designs. *Maximus's* Intelligence was better than to give him any advantage by his Security: He was advis'd, that the Empress, her Son and Daughter, were to cross the *Ionian* Sea; and order'd *Andragathius* to Man some Pinnaces, or other light Vessels, if possible, to intercept them in their Passage. The Russian, for he was the same Man that Assassinated *Gratian*, was very diligent in obeying his Master's Orders: However, he put to Sea too late, *Justina*, *Valentinian* and *Galla*, were safely landed in *Italy*, and receiv'd into *Rome*. The Tyrant thinking *Theodosius* would transport his Army over the same Sea, or cross the *Adriatick*, fitted out a Fleet,

A.D. 387.

He dissembles with Valentini- an's Embas- sadors, de- ceives them, and enters Ita- ly.

Valenti- nian his Mother and Sister, fly to Theodo- sius.

388.

They are sent back into Italy under a Guard.

intend-

A.D. 388. intending to oppose his Passage; but hearing afterwards Maximus he was marching by the way of *Pannonia*, and the *Ap-pennine* Mountains, he pass'd over the *Julian Alps*, took and fortify'd *Petovio*, proceeded to the Banks of the *Save*, and encamp'd near *Sissia*, of which he made himself Master. *Theodosius* hearing which way he mov'd, and that at last he had seated himself at *Sissia*, by long marches advanc'd towards him, through *Macedonia* and

Seuia.  
Gives him  
Battle.

And is de-  
feated.

Theodo-  
sius fights,  
and defeats  
the Usur-  
per's Bro-  
ther.

Besieges  
Maximus  
in Aquileia.

Who is  
seiz'd by  
his own  
Soldiers,  
and carry'd to the  
Emperor.

*Mesia*, into *Pannonia*: He pass'd the *Save*, came up to the Usurper's Camp, and offer'd him Battle; which the Tyrant disdain'd to refuse, and both Armies engag'd near the Town. *Maximus's* began the Fight, and were so warmly receiv'd by *Theodosius's*, that they were soon forc'd to give Ground; and being vigorously prest by their Enemies, turn'd their Backs and fled. The Eastern Army pursu'd them to the Walls of *Sissia*, where those of the Rebels that could not crou'd into the Town, flung themselves into the River, and the rest were slain by the Conquerors. After the Victory, *Theodosius* march'd to *Petovio*, where *Marcellinus*, *Maximus's* Brother was posted with another Army: The Rebel on approach of the Emperor's Troops, drew out his own, in order of Battle. *Theodosius* did the same, and the next day fought *Marcellinus* with the same Success, as he had engag'd his Brother: The Enemy took to their Heels, and those of them that could not reach the adjacent Woods, were put to the Sword, except some who threw down their Arms, and prostrating themselves at the Emperor's Feet, implor'd his Pardon: These he kindly receiv'd, and entertain'd them among his own Forces. The Tyrant *Maximus* fled to *Aquileia*; thither the Emperor follow'd him. The Citizens of *Hansona*, the first Town in *Italy*, at the foot of the *Alps*, came forth of the City, and met him with Songs of Triumph: He was so intent upon pursuing the Usurper, that he would not stay to receive the Applauses which were prepar'd for him. In one days march he arriv'd before the Walls of *Aquileia*, and laid Siege to the Place: *Maximus* despairing to defend his usurpt Power any longer, seem'd to give it up as a lost Cause; which his Soldiers perceiving, to make their peace with *Theodosius*, they seiz'd him, pull'd off his Imperial Ornament, and led him bound to the Emperor. When he was brought into his Presence, *Theodosius* ask'd him, How he had the Conscience

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dence to raise a Civil War: The Usurper reply'd, He A.D. 389.  
 pretended he had his Consent and Favour, and told the Soldiers, himself had advis'd him to it; without which Deceit, he could never have drawn the Army on his side. The Emperor was angry that he had made use of his Name in his Usurpation; yet he did not condemn him to any cruel Punishment: On the contrary, holding down his Head, and blushing at the Tyrant's Impudence, he spoke some words so full of Pity, that those who were about him, fearing he intended to pardon him, took him out of his Sight, and cut off his Head the 27th of August. Maximus  
 After he had reign'd full five years over Gaul, Spain and kill'd.  
 Britain, and one whole year over all the Western Empire, he had left his Son Victor, whom he had also declar'd Augustus, in Gaul, with Nannienus and Quintinus, who commanded in that Province, while he was besieg'd in Aquileia. The latter of these Generals, to revenge himself on the Franks, for making Excursions within the Roman Pale, past the Rhine, broke into their Territories; but met with such a warm Reception from the Barbarians, that his Party were almost all cut off, himself and a few of his Soldiers escaping with great difficulty.

Valentinian after the Death of Maximus, sent Arbogastes his General of the Horse, to Suppress Victor, and order'd Carrietto and Syrus to succeed Nannienus and Quintinus in the Government of Gaul. Arbogastes defeated Victor, took him Prisoner, and slew him; by which means all the Province return'd to the Obedience Victor was  
 of her Rightful Sovereign. Carrietto and Syrus hearing ken and  
 the Franks, encourag'd by their late Victory, were in slain.  
 motion on the Borders, march'd to the Banks of the Rhine, with what Forces they could raise, and the sight of these Troops kept the Barbarians in awe.

Andragathius on news of Maximus's Fate, and his Son's, which he heard as he was cruising in the Ionian Sea, in despair flung himself over-board, to escape the Torments he expected and deserv'd, for his Treason and Cruelty. Thus was this Usurpation brought to a happy end, and the Usurper to Condign Punishment, by the Arms of Theodosius, whose Fame spread it self to all corners of the Earth; and he was as much admir'd for his Clemency and Modesty, as for his Prudence and Valour. He scorn'd to turn his Victory over the Tyrant,



A.D. 389. to his own Advantage. And though had he only restor'd to *Valentinian* the share of the Empire, which had been ravish'd from him by the Tyrant *Maximus*, it would have been a generous and grateful Action; Yet he could not content himself with any thing less, than the highest act of Generosity: He freely gave up to him, all that his Brother *Gratian* was possess'd of; and desir'd nothing for himself, but the Renown of his Vertue and his Gratitude to the unhappy Prince, to whom he was oblig'd for his Advancement. Nor did his Bounty and Goodness extend only to the Family of his Friend and Partner in the Empire. He took care of the Wife and Daughter of the Usurper, his Enemy, settled an Honourable Pension upon them for their Maintenance; and gave order to a Kinsman of their own, to manage their Affairs, and not to let them be insulted or oppress'd by any Body.

Theodosius and Valentinian go to Rome.

About the middle of *June* in the year following, the two Emperors went to *Rome*, *Theodosius* carrying with him his Son *Honorius*: He was receiv'd by the Citizens of that Imperial City, with all imaginable Demonstrations of Joy and Affection; and he resided there till the beginning of *September*, reforming what ill Practices were kept up in that City. He Demolish'd the *Sestra*, or publick *Brothels*; he commanded the Statues of the Heathen Deities to be broken in pieces, excepting such as were famous for the Workmanship, and the Masters Hand: He forbade the *Pagan* Rites, Sacrifices, and Festivals. *Symmachus* the Orator, who had flatter'd the Tyrant *Maximus*, Complimented him with a Panegyrick, and thought he had sooth'd him by the force of his Oratory, into so good a Humour, that he might Petition to have the Altar of Victory, which stood in the Senate-House, restor'd: But the Emperor Banish'd him his Presence for his Presumption; yet he was afterwards taken into Favour, by the Intercession of a *Novatian* Bishop. In pursuance of the Edict for purging the City from *Pagan* Superstition and Idolatry, the Capitol was clear'd of the Statues of the Gods; and *Roimus*, who did not approve of this Reformation, says, *Stilicho* the Officer that had the charge of the Work, was so Covetous, that he took off the Golden Plates from the Doors of the Capitol; and *Serena* his Wife, *Theodosius*'s Niece, Daughter to his Brother *Honorius*, apply'd the Jewels that hung about the Neck of the Goddess *Rhea*, to her own use.

The Pagan Idols demolish'd.

All

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All this the *Pagans* bore patiently; but when their Darling Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, was destroy'd, they rail'd aloud against the Christian Priests, whom they tax'd with all manner of Lewdness and Impiety. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, to expose the abominable Rites of the Heathens, when the Temple of *Serapis* was Demolish'd, and the Priests unkenel'd order'd the obscene Figures of *Priapus*, which the *Pagans* Worship in their filthy and Nocturnal Mysteries, to be carry'd through the Forum. The Heathens were so enrag'd at the exposing their lewd Customs, the Infamous *Arcana* of their Superstitious Idolatry to the Laughrer of the People, that they fell upon the Christians, kill'd a great number of them, seiz'd the Temple, fortify'd it, and stood on their Defence. From thence they often sally'd out, forc'd such Christians as they took, to sacrifice to their Idol; or if they refus'd it, Crucify'd them. The Emperor being inform'd of this Sedition, commanded the General of his Forces in *Egypt*, to assist *Theophilus* in destroying the *Pagan* Temples: However he forbade him to revenge upon the Heathen, the Death of those that had obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom by their Hands; but rather to try to gain them over to Christianity, by merciful and gentle Methods. It pleas'd God that after the Destruction of the Temple of *Serapis*, the Nile, which the *Pagans* believ'd would no more overflow, swell'd higher than usually, and produc'd a year of Plenty, when they expected a severe Dearth of Corn. For *Serapis*, they imagin'd, was the God that govern'd that River; and now he was so highly affronted, they could look for nothing less than Pestilence and Famine. Their Priests had threaten'd them with both, as the effects of his Displeasure: But the Season proving the most kind and fruitful, that had been known in the Memory of Man, many of the Heathens were Converted to the Worship of the only true God, and his Son Christ Jesus.

The two Emperors remov'd from *Rome* to *Valentini-* Theodosi-  
an, and from thence in *November* to *Milan*: While *The-* us and *Va-*  
*odosius* stay'd there, an accident happen'd, which insti-  
gated him to a very bloody Execution, and occasion'd a return to  
most remarkable Instance of Church-Discipline. The *Milan*,  
Inhabitants of *Theffalonica* offended with the Emperor's  
Lieutenant, for refusing to release a Charioteer, whom  
he had Imprison'd for attempting on a Woman's Chasti-

*The Temple  
of Serapis  
at Alex-  
andria  
rais'd.*

*The Hea-  
thens raise  
a Sedition  
there.*

*Quieted by  
the Soldi-  
ers.*

A.D. 389  
The Thes-  
salonians  
kill their  
Governor.

7000.  
murder'd  
in cold  
Blood.

St. Am-  
brose will  
not let the  
Emperor  
into the  
Church, till  
he does Pe-  
nance for  
it.

ty, which prevented his assisting at a solemn Race, rose upon their Governour, and slew him. *Theodosius* was terribly incens'd at their Insolence, and threaten'd to revenge the Death of his Lieutenant, on the Citizens; till *St. Ambrose*, and other Bishops at *Milan*, so effectually interceded for them, that the Emperor's rage seem'd to be abated, and he promis'd to forgive them: Yet on the persuasions of some of his Courtiers, who represented to him the ill Consequence of suffering such a bold Attempt upon the Sovereign Power, to go unpunish'd, he alter'd his Mind; and when the People were met to celebrate the *Circensian Games*, commanded that the Soldiers should surround them, and cut them off. The Soldiers in Obedience to his cruel Orders, fell upon them, without distinguishing Age or Sex, Innocent or Guilty, Citizens or Strangers, and murder'd 7000 in the space of three Hours. When the News of this dreadful Massacre came to *Milan*, *St. Ambrose* in the name of himself, and the rest of the Bishops that were then there, holding a Synod of the Province, wrote Letters to the Emperor, shewing the heinousness of the Crime, and that he had thereby render'd himself unworthy of Christian Communion. When *Theodosius* came to the Church to confess his Fault, and remove the Scandal, the Bishop deny'd him entrance for eight Months, till he was satisfy'd of his Submission and Repentance, and had undergone publick Penance, for so publick a Crime: He also oblig'd him to publish an Edict, which enacted, that no condemn'd Criminal should die, till thirty days after Sentence; to give his Passion time to cool, and prevent such hasty and bloody executions for the future. Another Instance of *Theodosius's* Humility, and *St. Ambrose's* Courage, in maintaining his Episcopal Authority, appear'd at the same time. 'Twas the Custom at *Constantinople*, for the Emperors to sit in the Chancel with the Clergy at the Celebration of Divine Service; which *Theodosius* thinking he might do at *Milan*, as well as at *Constantinople*, the Bishop deny'd him that Privilege, bad him be gone, and sit with the *Layicks* in the Body of the Church: To which Order the Emperor submitted, and deserves as much praise for his Christian Meekness, as the Prelate is worthy of Censure for his Spiritual Pride.

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The *Franks* making Incursions into the Province of A.D. 389.  
*Gaul*, *Arbogastes*, himself a *Frank* advanc'd to be made *Magister Militum*, or General of the *Roman* Armies, by *Gratian*, being sensible how dangerous it was to permit them to Insult the Borders, wrote to the Emperor, that he might chastise them for the many Robberies they had committed on his Subjects, and force them to deliver up the Incendiaries, that broke the Peace between the *Romans* and the *Franks*: He marcht into their Territories, and had a Conference with *Marcomeres* and *Suno*, their Captains, whom he oblig'd to give Hostages for their future good Behaviour. *Theodosius* continu'd all this, and the next year in the *West*. In *May* following he departed for the *East*; *Valentinian* attended him in his Journey, as far as *Aquileia*, where he took his leave of him. When *Theodosius* arriv'd at *Theffalonica*, he found the Affairs of the Province of *Macedonia*, in great Confusion; for a Party of *Barbarians* who list'd in his Army, and deserted while he was marching against the Tyrant *Maximus*, improving his absence, sally'd out from the Caverns and Bogs, where they hid themselves, plunder'd and wast'd the Country at pleasure: But hearing the Emperor was coming back Victorious, they retir'd to their old lurking Holes, from whence they came forth in the Night to rob and spoil, and before Morning they were gone. *Theodosius* could not tell what to make of 'em, rather taking 'em for a Band of Goblins, than a Party of Thieves. To find out the truth of the Matter, he select'd five Persons, in whose Valour and Fidelity he could trust; and commanded each of 'em to take three or four Horses with him, to serve them to pursue, or to fly, as occasion might require, telling no body of his Design. With this small Company, he rang'd up and down, to see what Discoveries he could make; and at last came to a little Inn, kept by an old Woman: The Landlady of the House entertain'd him with the best she had; and being weary, he was perswaded to lodge there. He perceiv'd there was a Man in the Inn, who seem'd shy, and endeavour'd to conceal himself: He would make no answer to the questions that were ask'd him; and the more he strove to hide himself, and his Business, the Emperor was the more curious and inquisitive, to know who he was, and what he did there. *Theodosius*, when he retir'd into his Chamber,

391.  
*Theodosius returns into the East.*



A.D. 391. ber, call'd up his Hostels, and ask'd what Man that was, who lodg'd in her House, and avoided Company? She said she knew nothing of him more, than that since the report of the Emperor's return out of the *West*, he us'd frequently to take up his Quarters in her Inn; that he was abroad all Day, and constantly return'd home in the Evening. The Woman's Confession encreas'd *Theodosius's* Curiosity: He seiz'd the Man, examin'd him, commanded him to discover his Quality, and Business there. The Stranger refus'd to answer, though the Emperor's followers try'd to beat it out of him. Then he order'd them to prick him with their Swords, and declar'd that he was *Theodosius*: Which so frighten'd the fellow, that he confess'd he was a Spy, whom the *Goths* employ'd to give them Information where he was, and what Persons they might attack to most Advantage. The Emperor order'd his Servants to strike off the Villain's Head; went to the place where he left his Army, which lay a little way off, and led them to the Boggs and Caverns, where he was inform'd the *Barbarians* had lodg'd themselves; Of whom he cut off the greatest part, pulling 'em out of their Cells and Fenns. The Soldiers were so weary with haling them through the Water, that *Timasius* perceiving the Emperor, who was Indefatigable in the Work himself, forgot that his Men wanted Refreshment, desir'd him to draw them off, that they might rest themselves: *Theodosius* granted his Request, and sounded a Retreat. The Soldiers fell immediately to Feasting and Merriment, and overcome with Wine and Labour, most of 'em dropt asleep: Those of the *Barbarians* that were left alive, having notice of it, attack'd 'em, and made a great Slaughter. The Emperor himself had perish'd among the rest, if some of his Men, who were not so drunk as their Fellows, had not been awake, and run to his Tent to warn him of his Danger. *Theodosius*, and those of his Followers that were near his Person, fled from the *Barbarians*; and in their Flight met *Promotus*, whom he had sent for to come up with another Party of his Forces. *Promotus* entreated him to take care of his Safety, and leave it to him to deal with the *Goths*. This General coming upon them unawares, while they were killing the *Romans* in their Cups, cut them in pieces. Notwithstanding the Emperor was so much oblig'd to *Promotus*, for this and former Services; yet *Zosimus* tells us,

Surprised  
the Goths.

It is dan-  
ger.

Deliver'd  
by Promo-  
tus.

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us, that by the Malitious Accusations of *Ruffinus*, as *A.D. 391*  
some write, a *Britain*, *Theodosius's* chief Favourite, who *Who is*  
envy'd the Merit of this brave Man, and thought he *kill'd by*  
would be an Obstacle to his Ambitious Designs, he *the per-*  
was made away with; though whether the Emperor *swasion of*  
knew of his Murder, or consented to it, is a question, *Ruffinus.*  
which still remains undecided. For the more effectual  
suppressing these Robbers, he publish'd an Edict, re-  
quiring all the Provincials of *Macedonia*, to oppose by  
Arms, any Soldiers or others, whom they found by  
Night, Trespassing on their Grounds, or caught lying in  
wait to surprize Passengers. By this Law they were Au-  
thoriz'd to kill them, which before they durst not at-  
tempt, there being an Edict in force, forbidding any  
Private Person to levy War, without the knowledge and  
consent of the Emperor.

We are now call'd on a Melancholy account into the *392.*  
*West*, to visit the Court of *Valentinian*, who was not  
suffer'd to enjoy long, the fruit of *Theodosius's* Victory  
and Generosity: For *Arbogastes*, whom we have men-  
tion'd, was become intollerably insolent on the inter-  
est he had gotten among the Soldiers, by his Affability  
to them, his experience in War, and his Contempt of  
Money. He thwarted his Master in every thing, and  
held such a severe Rein over him, that *Valentinian* cou'd  
not endure his Arrogance and Tyranny. The Emperor  
resided at *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, to defend the Empire from  
the attempts of the *Barbarians*, who threaten'd the Bor-  
ders of *Italy*. To prevent their Incurfions, he propos'd  
several reasonable Methods, and was oppos'd in all by  
his Imperious Governour *Arbogastes*, which so highly  
provok'd him, that he drew his Sword, and would have  
kill'd him, had not some of the Standers by held his  
Hand. They ask'd him, why he suffer'd himself to be  
so transported; he reply'd, *He would kill himself, rather*  
*than be Emperor, and not obey'd:* Soon after *Arbogastes*  
coming towards him, as he was sitting upon his Throne,  
he reach'd him a Paper, which contain'd an Abrogation  
of his Command. *Arbogastes* having read it, told him  
plainly, *That he neither gave him his Command, nor should*  
*it be in his Power to take it from him:* Saying this, he  
tore the Paper, and flung it on the Ground, and went  
his way. *Valentinian* was now detain'd by him, as his  
Prisoner; he deny'd him the attendance of his Servants.

A. D. 392. and reduc'd him to a Condition, little better than that of a Subject. He plac'd his own Countrymen at the Head of the *Roman* Legions; and behav'd himself so Arbitrarily and Insolently, that the Emperor at last, was forc'd to write to *Theodosius*, to come and deliver him from the Captivity he was in, under the Tyrant *Arbogastes*. The Senate of *Milan*, perswaded *St. Ambrose* to undertake a Journey to *Vienna*, and endeavour to bring the *Frank* into a better Humour; the Bishop confessing, he had an Influence over him. 'Twas unhappy for the Emperor, that he defer'd his Journey, on a report, that *Valentinian* was returning to *Milan*: For when afterwards he got as far as the top of the *Alps*, he was inform'd that the Emperor was Murder'd. *Arbogastes* had gon so far, he knew there was no going back with Safety. He had tasted the Sweets of the Supream Power, and could not think of descending into a State of Subjection. He drew into his Conspiracy *Eugenius*, one who had formerly been a School-Master; but by his Favour, had been promoted to be Controulr of the Household. He was recommended to him by *Richomer*: And when this Officer return'd with *Theodosius* into the East, *Arbogastes* became so familiar with *Eugenius*, that he did nothing of Moment, without consulting him. *Eugenius* was Grave, Learned, and Eloquent, and in the *Franks* Opinion, deserv'd to rule the Empire; not only because he had these good Qualities, but that being his Creature, he might govern them as he pleas'd, and maintain himself in the Imperial Authority, without the Odium of Usurpation, which he intended should be thrown upon *Eugenius*. Having prevail'd with the *Pædagogus* to mount from the Chair of Rhetorick Professor to the Imperial Throne, 'twas resolv'd, that *Valentinian* should be remov'd out of the way: The manner of this Prince's Death is so variously reported, that we cannot pretend to be certain in the matter. Some Authors say, *Arbogastes* slew him the 15th of May, near the Walls of *Vienna*, as he was exercising a Company of Soldiers. Others affirm, that he hir'd the Eunuchs who waited in his Bed-Chamber, to strangle him, and then hang him as if he had been his own Murderer: And others as much Confidence write, that he was drown'd. We can be sure of is, that one how or other he came to a Tragical End, by the procurement of *Arbogastes*, when

*Arbogastes* and *Eugenius* conspire against *Valentinian*.

They Murder the Emperor, the his up, what All to a

when he had reign'd sixteen years and a half, and liv'd A.D. 392. twenty. He was a Prince of extraordinary Hopes; Chast, Brave, Just; and says St. *Ambrose* in his Funeral Oration, in *Wisdom and Council, an old Man*. His Sisters redeem'd his Body, which was convey'd to *Milan*, and there by particular Order of *Theodosius*, bury'd by the Bishop with Imperial Pomp.

*Theodosius, Arcadius.*

WHEN *Arbogastes* had committed this Parricide, *Eugenius* he declar'd *Eugenius* Emperor; and such was his Power with the Army, that no Body dar'd to question by what Authority he presum'd to set a Sovereign over the *Western Empire*. The Usurper levy'd more Forces, as well *Gauls and Franks, as Romans*, and provided for the defence of his new Dignity. When news of this Revolution came to *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* was extremely troubled for the loss of his Colleague in the flower of his Age, when he expected he would have been an help to him, who hitherto had been a Charge. Neither was the Enemy that had Usurpt the place of his Friend, to be despis'd. *Eugenius* had Qualities, that render'd him capable of Government, and *Arbogastes* was Valiant and Bold; however, he could not put up such an Affront; both his Interest and his Honour requir'd, that the Rebel should be Chastis'd; and to do it effectually, he made mighty Preparations for the War. *Eugenius* dispatch'd *Ruffinus* an *Athenian* Orator, as his Embassador to *Theodosius*, to know whether he would own him as his Colleague, or reject his Advancement as Null. *Ruffinus* took no notice of *Arbogastes* in his Negotiation; and the Emperor concealing his Resentments, honourably treated the Embassador, but gave him such evasive and doubtful Answers, that he could not tell what report to make to his Master, whether he might depend on him as a Friend, or should arm himself against him as an Enemy. *Theodosius* was two years preparing for his Expedition into *Italy*, in which time he publish'd several good Laws, particularly, one which shews the Fatherly care he had of his People. He forbid, that any Man should be punish'd for Words, giving this reason for it. *If it proceeds from Levity, 'tis to be despis'd; if from Madness, to be pity'd; if from Malice, to be forgiven.* On



A D. 393. On the 20th of November in the Year ensuing, the Emperor declar'd his Son *Honorius*, *Augustus*, in the tenth Year of his Age.

In the West *Arbogastes*, who had now an opportunity by being Master of the Empire, to Prosecute a private Quarrel between him and *Marcomeres* and *Suno*, two Commanders of the *Franks*, invaded their Territories, drove the Inhabitants to the Woods and Mountains, and having humbled his Countrymen, march'd to put *Eugenius* in Possession of *Italy*, which he effected by the assistance of *Flavian* the Præfect, a Great Patron of the *Pagans*, who engag'd most of that Faction to side with the Usurper, and flatter'd him with hopes of Success from the Predictions of their Prophets, and the Observations of the *Augurs*. *Eugenius* till now had profess'd the Christian Religion, from which he was perswaded to Apostatize by the deceitful Prophecies the *Pagans* produc'd in his favour. He did not publicly declare himself a Heathen, but he tollerated their Superstition and encourag'd Idolatry: However these Prophets might delude him, he was willing to divide his Devotion between the Christian's true God, and the false Gods of the Heathens. He offer'd to enter the Church of *Milan*, and to be present at Divine Service, but the Bishop and his Priests wou'd not permit him, for which he swore when he went out to meet *Theodosius*, he wou'd make the Priests take Arms, and turn the Great Church into a Stable if he return'd Victorious.

394.

Early in the following Spring, *Theodosius* muster'd his Army, consisting of Soldiers of all Nations, *Romans*, *Goths*, *Alans* and *Hunns*; he gave the Command of the *Roman* Troops to *Timasius* and *Stilicho*. The Barbarians were commanded by *Gaines*, *Bacurius* and *Alarich* the *Goth*, who afterwards took *Rome*. For the *Goths* having in this Expedition an opportunity to view the Country, and make observations of its Strength and Weakness, were tempted by the Richness of the Soil, the Magnificence of the Buildings, and the Delights which that Pleasant Province the Garden of the World affords, to Conquer those whom they came at first to defend. About the beginning of May, *Theodosius* broke up from his Camp near *Constantinople*, and proceeded to *Heraclea*, and from thence to *Adrianople*, bearing our Saviour on the Cross in his Imperial Ensign, and desiring the Prayers of

*Theodosius*  
marches  
towards  
*Italy*.

of the Fathers of the Church for a Blessing on his Arms : A.D. 394.  
 Of which 'tis reported, he was assur'd by a Letter from the Hermit *John*, who liv'd in the Desert, and trusting to the Justice of his Cause and the Courage of his Troops, he march'd thro' *Pannonia* towards *Italy*. *Eugenius* to keep the War out of *Italy*, seiz'd the Passes of the *Julian Alps*, and Posted several Parties of Men to Guard them. *Theodosius* commanded an equal Number of his Forces to attack the Guards whom they drove from their Post, and open'd a way for the whole Army to pass. Then the Emperor descended into a Plain near the River *Frigidus*, 36 Miles from *Aquileia*, and offer'd *Freddo in Eugenius* Battel. The Usurper accepted of the Combat, *Carniola* confiding in his Heathen Idols, and Erecting the Standard of *Hercules*, he drew out his Men in Battalia, dividing his Army into two Bodies. At a Signal giv'n *Fights Eu-* both Armies engag'd, the *Romans* fought against *Romans* *genius* with their wonted Bravery ; but the *Barbarians* not being a match for the Legions that were oppos'd to them, were most of 'em cut off. In this distress the Emperor *Is in dis-* fell on his Knees at the Head of his Army, and pray'd *stress and* thus to Heaven ; *Help me, O Lord, I beseech thee, lest prays to* the Pagans say, where is now the God of *Theodosius* ? And *Heaven*. Heaven heard his Righteous Prayer ; for presently the Officers of a separate Body of the Enemy sent to him, offering to joyn him upon Honourable Terms, which for want of Pen, Ink and Paper, he wrote on a Table-Book, giving them the Command of the Forces they brought over to him. The addition of these Troops animated *Bacurius* to rally the *Barbarians*, who were flying before the *Romans*, and returning to the Battel with fresh Courage, the Face of the Day began to change to the Emperor's side. *Eugenius*, as one sure of Victory, rode up and down exhorting his Men to push forward, and he did not doubt of Conquest, telling 'em *Theodosius* wou'd murder himself if they did not prevent him, by hastning the entire defeat of the Enemy, and he wou'd by all means have him brought alive into his Presence. While both Parties were resolutely fighting, *Eugenius's* to keep the Ground they had got, and *Theodosius's* to recover what they had lost, a mighty Tempest *A Mirac-* arose, which drove on the Usurper's Army with such *ulous Storm* Violence that they could not keep in their order. The *drives in* Arrows they shot turn'd back upon themselves, the *the Face of* Winds *the Rebels*.

A.D. 394.  
Who are  
routed.

Eugenius  
taken.

Beheaded.

Arbogastes  
kills  
himself.

Theodosius  
falls  
sick at Mi-  
lan.

Winds fought for the Emperor as the Poet *Claudian* Expresses it, and the Arrows and Javelins which *Theodosius's* Men sent against their Enemies doing double Execution, they were put to flight. A Party of *Eugenius's* Forces commanded by *Arbetio*, seeing 'twas in vain for them to contend with Providence, went over to *Theodosius*, beg'd to be receiv'd into Mercy and were Pardon'd. These he order'd as a Proof of the Sincerity of their Obedience, to bring the Usurper into his Presence. *Eugenius* perceiving them coming towards him, thought they had fulfill'd his Commands and brought *Theodosius* in Chains to him; but he was presently undeceiv'd; for laying Hands on him, they bound him and led him away to the Emperor: *Theodosius* upbraided him with his Cruelty in murdering his Master *Valentinian*, and with his Folly in putting his Trust in *Hercules*. He then order'd his Head to be struck off without staying for an Answer; *Arbogastes* kill'd himself, and his followers submitted to Mercy. *Theodosius* Pardon'd them, extending his Clemency to the Children of the Rebels, *Eugenius* and *Flavian*, whom he freely forgave, as was but reasonable, they being not accountable in Equity for the Rebellion of their Fathers. The Emperor did not think it enough merely to forgive them, he order'd they shou'd be Educated in the true Religion, and advanc'd to Honourable Employments in the State. *Zosimus* gives a different account of the last Engagement; he willfully or ignorantly omits taking notice of the Miraculous Storm, of which all the Christian Writers make mention; he indeed talks of an Eclipse of the Sun, and other Circumstances plainly fictitious, and therefore we have follow'd the accounts *Zozomen* and *Orosius* give of this Battel.

*Theodosius* being arriv'd at *Milan*, from thence sent for his Son *Honorius* to come to him: He had not been long in that City before he found himself indispos'd; his Distemper turning to a Dropsy, he grew daily worse and worse, till his Life was despair'd of. His Son *Honorius* arriv'd from *Constantinople* before he dy'd, and he divided the *Roman* Empire, which he liv'd to see United in his own Family between his two Sons, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; Assigning the East to the former, and the West to the latter, under the Tuition of *Stilicho*, whom he made General of the Armies in *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, *Africk* and *Britain*. The Legions in the Eastern Provinces

Provinces were to be commanded by *Ruffinus*, who was A.D. 394. to assist *Arcadius* in the Government of his Empire. Having thus dispos'd of his Dominions, he departed this Life the 16th of *January*, in the Year of our Lord 395. *Dyes.*  
*Olybrius* and *Probinus* being Consuls. 395.

He Reign'd 16 Years, and liv'd somewhat above fifty : He was a Prince of whom there are so many good things said, that if the least part of 'em are true, he justly deserves the Sirname of *Great*, by which he is distinguish'd in the *Roman* History. In his Youth, when he serv'd under his Father in *Britain* and *Gaul*, he wou'd undergo all the Fatigues of a Camp, and do the duty of a Private Soldier ; when afterwards he rose to the command of an Army, he continu'd indefatigable in the discharge of his Trust, and of all the Vices of which *Zosimus* maliciously accuses him, Sloth is the most unjust, and what his own History of his Actions renders incredible. When he was call'd to the Empire his Modesty refus'd an Honour, which his Fellow Officers attempted to obtain at the Price of Blood and Ingratitude, and at last when he was constrain'd to accept of the first Dignity of the World, how soon by the force of his proper Virtue did he recover the *Roman* Monarchy out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*, and bring it into a Glorious and Flourishing Condition ? He Triumph'd over all her Forreign and Domestick Enemies. He humbled the *Persians*, tam'd the *Goths*, reduc'd the Rebellious, Reclaim'd the Lewd and Extravagant, Reform'd the Heretical, and left the Church and State in such a thriving Posture, that had not the Devil, the old Enemy of the Race of *Adam*, by his usual Artifices sow'd Divisions among those to whom he Consign'd the Charge of the Government, there is no reason to doubt, but the Fate of the *Roman* Empire wou'd not have been so sudden and so Deplorable. As he was like the Emperor *Trajan* in his Person, so he was like him in his Virtues, without any mixture of his Vices. For tho' *Zosimus* charges him with Luxury and Incontinence, of which *Trajan* was Notoriously guilty, yet all Authors, except this Inveterate Heathen, agree, that he was Temperate and Abstemious to a fault, satisfying himself with the Fare of his Private Soldiers, and that his Court for Industry and Frugality, might be compar'd to the *Spartan* Gymnasia. No wonder a Prince Universally belov'd, thou'd dye Universally Lamented, and

*His Character.*



A.D. 394. and that he who was an Indulgent Father of his Country, shou'd leave as many weeping Children behind him, as he left Disconsolate Subjects.

### C H A P. III.

*From the Death of Theodosius the Great,  
to the taking of Rome by Alarich King  
of the Goths.*

*Containing the Space of 16 Years.*

Arcadius, Honorius.

Stilicho,  
Ruffinus,  
the two  
Emperors  
Governors  
disagree.

**A**rcadius was in the 17th Year of his Age, and Honorius in his 11th when their Father *Theodosius* dy'd, and the Governours of the two Princes *Ruffinus* and *Stilicho*, being both Ambitious, Covetous, Cruel and Proud; they in a little while grew jealous of each others Authority, and became implacable Enemies, to the irreparable Damage of the Common-wealth. The *Barbarians* who were admitted to inhabit some Parts of the Empire, to enjoy by consent what the *Romans* could not take from them by force, had been so easy in the Reign of *Theodosius*, that they began to look upon themselves as Fellow-Subjects with the Natives of the Empire, to have her Interests at Heart, and might have been induc'd to live in Peace, which in time wou'd have made them a sound Part of that great Body, and been a Means to have preserv'd the whole. But after the late Emperor's Death, perceiving the differences between the Governours of his Sons and Successors, were grown to such a height, that neither of them minded the Affairs of the State so much, as how to molest and destroy one another; the *Goths* were tempted to throw off the

Yoke,

Yoke, to which they had submitted, and improve the A.D. 394.  
disorders in the Government to their own Advantage, by attacking it when 'twas involv'd in such difficulties, by the Male-Administration of *Stilicho* and *Ruffinus*, that it cou'd not defend it self against a Forreign Enemy. Thus they got several of the Provinces into their Hands, while the two Governours were busy in heaping up Riches, and carrying on their Ambitious Designs, out of which they Erected Kingdoms and Principalities, independent of the *Roman Empire*.

Tho' the two Brothers had the Name of the Supream Authority, the one in the East, the other in the West; yet *Ruffinus* and *Stilicho* were in real Possession of the Imperial Power, and abusing the Trust committed to them, they made their Profit by selling Places, taking Bribes of Land and Money, and exposing the Publick Justice to Sale. While they were Cramming their Cofters, and wallowing in the heaps of Treasure they had Extorted from the People, Poverty rag'd in all Parts of their Government; there was nothing to be seen of that abundance, which was one of the Blessings of the last Reign. *Ruffinus*, now he was become so Rich that his Avarice was glutted, began to contrive how he might satisfy his Ambition. He thought the readiest way wou'd be to marry a Daughter he had, who was at this time Marriageable, to *Arcadius*. He got some of his Creatures to propose it to the Emperor with as much Privacy as possible; yet notwithstanding their Caution the matter came out, and every Body seeing plainly what he drove at, hated and curst him. An accident happen'd when the talk of this unequal Match was most warm, which increast the Peoples Aversion. *Florentius*, *Præfectus Prætorio* in the West under *Julian*, had a Son whose Name was *Lucian*: This Man, as the fashion was, made his Court to *Ruffinus*, and observing there was no way to rise so short as by Bribing high, he did as he saw others do before him, and gave him Lands and Money to a great Value, to Purchase his favour. The method he took never fail'd in *Ruffinus's* Ministry, he recommended him to the Emperor, as the fittest Man in his Dominions for the Government of the Eastern Provinces: *Arcadius* had such a good Opinion of him from the Character his Governour gave of him, that he made him *Comes* of the East, an Office of the highest Dignity; for

A.D. 394.  
Ruffinus  
gets *Luci-*  
*an to be*  
*made Go-*  
*vernour of*  
*the East.*

*And after-*  
*wards got*  
*him to be*  
*beaten to*  
*Death.*

Arcadius  
marries  
Eudoxia  
against  
Ruffinus's  
Will.

it Controul'd all the Officers within the Limits of its Jurisdiction. *Lucian* prov'd indeed as *Ruffinus* said he wou'd, an upright Magistrate, and was so Just, so Modest and Generous in the Exercise of his Office, that he grew Famous thro' all the East. He Judg'd in all Cases with impartiality, he favour'd none for Affection or Interest. And when the Emperor's own Uncle *Eucherius* Solicited a Cause, which he had depending in his Government, he gave it against him, after he had examin'd the business and found he had not Right on his side. *Eucherius* resenting the Affront which he thought *Lucian* had put upon him, complain'd of him to the Emperor, and added many false Calumnies to the Charge he brought against him. *Arcadius* blam'd *Ruffinus* for desiring him to prefer such an unworthy Person to a Place of that Importance: *Ruffinus* to justify his disinterest in his advancement, and revenge himself on *Lucian* for the reproof he receiv'd from the Emperor on his account, said nothing to any one of his design, and accompany'd only by two or three Persons, went to *Antioch*, apprehended *Lucian*, and call'd him to his Tryal without producing any body to accuse him. He commanded him to be beaten on the Neck with Bails of Lead till he dy'd, and then caus'd his Body to be put into a close Litter, to deceive the People with hopes that he was living, and wou'd be treated with more Humanity than to be so barbarously murder'd. The Citizens of *Antioch* were too much concern'd for the safety of their Governour, not to mistrust and discover the Truth, which incens'd them to such a degree, that *Ruffinus* was forc'd to buy his Peace at the expence of building 'em, the finest *Portico* they ever saw.

At his return to *Constantinople*, he found the Emperor was perswaded by *Eutropius*, his Favourite *Eunuch*, to consent to marry *Eudoxia*, a Lady whose Beauty he highly extoll'd; she liv'd in the Family of one of *Prometus's* Sons, and was thought to be either *Gratian's* Daughter or *Byzto's*, who had been Consul with *Arcadius*. The *Eunuch* shew'd the Emperor the young Lady's Picture, and set her off with such Advantage, that *Arcadius* grew Amorous of her, and marry'd her, to the Inexpressible grief and disappointment of *Ruffinus*, who flatter'd himself that his Daughter wou'd very shortly be advanc'd to the Emperor's Bed. When he saw all his hopes

hopes vanish, and that another Woman was prefer'd to her by Procurement of *Eutropius*, the only Man that durst oppose him in his unlawful Courses; his hatred of him encreast, and all his thoughts were taken up with contriving how to destroy him.

*Stilicho* succeeded better in the West; for he marry'd his Daughter, who was the Emperor's Cousin German, to *Honorius*, and resenting that *Ruffinus*, whom *Theodosius* had nam'd in his Will, to be Governour to his Son *Arcadius* only in the East, (whereas he had giv'n him the Tuition of both his Sons, as *Vicergerent* of both their Dominions,) shou'd presume to Act in all things without consulting him, as if he was not concern'd in the Business of the East, he resolv'd to go thither and take the Government upon himself. *Ruffinus* hearing of *Stilicho's* Intention, did all he cou'd to prevent it; and when at last he saw he cou'd not put it off, he enter'd into a damnable Conspiracy to maintain himself in his Authority, which Treason was the first step to the ruin of the Empire. He made one of his Creatures *Antiochus*, the Son of *Musonius*, a *Græcian*, Governour of all *Greece*, intending to call the *Barbarians* to his Assistance. To *Ruffinus* *Gerontius* another of his Confidents, he gave the Government of *Thermopylae*, and by several wicked Arts of which he was Master, weaken'd the Forces of *Arcadius* as much as possible. When he had prepar'd all things for the Execution of his Trayterous design, he sent to *Alarich*, who as we have mention'd before, commanded a Party of *Goths* in *Theodosius's* Service, to draw out what Troops he cou'd procure of his own, or other barbarous Nations, and march boldly at the Head of 'em into *Greece*, assuring him he shou'd meet with no opposition. *Alaric*, a Man of a Turbulent Seditious Temper, rejoyc'd at the Message, and perceiving he shou'd by the Assistance of *Ruffinus* easily make himself Master of that Province, he got together a great Number of Men of all Nations, who were willing to follow his Fortunes, and march'd as he had been desir'd to the *Streights of Thermopylae*, which *Gerontius* had clear'd for him, by drawing off the *Roman* Guards that were Posted there. Then the *Barbarians* rifled and wasted all *Boetia*, *Argos*, *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*; the Men that they found in the Country they Massacred; the Boys and Women were driv'n away into Slavery; the Cities



A. D. 395. they pillag'd and raz'd; *Thebes* only escap'd their fury. *Alarich* either discourag'd by the strength of the Fortifications, or eager to be Master of *Athens*, neglected that City and march'd to *Athens*, where he expected to Load his Army with the Spoil: But if we may believe *Zozimus*, *Minerva* appearing to him in a Vision, Arm'd at all points in the Defence of her City, he sent to the Inhabitants and offer'd them Peace, to which they consented for themselves and *Attica*. We are rather inclin'd to believe that *Alarich* hearing *Stilicho* had Embark'd his Troops, and was coming to drive him out of *Greece*, thought Sieges wou'd take up too much time, and he might better employ it in Plundering the open Country, and Conquering the Places that were left unfortify'd, thro' the Avarice of the *Roman* Magistrates, who sold themselves and their Posterity for Slaves, to serve the Ambition of those that were then in Power. *Stilicho* Landed his Army in *Peloponesus*; and on his approach the *Goths* retir'd into *Phloe*, where they were reduc'd to such streights that he might with ease have cut them off, had he not giv'n himself up wholly to his Pleasures, at a time when the Necessities of the Government requir'd him to be most Industrious for its Preservation. His Soldiers following the Licentious Example of their General, made Booty of all the *Goths* had left. *Zozimus* writes, that he permitted the *Barbarians* to pass out of *Peloponesus* into *Epirus*, and then return'd Home: Which *Claudian* in his second Book against *Ruffinus* Contradicts and says, that when *Stilicho* was preparing to fall upon the *Goths*, he was prevented by the Exprels command of *Arcadius*. *Ruffinus* having prevail'd with him to send for the Oriental Troops in his Army, who were left in *Italy* ever since the defeat of *Eugenius*, for the defence of *Constantinople*, which was threaten'd by the *Hunns*, *Stilicho* was extremely surpriz'd at this Order, and believing 'twas done by Procurement of his Enemy *Ruffinus*, he consulted with his Friend *Gaines* how to be reveng'd on him, and remove the Traytor from the Emperor's Person. *Gaines* commanded the Forces that were to march for *Constantinople*, and he incens'd them against *Ruffinus*, as the Man who had snatch'd the Victory out of their Hands, of which they had been secure had they engag'd the *Barbarians*. *Ruffinus* by drawing off the Troops out of *Greece*, weaken'd his Rival *Stilicho*, and as he thought, strengthen'd

Leaves  
Athens.

Stilicho  
Lands in  
Pelopone-  
sus.

His Soldi-  
ers rob as  
much as  
the *Goths*.

Arcadius  
by Ruffi-  
nus's Pro-  
curement  
sends for  
Gaines  
from Stili-  
cho.

strengthen'd his own Interest : He had gain'd the major Part of the Officers, and the Army near *Constantinople* to his Party, and they had Conspir'd to Proclaim him Emperor on the arrival of *Gaines* and his Men. The Purple Robe was prepar'd and the Money provided, which according to the Custom, he was to distribute among the Soldiers for a Donative on his advancement. When *Gaines* came within a few hours march of *Constantinople*, he notify'd to the Emperor that in obedience to his Commands he was coming to his Relief. *Arcadius* was mightily pleas'd at the News, and went forth to meet him and his Soldiers, a Compliment his Predecessors were wont to Pay the Army. *Gaines* and his Men, receiv'd the Emperor with all Demonstrations of Duty and Respect due to his Dignity, and on a Signal giv'n as had been before concerted, they surrounded *Ruffinus*, who was big with Expectation of his approaching Greatness, and cut him to pieces : His Head was fix'd on a Spear, and expos'd to the view of the People, who beheld it there with Pleasure, hating him to Death for his Avarice and Cruelty.

*Gaines's  
Soldiers  
fall upon  
Ruffinus  
and slay  
him.*

Such was the Miserable end of this Infamous Traytor, by whose Treachery the *Goths* and *Hunns* got such Footing in the Empire, that 'twas not in the Power of the *Romans* to dislodge them, who from being their Slaves and Servants, became in a few Years their Masters. *Ruffinus's* Wife and Children fearing to fall into the Hands of the Rabble, fled to Sanctuary, and from thence when the fury of the Populace abated, by the Emperor's Permission they retir'd to *Jerusalem*. *Eutropius* succeeded *Ruffinus* in the Ministry ; and being alone at the Head of Affairs he in a little time trod in the same steps, which led his Predecessor to his Grave, and grew as odious to the People. He procur'd *Timasius*, a Man of Consular Dignity, and General of the Horse in the Expedition against *Eugenius*, to be banish'd to *Oasis* in the Desert ; and *Abundantius*, who had been Consul with *Theodosius* two Years before, to be sent into Exile to *Sidon* and *Phenicia* : These two Persons for their Quality and Merit were held in great esteem by the People. *Eutropius* looking on them as Obstacles to his uncontrollable Power, suborn'd Witnesses to accuse *Timasius* of Treason ; the Fact was far from being prov'd, yet he was Condemn'd to be banish'd. *Abundantius* by an Arbitra-

*Eutropius  
succeeds  
Ruffinus  
in the Mi-  
nistry.*

A.D. 395. ry Command from *Arcadius* was order'd to be gone, and his Estate Confiscated, tho' there was no Crime laid to his Charge. Now he had got rid of *Abundantius* and *Timasius*, his only Care was to contrive how to prevent *Stilicho's* calling him to an account: The latter rul'd all things at Pleasure in the West, and did not so much abuse his Power; *Eutropius* perswaded the Emperor to call the Senate, and had such a Majority in the Assembly, that they declar'd *Stilicho* an Enemy to the Empire. He enter'd into a Confederacy with *Gildo*, who commanded in *Africa*, and by his perswasions renounc'd his Allegiance to *Honorius* his Sovereign, and set up for himself, forbidding the Exportation of Corn to *Rome*, which us'd to be supply'd with it from *Africk*: This *Gildo* was *Firminus's* Brother, who rebell'd in the Reign of *Valentinian* the First, and was suppress'd by *Theodosius's* Father. *Gildo* sided with the *Romans*, and for his Loyalty and Valour, was advanc'd by *Theodosius* the Great to be Governour of *Africa*. He had for a long while been projecting how he might usurp the Sovereign Authority in the *Mauritania's*. When *Theodosius* sent for the Troops that were in those Provinces to serve in the War with *Eugenius*, *Gildo* delay'd obeying his Orders till the War was finish'd. His Brother *Mazazel* perceiv'd what he aim'd at, and oppos'd him so heartily that *Gildo* intended to put him to Death, which he prevented by flying out of his reach into *Italy*, of whom we shall hear more in the following Year.

395.  
Gildo  
usurps in  
Africk.

Is oppos'd  
by Maze-  
zel his  
Brother.

397.

The stopping of the Corn in *Africk* occasion'd a great Dearth in *Rome*, which had not that Influence on the Manners of the People, as to restrain them from their Extravagance in Dressing and Building: They affected to imitate the *Goths* in all things; they threw aside the Ancient and Decent Habits of the *Romans*, to put on the *Gothick* Buskins; and the more odd and fantastick the Fashion was, the more Modish and taking. As they follow'd the *Barbarians* in the make of their Cloaths, we may imagine, that falling at the same time into a humour of Building, they forsook the old regular way, and sunk the Order of the *Roman* Architecture into a barbarous *Gothick* manner, which deprav'd their Taste and gave rise to that *Gusto*, so prejudicial to the Art in future Ages. The Citizens of *Rome* were mad to build upon the *Campus Martius*, between the City and the *Tyber*; they

they began to run up Huts and Booths for Places of Diversion and Entertainment, tho' contrary to Law. And from these beginnings, the present City of *Rome* rose to what it is now. For the Old City on the seven Hills, as the *Roman* Empire decay'd by degrees became depopulated, and as the New Lords brought New Inhabitants, they built themselves Houses in the Field of *Mars*, the Ground on which New *Rome* now stands. For that *Rome* which was Stil'd the *Eternal City*, the *Queen of Cities*, the *Venerable City*, was Worship'd as a Goddess, and had all the Titles of Honour answerable to her Precedence, as *Metropolis* of the Empire of the World, is now no more to be seen. The present *Rome* being but the Suburbs of the Ancient City, and her most admirable Rarities, the Ruins to which Time, and the fury of barbarous Invaders have reduc'd her Magnificent Structures.

We hope the Reader will excuse this digression, it being both useful and pleasant for him to observe, by what degrees that City which cou'd Lodge four Millions of Souls, is now brought into so little a Compass, that it scarce contains the 20th part of that Number, and yet is reckon'd Populous. *Honorius* by an Edict forbad the *Romans* to build in the *Campus Martius*, or to follow the Fashions of the *Barbarians*, a humour which too visibly presag'd the Fate that threaten'd 'em, to have their Persons and Estates subjected to those, to whose fancies they had already subjected their Reason.

On *Mazezel's* arrival at Court, and his representation of his Brother's ill designs, *Honorius* and *Stilicho* prepar'd to suppress the Usurper. *Mazezel* solicited to have the command of the Army intended for that Service, and promis'd in such a case to give a good account of his Commission in very little time. *Stilicho* cou'd not tell what to do in so nice a Point. *Rome* was at the last extremity for want of Corn, and *Mazezel* flatter'd them with hopes of a speedy relief; but *Stilicho* was afraid of the *Moor's* honesty, and durst not trust him with an Army, till the Senate, prest by the Necessities of the Citizens decreed a War with *Gildo*, and that *Mazezel* should have the management of it. *Stilicho* got this Decree to turn off the blame from himself, if *Mazezel* prov'd a Traytor or miscarry'd. *Gildo* being inform'd of his Brother's flight into *Italy*, and that the Emperor had giv'n him the Command of the Army, which was to be transported in-



A.D. 398. to *Africa*, in a rage, slew *Mazezel's* two Sons whom he left behind him. *Mazezel* Landed in *Mauritania*. In the following Spring he encamp'd near the River *Ardalio*, having no more than 5000 Men in his Army, and the Usurper's was above 70000. However, *Mazezel* by the miraculous assistance of Heaven, in answer to the Prayers of the Christians, defeated his Brother's Army, and *Gildo* in despair hang'd himself. *Mazezel's* Victory rais'd his Reputation so high that *Stilicho* envying his Success, and thinking his own Fame Eclips'd by the *Moor's*, procur'd him to be drown'd; such was the Reward this brave Man had for the Important Service he render'd the State by clearing *Africk* of Rebels, and opening her Ports for the Exportation of Corn to *Rome*, where the Citizens had undergone almost a two Years Famine. Other accounts tell us, that *Mazezel* assuming too much on his Victory, took on himself the Sovereign Authority, and his Army abhorring his Usurpation, rose upon him and slew him.

*Routs his  
Brother.  
Gildo  
Hangs  
himself.  
Mazezel  
is reward-  
ed by Stili-  
cho.*

*Stilicho  
and Eu-  
tropius at  
open Vari-  
ance.*

*Gaines  
and Tri-  
bigild  
raise new  
Troubles in  
the East.*

*Tribigild  
revolts and  
commits  
horrible  
Spoil in  
Asia.*

*Stilicho* and *Eutropius* began now to shew their Enmity, and the Publick to talk of it as a Difference that might have very ill Consequences; yet tho' they mortally hated one another, they agreed well enough in their Tyranny and Oppression, and the People of both the Eastern and Western Provinces of all ranks and degrees, groan'd under the heavy burthen of their Extortion and Injustice. *Gaines*, who had put *Ruffinus* to Death, and expected to be well rewarded for what he had done, finding there was no notice taken of his Merit, consulted with *Tribigild*, a *Goth*, Commander of some Troops of Barbarian Horse, how he might right himself and be reveng'd. They concerted their Measures together, and 'twas resolv'd between them, that *Tribigild* should go into *Phrygia* where his Men Quarter'd, pretending he went to review them, and see what Condition they were in; that when he had put himself at their Head, he should Mutiny, Plunder, Burn and Destroy where-ever he came. *Tribigild* punctually perform'd what he had promis'd; he kill'd Man, Woman and Child, and made Spoil of every thing he cou'd come at: The hopes of Booty drew Innumerable Crouds of Loose Rascally Fellows after him, and all *Asia* was allarm'd at the Proceedings of such a Devouring Multitude. The Emperor being himself of a Listless unactive Temper, refer'd

refer'd the whole matter to *Eutropius*, who pitch'd upon *Leo* and *Gaines* to lead the Forces that were design'd to suppress this Tumult. *Leo* was order'd to make Head against *Tribigild* in *Asia*, and *Gaines* to Post himself at the *Streights* of the *Hellepont*, to prevent the Enemies invading *Thrace*. *Gaines* inform'd *Tribigild* of the Purport of his Commission, and desir'd him to hasten with his Troops towards those *Streights*, where he wou'd be ready to joyn him : And had he carry'd on the Intrigue so closely that his Treachery had not been discover'd, or his Fidelity suspected, he might without doubt have seiz'd all *Asia* before *Arcadius* cou'd have been in a readines to oppose him. *Tribigild* neglected to follow his Orders, fearing to encounter with the *Romans* that lay on the Coasts. When he had wasted *Phrygia*, he enter'd *Pisidia*, committing the same Barbarity and Spoil as he had done in the Neighb'ring Province. *Gaines* excus'd his not sending any relief to the *Pisidians*, alledging *Tribigild* was unconquerable, that his Conduct was so Politick he cou'd not be reduc'd, unless other Measures were taken at Court, and affected highly to resent the mischiefs he was the cause of. At last he crost over into *Asia*, but when he arriv'd there, he sat still while *Tribigild* destroy'd the Country, burnt the Cities and Murder'd the Inhabitants without any respect to Age, Sex, or Condition. *Gaines* advis'd him to bend towards the East, and privately supply'd him with a Body of Troops for that purpose : Had he follow'd his Instructions, there was nothing cou'd have hinder'd his being Master of *Ionnia*, nor his carrying his Conquests over all the Provinces as far as *Ægypt* ; but directing his Course into *Pamphylia*, he found himself before he was aware of it, pent up between Craggy Rocks, where 'twas impossible for his Cavalry to march. 'Tis true, there was no Army to dispute his Passage, but yet he met with such opposition from one *Valentine* a Citizen of *Selga* in *Pamphylia*, that he might have been entirely cut off, had not the Corruption of the Times been so great, that for Money he was admitted to escape with 300 Men ; the rest were knock'd down with great stones rumbl'd from the Mountains on the Heads of the *Goths*, by *Valentine* and his Fellow Citizens, or cut off in the *Streights* of *Cocblea*, a Pass which was Guarded by *Florentius* and a small Party of Men, who fighting with advantage of ground

A.D. 398. kill'd most of the *Barbarians*, and might have done the same by *Tribigild*, had he not been prevail'd with by Presents, to suffer him to pass with as many of his Followers as surviv'd the late Skirmishes with *Valentine* and himself. *Tribigild* descending into the Plain, met with as great difficulties as in the Mountains; the Inhabitants encourag'd by the Success of their Countrymen on the Hills, rose upon him, and shut him and his Men up between two Rivers, *Melane* and *Eurymedon*. In this extremity he sent to *Gaines* to bring him off: *Gaines* was very much troubled to hear he had brought himself into such danger, yet not thinking it was time to throw off the Mask and declare openly for him, he order'd *Leo* to joyn *Valentine* and hinder *Tribigild's* passing the Rivers. *Leo* being a Sottish Careless Person, he hop'd he wou'd either neglect his Orders, and then he might throw all the blame on him if *Tribigild* got off; or if he did as he Commanded, he intended then to draw him into the Snare and ruin him alone, as we are about to relate: *Leo* contrary to his expectation joyn'd *Valentine*, and now their Forces were United, there was no possibility of *Tribigild's* escaping, which when *Gaines* heard he detach'd a Party of Horse of the *Barbarians* that serv'd in his Army, giving out that they were to reinforce *Leo's* Troops, but privately he order'd them to assist *Tribigild*. The *Barbarians* obey'd his Commands, killing and destroying all that lay in their way, as well Soldiers as others: *Leo* meeting with such Treatment from those he thought were his Friends, was confounded, and himself and his Men were slain, making very little resistance: By this means *Tribigild* got clear of his Enemies, return'd into *Phrygia* and finish'd the Destruction of the Cities of that Province.

In the mean while *Eutropius* continu'd to govern all things at his Pleasure in *Constantinople*: And notwithstanding 'twas contrary to Law for an Eunuch to be advanc'd to the Consulship, yet *Arcadius* design'd him for that Dignity, and had made him his Colleague, cou'd he have maintain'd himself in his favour till the time came for Nomination of Consuls, for the next Year.

399.

*Gaines* to frighten the Emperor and Senate, represented *Tribigild* as very formidable both for the Number of his Forces and his Skill in Military Affairs; that there was no withstanding him, and *Asia* wou'd certainly be lost,

lost, unless *Arcadius* condescended to enter into a Treaty A.D. 399. with him, and grant him his Terms, of which the main Article was that *Eutropius* shou'd be deliver'd into his *Tribigild* Hands, to be punish'd as the Author of all these Evils: *requires to* The Emperor terrify'd with the News he receiv'd from *have Eutropius* *Gaines*, sent for *Eutropius* and took all his Offices from him: The *Eunuch* being now left destitute of Power, *deliver'd* fearing worse usage fled to Sanctuary in a Christian *into his* Church; but this wou'd not do *Gaines's* business, he must *Hands.* have his Life, or *Tribigild* and himself were not safe, *Eutropius* knowing the great Influence he had over his Master. To *is disgrace* please them he was formally try'd and executed. Thus *flies to* *Sanctuary.* *Is put to* *Death.* *Eutropius* fell *Eutropius*, who a few Months before was the second Person of the Empire in Honour and Office, and the first in Authority, by the Emperor's Weakness and Compliance with him in all things. His good Fortune had to far intoxicated him, that he behav'd himself rudely towards the Empress, valuing himself upon the Service he did her in her advancement to the Dignity she enjoy'd: He threaten'd her to turn her out of the Palace, and send her home; so shamefully and publickly he affronted her, that taking up her two little Daughters *Pulcheria* and *Arcadia* in her Arms, she ran to her Husband, and trying all her Female Arts of Sighs and Tears, she endeavour'd to work upon his Compassion, to deliver her from the Insolence of his *Eunuch*. Her Complaints prevailing, *Arcadius* banish'd him first to *Cyprus*, from whence 'tis said he order'd him to be remov'd to *Chalcedon*, where he was beheaded. *Tribigild* had nothing now to pretend for his excuse to continue the Troubles in *Asia*, and therefore *Gaines* made Peace with him in the Emperor's Name. Yet 'twas apparent to all thinking Men that he intended further Innovations, tho' he fancy'd he carry'd himself so Cunningly that no body mistrusted him.

On the conclusion of this pretended Treaty, *Gaines* return'd out of *Asia* by way of *Lydia* and *Pamphylia*. *Tribigild* marching closely after him, at *Thyatira* they joyn'd their two Armies and appear'd barefac'd in their Confederacy; they together laid Siege to *Sardis*, which they had taken had not the Violent Rains that fell, hinder'd them. They then divided their Forces. *Gaines* enter'd *Bithynia*, and *Tribigild* went forward towards the *Hellepont*, both of 'em rising and burning all the Towns they



A.D. 400. they came to. The former was grown so Insolent, that he requir'd *Arcadius* to give him a Meeting, refusing to hearken to any Treaty, without an Interview with the Emperor in Person.

*Gaines demands an Interview with the Emperor.*

*Arcadius meets him.*

*Gaines grows Insolent. Conspires to seize Constantinople.*

*Is forc'd to retire.*

This weak Prince met him at *Chalcedon*, and agreed to deliver up the Consul *Aurelianus Saturninus*, who had been Consul, and *John* the Emperor's Secretary, whom *Gaines* condemn'd to perpetual Banishment; and then himself and *Tribigild* pass over the River to *Europe*, as they Stipulated to do, after those Persons were yielded up. *Asia* had now a little breathing time, and *Europe* in her turn, was to have her share of the publick Calamities: When he arriv'd at *Constantinople*, he took upon him, as if he had been Lord of the Empire. He remov'd the Roman Soldiers that were in Garrison there, even the Emperor's Guards, to other Cities in *Thrace*; and order'd the Barbarians at a Signal giv'n, to seize on the City, which they were to put into his Possession: Himself pretending to be indispos'd, and that he wanted Air, went five Miles out of the City, and staid there to observe how his Plot took effect, which could not have miscarry'd, had not his barbarous fury anticipated the time appointed, and hurry'd him to lead his Soldiers on, without giving the Signal. On his approaching near the Walls, the Watch allarm'd the Inhabitants, who were at first affrighted, and made such terrible Outcries as are usual, when a Town is taken by Storm; till recollecting themselves, they grew bold in their Numbers, took Arms, put all the Barbarians that were within the Walls to the Sword; and then by throwing Stones, and other missive Weapons at those without, they so gall'd *Gaines* and his Men, whom the Emperor at that instant proclaim'd Traytor, that they were forc'd to retire. *Gaines* enrag'd at his Disappointment, and that he was declar'd a Rebel, rais'd open War against the State. The Citizens seeing the Enemy were drawn off, turn'd their Rage on all the *Goths* that were in *Constantinople*, of whom 7000 fled into a Christian Church near the Palace, for Sanctuary. The Emperor commanded they should notwithstanding be put to Death: However, the Barbarians were so many in a Body, and withal so fierce, that none durst venture to attack 'em. At last it was resolv'd, that the Roof above the Altar should be uncover'd, and fire thrown down upon

upon them, which was done, not one of the *Goths* escaping, that were within the Church. *Gaines* found the Cities of *Thrace* prepar'd to receive him. The Inhabitants for many years past, had been so much accusom'd to the Incurfions of the *Goths*, that they had fortify'd themselves very well against such Attempts; and most of the Countrymen's Effects were remov'd into the wall'd Towns for Sanctuary: So in despair of doing any thing to purpose in that Province, he resolv'd to pass through the *Streights* of the *Hellefpont*, into *Asia*. The Emperor and Senate gave the Command of the Army in the *East* to *Friantius* a *Barbarian* by Birth; but by Education, Religion, Manners and Inclination a *Greek*. He had got him a Name, by clearing the Provinces from *Cilicia* to *Phenicia* and *Palestine* of Thieves and Robbers, who had a long while been troublesom in those Parts: Him *Arcadius* order'd to oppose *Gaines*, and dispute his Passage into the *East*. *Friantius* to prevent his crossing the *Hellefpont*, provided a good number of Pinnaces to be ready to intercept him, if he should attempt to transport his Men into *Asia*. The latter being destitute of all sorts of Neccessaries for Man and Beast, could not stay longer in *Thrace*, so he put all to the venture, and piec'd together some Planks so Artificially, that they might have serv'd for want of Boats, to transport Men and Horses over the *Hellefpont*. *Friantius* observ'd his Motions, and as soon as his Men were embark'd, he put off Shoar with his Pinnaces; yet he did not offer to resist the *Barbarians*, till they were all making down with the Tide. He then came up with the foremost of *Gaines's* Vessels, fell foul of her with his brazen Beak, grappled and sunk her: The other *Roman* Officers boarded the *Barbarians* with their Pinnaces, and destroy'd 'em, few of the Enemy escaping; this is *Zozimus's* account of the Action. *Socrates* Writes, that the Wind blew fair for the *Romans*, but the *Barbarians* by stress of Weather founder'd, and some of *Friantius's* Pinnaces perish'd in the Storm. He adds, that *Gaines* was so perplex'd at the loss of his Troops, that not knowing whether to fly for Safety, he landed again in *Thrace*; and falling into the hands of a *Roman* Party, they cut him and the remainder of his Army in pieces. *Zozimus* on the contrary affirms, that he past the *Ister*, intending to return into his own Country, and

A.D. 400.

Endea-  
vours to  
pass over  
into Asia.

*Friantius*  
defeats him  
at Sea.

Is beaten  
and kill'd  
in Thrace.

A.D. 400. and there spend the rest of his days; and that *Uldes* or *Huldin* King of the *Hunns*, to ingratiate himself with the Emperor, fell upon him and his Men, routed them, took *Gaines* Prisoner, and sent his Head to *Arcadius*, who was very thankful to him for the Present.

401. In the beginning of the year ensuing, the Empress *Eudoxia* was deliver'd of a Son, to the inexpressible Joy of the Court and Empire. The Child was call'd *Theodosius*, and we shall hear more of him in the course of our History.

*Alarich* all this while did what he pleas'd in *Epirus* and *Pannonia*; the Emperor's Ministers either forgetting that there was such an Enemy in the Bowels of the Empire, or being too much employ'd about their own Affairs, amassing Riches, and harrassing the People by intollerable Acts of Oppression and Injustice. *Alarich* encourag'd by his Successes in *Greece* and *Illyricum*, thought there was no Enterprize now worthy his Fame and Fortune, but to enter *Italy*, and make himself Master of *Rome*, the Glory and Mistress of the World: He told his Men, 'Twas more Honourable for them to get Kingdoms of their own, than to serve in the Dominions of others: That *Italy* was near, a Country full of Wealth and Spoil, fit for them to inhabit, and there enjoy the fruits of their Toils and Victory; for this purpose he intended to invade it, while the Cities were unfortify'd, and the Province in an ill state of Defence, resolving not to return, till he had taken and rifled *Rome*. The Soldiers by loud Clamours, shew'd they applauded his Design, and to animate him to it, they unanimously chose him for their General and King: He defer'd his march till the Winter, knowing his Men were hardy, and could endure the rigour of the Season; and that the *Italians*, who were soften'd by many years Luxury and Peace, would carry on the War at that time to their Disadvantage. Having got together a vast Army of *Goths*, *Alans*, *Huns*, and other barbarous Nations, he quitted the lower *Pannonia*, and march'd through *Noricum*, towards the *Alps*. *Ætius*, who commanded the *Roman* Forces that were posted for the defence of those Passes, was forc'd by the *Barbarians*, to leave their Passage free; and *Alarich* hearing the Emperor was in *Liguria*, a Province of which *Genoa* was the Capital, he pass'd through the Forrest of *Trent*, easily subdu'd the Cities on the *Adriatick* Gulph, pass'd the

*Alarich*  
invades  
*Italy*.

*Austria*,  
*Stiria*,  
*Bavaria*.

*Asti* in  
*Pied-*  
*mont*.

the *Adda* and the *Po*, and laid Siege to *Hasta*, where A.D. 402. *Honorius* at that time resided in November 402.

'Tis impossible to express the Consternation the Citizens of *Rome* were in, on news of *Alarich's* Invasion, and the Progress he had made in *Italy*. All the extraordinary accidents that had happen'd, the Earthquakes, Tempests, Thunders, Lightnings, the inauspicious flight of Birds, the birth of Monsters, and all the ill Omens that their Superstition could observe, were interpreted to be the Presages of the Destruction of the City, and the Downfall of the Empire. In this terrible fright, part of the *Romans* were for removing with their best effects to *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corfica*: And those that inhabited the Coasts of the *Adriatick*, for retiring into the little Islands in the Gulph, which afterwards they did, and building upon them, rais'd the famous City and Republic of *Venice*. *Stilicho* was the only Man that stood firm in this dreadful Storm; his Soul was unmov'd in the midst of Danger; and he endeavour'd by his Example, to rekindle in the Breasts of the fainting despairing *Romans*, the noble fire which animated their Ancestors in times of the greatest Peril, and enabled them to defend their City from the Insults of the *Barbarians*, who formerly attempted to destroy her. An unhappy Revolution in *Rhetia*, increas'd the Peoples Terror, and *Stilicho* wanted more than Human Eloquence, to inspire them with Resolution worthy themselves, and the Dignity their City held in the World. He told them, That they ought not to Despair, because the *Barbarians* improving the troubles in *Rhetia*, had perfidiously broken into *Italy*, who always triumph'd over her foreign Enemies: He gave them hopes, that he would in a short time, clear the Province of these Invaders. To put his Promise in execution, he hasten'd with what Troops were ready, to *Rhetia*, and coming upon the Inhabitants, whom *Alarich* had instigated to Revolt unaware, he so frighted them, that they were glad to accommodate matters by a Treaty, and to obtain Pardon on Condition they joyn'd him in his Expedition against *Alarich*. When he had settled Affairs in those parts, he diligently set about raising an Army to oppose the *Goths*. For this purpose he drew off the *Roman* Legions from *Britain* and *Gaul*, leaving few Forces for the defence of those Provinces; and having got together 35000 Men, he advanc'd towards the Enemy in

*A Rebellion at the same time in Rhetia.*

*Stilicho marches against the Rebels.*

*They submit and are pardon'd.*



A.D. 402. in *Liguria*, to relieve the Emperor, whom *Alarich* very much distress'd in *Hasta*. The *Goth* had seiz'd the Bridge that lay over the *Adda*, and posted a Party of *Barbarians* to guard that Pass: *Stilicho* forc'd his way through the *Goths* with his Sword in his Hand, and threw himself into *Hasta*, which so discourag'd *Alarich*, that he rais'd the Siege, and departed. *Stilicho* pursu'd him with the *Roman Army*, overtook him at *Pollentia*, fought and defeated him, recovering the Spoils the *Barbarians* brought out of *Greece*, and those they had added to them in *Italy*: *Stilicho's* Victory was so compleat, that he might easily have prevented *Alarich's* escape, and have destroy'd him; but he had other work for him to do, the War was not to end so soon. By rendring himself necessary to the State, he should maintain and encrease his Authority, to which he design'd to set no bounds. 'Twas for this end, that he gave leave to the *Barbarians* to depart out of *Italy*, to have 'em in call if he wanted 'em; and to keep the *Romans* in Subjection, by the awe of such a formidable Enemy. *Alaric* agreed with him to leave the Province; and as if he intended to perform that Article of the Treaty between them, he retreated with the remainders of his Army to *Verona*; but here he halted, and instead of proceeding to *Gaul*, as he promis'd to do, he stay'd to make Provision for a second Engagement, resolving not to quit his ground in *Italy* for the loss of a Battel. *Stilicho* having Information of his Treachery, immediately march'd after him, and once more put him and his Army to Flight. *Alarich* and those that escap'd in the Pursuit, fled to the *Alps*, and try'd to force their way into *Rhetia* or *Gaul*; but the *Romans* kept so close at their Heels, that none of them could have got off, had not *Stilicho* neglected, or betray'd the cause he was engag'd in, for his own private Interest or Pleasure. When he had reduc'd *Alarich* and his Followers to the necessity of submitting or dying, he permitted them through Negligence or Treason to escape, and retire into *Dalmatia*.

Reliev'd by  
Stilicho.  
Who routs  
Alarich.

Fights him  
again, and  
defeats  
him.

Drives  
him out of  
Italy.

*Arcadius,*

*Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II.*

ALL things were quiet in the *East*, where the Em-  
 peror *Arcadius* declar'd his Son *Theodosius*, *Augustus*, *St. Chry-*  
 and made him Consul for the ensuing year. The Em-  
 press *Eudoxia* began now to raise a violent Persecution out of fa-  
 against *St. Chrysostom*, Bishop of *Constantinople*: He had your with  
 govern'd that Church four or five years, and had a quar- the Em-  
 rel with *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, for refusing press  
 at his Intercession, to be reconcil'd to the *Origenists*  
 in his Diocefs, whom he had Excommunicated as He-  
 reticks. *St. Chrysostom* resenting, that the Empress sided  
 with *Theophilus's* Party, is said to have preach'd on this  
 Text; *Gather to me, those that eat of the Table of Jezebel*:  
 From which he took occasion to fall foul on the Court-  
 Ladies, and his Enemies suggested to the Emperor, that  
 the Bishop meant it as an Affront to the Empress. They  
 also sent Emissaries to *Antioch*, and other Cities where  
 he had liv'd, to inquire out the faults of his Youth;  
 and though they could fasten nothing upon him, that  
 could give any colour to an Accusation; yet thirty se-  
 ven Bishops were prevail'd with to meet at *Chalcedon*, Condemn'd  
 and cite him to appear as a Criminal before them. *Chry-* by a Synod  
*stom* refus'd to submit to their Judgment, being a at Chalce-  
 packt Assembly; and besides, a Synod of forty Bishops don.  
 who sat at *Constantinople*, had declar'd him Innocent: Clear'd by  
 However, the Fathers at *Chalcedon* condemn'd him as another at  
 Contumacious, and depos'd him from his Bishoprick. *Constanti-*  
 Upon news of this Sentence, the Citizens of *Constanti-*  
*nople* rose in a tumultuous manner to guard their Bishop;  
 which the Empress represented to *Arcadius*, as a Rio-  
 tuous Opposition made by *Chrysostom* to the Decree of  
 the Synod of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor order'd a Com-  
 pany of Soldiers to take him from them by force: The  
 People resisted as much as they could, till they saw him  
 violently put aboard a Vessel, which was ready to trans-  
 port him to *Pretenum* in *Bithynia*. The Citizens were  
 so enrag'd at the Banishment of their Spiritual Father,  
 that *Arcadius* to prevent the ill Consequence of their Se-  
 ditious fury, was oblig'd to recall *St. Chrysostom*; who  
 at his return, would not come within the Liberties of *Banish-*  
 the City, till he was clear'd by another Synod, of the ment.  
 Sen-

*Is taken by  
 force from  
 the People,  
 and ban-  
 nish'd.  
 He is re-  
 call'd from  
 Banish-*

A.D. 403. Sentence by which that of *Chalcedon* had condemn'd him: The People had not patience to stay so long for him; they compell'd him to go to his Church and preach to them, as he was wont to do: He continu'd in his See a year in quiet; and then he fell into new Troubles by procurement of his old Enemy *Eudoxia*. The People had erected a Statue in honour of her, near the Church of *Sta. Sophia*; and at the Dedication of this Statue, several Shews and Plays were exhibited after the manner of the Ancient times. *St. Chrysostom* either offended at their reviving an old Idolatrous Custom, or because the noise they made, disturb'd his Congregation in Divine Service; or out of his particular prejudice to all sorts of Plays and Spectacles, declaim'd bitterly against what they were doing. The Empress could not bear to have the Complement the People paid her, reflected upon: She prevail'd with her Husband to summon the Bishops that compos'd the Synod at *Chalcedon*, to meet at *Constantinople*: They met there, and renew'd their Sentence of Deprivation. The Emperor being tir'd with their Importunities to remove him, he was at first commanded to keep his House, which he refus'd, saying, *He could not, except he was compell'd to it, neglect his Duty in the Church*: His Enemies still urging his Expulsion, he was seiz'd and bound like a Malefactor: The Bishops of his Party were Imprison'd, and himself carry'd into Exile. Soon after he was banish'd, the great Church took fire, and from thence the flame flew into the Palace, where the Senate Sat: *St. Chrysostom's* Friends accus'd *Theophilus's* Faction, as Authors of it; and they laid it on the other side, as done in revenge for the Banishment of their Bishop. These Divisions among Christians grew to this height, through the Pride and Obstinacy of the Clergy, who made an ill use of the long Peace which the Church enjoy'd. Plenty and Power naturally produce Vanity and Pride, and the humble meek Spirit of the first Christians, which so much distinguish'd them in the days of Persecution, now that the Sword was in their Hands, was chang'd to a selfish imperious Humour, impatient of Controul; as if Poverty was not to be the portion of the Just, but the Righteous were to have Dominion over the World, and the Reign of the Saints was to Commence on this side Eternity. *St. Chrysostom* dy'd in Exile, and those Christians

Depriv'd  
and ban-  
nish'd a-  
gain.

### Chap. III. Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II. 177

Christians that were of his Party, were Imprison'd, <sup>404.</sup> <sup>He dies in</sup> <sup>Exile.</sup> tortur'd and slain by *Optatus* the *Pagan Præfekt* of the City, for setting fire to the Senate-House, as we have before mention'd. The News of the Revolt of the *Isauri* in *Asia*, put a stop to this Persecution. These *Barbarians* invaded and wasted *Pamphilia*. To suppress 'em, *Arbazacius* was sent with an Army, who brought the Rebels to reason, and restor'd Peace to the *Eastern Provinces*.

The Emperor *Honorius* Triumph'd at *Rome*, for the Victory over *Alarich*; but gave general offence to all sincere Christians, by his base compliance with his Heathen Subjects, in suffering them to Celebrate the old Secular Games, and the Combats of the Gladiators, which had been omitted and forbidden, ever since the Conversion of *Constantine* the Great. *Stilicho* had some time before demolish'd the *Pagan Temples*, and burnt their *Sybilline Prophecies*, which provok'd them beyond measure; and the Empire being daily threaten'd with Invasions from the *Goths*, and other *Barbarians*, *Honorius* to please the Heathens, that they might not joyn the Enemy, consented to revive these Impious Sports and Ceremonies. The *Vestal Virgins* went in solemn Procession to view the Obscene Shews of the Gladiators, who fought naked, and 'twas reasonably expected, that Divine Vengeance would pursue the Emperor and Empire, for permitting such Prophane Sights in defiance of the Holy Laws. Nor was it long, before the heavy Hand of Omnipotent Wrath fell severely on the Head of the Prince and People. The next year *Stilicho* made Peace with *Alarich*, to which the Emperor consented. The chief Article of the Treaty was, That *Alarich* should quit *Honorius's Territories*, and break into the *Eastern parts* of *Illyricum*, which belong'd to *Arcadius*; and that *Stilicho* should send *Jovius* to be his Master's Lieutenant in the *Western Illyricum*, who in Conjunction with the *Goths*, should seize the whole entire Province, for the use of *Honorius*. *Alarich* in pursuance of this Treaty, possess'd himself of *Epirus*, part of *Arcadius's Dominions*, expecting that *Stilicho* would send him the Assistance he promis'd, to enable him to Conquer the *Eastern Division* of *Illyricum*. This Confederacy was not at all acceptable to the *Goths*, on the other side of the *Ister*. They were in hopes *Alarich* would have brought *Rome* and *Italy* in Subjection,

The Secular Games celebrated by the Heathens at Rome.

<sup>405.</sup> *Stilicho* makes peace with *Alarich*.



A.D. 406.

Rhoda-  
gaisus in-  
vades Ita-  
ly with  
200000  
Men.

Beseiges  
Florence.  
Raises the  
Siege.

Is routed  
by Stilicho.  
Fiezole.

jection, and have secur'd them a Settlement in that happy Reign. When they saw he abandon'd his first Design, and contenting himself with *Epirus*, enter'd into a League with the *Romans*, *Rhodagaisus* a *Gothick* King, that had not yet past the *Ister*, excited his own and the Neighbouring Nations, to try their fortune in another Expedition, and revenge their Countrymen, that were kill'd in the last. By this Argument he got together 200000 Men, with whom he past the *Julian Alps*, from whence he drove the *Roman* Guards, descended into *Venetia*, the Country which the State of *Venice* holds on *Terra Firma*; left *Aquileia*, *Concordia*, and other Cities behind him, and march'd directly for *Rome*. *Rhodagaisus* being a *Pagan*, most of the Heathens either joyn'd him, or wish'd him well: So inveterate were they against the Christians, that they had rather see their City under a *Pagan* foreign Yoke, than live free under a Christian Emperor. *Rhodagaisus* swore he would Sacrifice all the *Romans* to his Gods; and the terror of his Vow, and the number of his Forces, struck the Citizens almost dead with Apprehension. The *Pagans* gave all for lost, the Gods having forsaken them, as they had deserted the Gods. They requir'd the Restauration of the old Worship; the Name of Christ was cry'd down as a Plague, and the rise of the present Calamities. *Stilicho* had not misemploy'd his time, while *Rhodagaisus* advanc'd towards *Rome*. He order'd thirty Regiments which quarter'd in *Liguria*, to march to their Rendezvous in *Etruria*, where the Auxiliary *Huns* and *Alans* joyn'd them. *Rhodagaisus* besieg'd *Florence*, and the Citizens made so brave a Defence, that himself and his Men were disheartned to meet with such Opposition: On the contrary, the *Romans* began to shake off their first fears, to despise the multitude of the *Barbarians*, and trust in their own Valour and Fortune. *Stilicho*, while his Men were in Heart, fell upon the *Barbarians*, rout'd them, kill'd above 100000, and forc'd their King to fly with the rest of his Troops to the Mountains of *Fesule*: *Stilicho* follow'd him thither, surrounded him, and almost starv'd him and his Men. *Rhodagaisus* finding there was no hopes of fighting their way through the *Romans*, nor subsisting among the Rocks, fled with his Sons, and deserted his Army; who on the flight of their Leader, yielded themselves to the Conquerors, and were sold in-

to Slavery. *Rhodagaisus*, and all that were with him, A.D. 406, fell into the hands of the *Romans*, whom *Stilicho* had posted to guard the Passes of the Mountains, the Soldiers put them all to the Sword: And thus was *Italy* deliver'd from imminent Danger of Destruction, by the Care and Courage of *Stilicho*; in whose Honour the Citizens of *Rome* erected a Statue of Brass and Silver at the *Rostra*. In the beginning of the year ensuing, the *Western Empire* was threaten'd with Ruin, by the Invasion of the *Barbarians*, from another Quarter, under *Godigisil* King of the *Vandals*; who according to some Authors, inhabited the Region bordering on the Lake *Meotis*, now under the Dominion of the *Crim Tartar*: Others place them further Northward on the *Baltick Sea*, dwelling in the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. The first Opinion is the most likely to be true. *Godigisil* taking the advantage of the Diversion, *Rhodagaisus* had giv'n the forces of the Empire in *Italy*, rais'd a great multitude of his own Subjects and the *Alans* their Confederates, who were joyn'd by some of the *Quadi* in *Sarmatia*, and then passing the *Danube*, he enter'd *Germany*, where several Nations came into him, out of fear of his Power, or hopes of Plunder. The *Franks* disputed the Passage of the *Rhine* with him, having lately made a League Offensive and Defensive with *Stilicho*; but *Godigisil* easily drove them from their Posts, and on the Eve of *Newyears-Day* this year, he broke into the Province of *Gaul*, over-ran *Germania Prima*, and *Belgica Secunda*, in which were compris'd the *Lower Palatinate*, the *Bishoprick of Cologne and Treves*; the *Dutchies of Juliers and Cleves* in *Germany*, the Provinces of *Champagne* and *Picardy* in *France*, and other Territories, *Godigisil* first made himself Master of *Mentz*, and murder'd *Mentz*, many thousands of Citizens in the Church. From thence he march'd to *Worms*, *Spire*, *Stratsburgh* and *Rheims*, which Cities he took, Plunder'd and burnt: At *Rheims* he cut off *Nicasius*, the Bishop's Head, and put his Sister *Eutropia* to Death, with a vast number of the Inhabitants. *Arras*, *Tournay*, and *Amiens*, were taken and pillag'd: From thence *Godigisil* past farther into *Gaul*, till he arriv'd almost at the foot of the *Pyrenean Hills*, where he and his Men took up their Habitation. Four years afterwards they were invited into *Spain*, to defend that Province against the *Goths*, as will be shewn in due time.

Is taken and slain.

407. The Vandals enter Gaul.

Oppos'd by the Franks, whom they defeated.

Took Worms, Spire, Stratsburgh and Rheims. Arras, Tournay and Amiens. Seats themselves in Aquitain.

A.D. 407. The Soldiers and Inhabitants of *Britain*, seeing the *Barbarians* were advanc'd so near their Borders as *Calice* and *Bologne*, and that *Honorius* could not drive them out of his Dominions; to preserve themselves from the same fate with their Neighbours, they proclaim'd their General and Governour, *Marcus*, Emperor; whom not liking so well after his Advancement, as before, they depos'd and Murder'd. In his place they elected one *Gratian* a *Britain*, whom in four Months time they treat-ed, as they had done his Predecessor *Marcus*. After the Death of these two Usurpers, they made choice of a private Soldier nam'd *Constantine*, to reign over them: They hop'd for great Matters from him, believing his Name was Propitious, the only reason for which they cloath'd him with the Imperial Purple. This *Constantine* past over into *Gaul*, and carry'd with him the flower of the *British* Youth; and the few *Roman* Forces that remain'd in the Island, which expos'd it to the Insults and Conquests of the *Barbarians*, as will be seen in the course of this History. *Constantine* took *Bologne*, and easily prevail'd with the Legions in the whole Province of *Gaul*, to submit to him. *Limenius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Cariobaudes* General of the Horse, fled to *Honorius*, who was at *Ravenna*, preparing an Army to joyn with *Alarich*, as had been agreed on in the last Treaty with him. But the News of *Constantine's* Usurpation, and the Progress of the *Vandals* in *Gaul*, oblig'd *Stilicho* to defer the Expedition into *Illyricum*, till he had concerted Measures for the Preservation of *Gaul* and *Britain*.

Marcus  
proclaim'd  
Emperor in  
Britain,  
depos'd and  
murder'd.  
Gratian  
has the  
same ho-  
nour and  
the same  
fate  
Constantine  
usurps.

### *Honorius, Theodosius II.*

408.  
Arcadius  
dies.

ON the first of May in the following year, *Anicius Bassus* and *Philippus*, being Consuls, the Emperor *Arcadius* dy'd, and left his Empire to his Son *Theodosius* the Second. The Empress *Eudoxia*, dy'd two years before him. She brought him besides *Theodosius Augustus*, four Daughters, *Pulcheria*, *Flaccilla*, *Arcadia*, and *Marina*: By his last Will, he desir'd *Isdegerdes* King of *Persia*, to be his Son's Guardian. The King accepted of the Trust, and faithfully discharg'd it, sending one *Antiochus*

a wise Man, and experienc'd in Affairs, to represent his Person at *Constantinople*, as Guardian to the Emperor. A.D. 408.

*Arcadius* was in the thirty second year of his Age, and the fourteenth of his Reign, when he departed this Life, and was generally lamented by his Subjects, whom he lov'd tenderly, and govern'd uprightly. His only fault was, his suffering his Wife and his Favourites, to have too much power over him, which proceeded rather from Weakness than guilt, and might be in a great measure owing to the goodness of his Nature.

*Anthemius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, a Man of eminent Worth, was the main Pillar of the Government, in the Reign of the young Emperor *Theodosius*. Before *Arcadius* dy'd, he had procur'd a Peace with *Persia* for an 100 years, which secur'd the Empire on that side; and was very necessary, at a time when he apprehended *Honorius* and *Stilicho* were preparing to disturb his Master in *Illyricum*: They were prevented by the Irruptions of the *Vandals*, and *Constantine's* Revolt. To oppose the latter, *Stilicho* sent *Sarus* with an Army, who defeated *Constantine*, one of *Constantine's* Lieutenants; and hearing the Usurper himself was at *Valentia*, he besieg'd him in the Town: *Nevigastes*, *Constantine's* chief Commander, was perswaded to lay down his Arms, and submit to Mercy, on promise of Pardon; yet *Sarus* perfidiously put him to Death. *Constantine* plac'd *Ædobechus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britain*, in the room of *Justinian* and *Nevigastes*. *Sarus* was so well acquainted with their Conduct and Courage, that fearing to be attack'd by them, he rais'd the Siege of *Valentia*, and fled to the *Alps*. The Usurper fortify'd the Passes on those Mountains, and on the *Rhine*, as well to hinder the *Barbarians* breaking into his Territories on that side, as to keep out the *Romans* on the other. *Constans* his eldest Son, a Monk of the Monastery at *Winchester*, he took out of his Cell, and advanc'd to the Dignity of *Cæsar*: He sent him into *Spain* to possess himself of that Province, where he overcame the Kindred of the Emperor, *Theodosius*, *Legodius*, and *Didymius*: The two former fled to *Italy*, and the *East*, the latter was taken Prisoner, and carry'd by *Constans* to his Father, who order'd him to be put to Death. *Constans* posted *Gerontius* with a good Body of Troops to guard the *Pyrenean Hills*:

*Sarus sent against*  
*Constantine*

*Retires to*  
*the Alps.*



A. D. 408. These Forces were most of 'em *Germans*, who had been permitted by *Honorius* to settle in *Gaul*, and were call'd *Honoriaci*. The *Spaniards* that serv'd under *Constans* took it ill, that the Guard of those Mountains were not committed to them : The *Honoriaci* plunder'd and destroy'd the Towns and Villages, as far as *Palentia* in the Kingdom of *Leon*, living rather like Enemies than Allies. The *Spaniards* in resentment rose and made War upon them, which drove the *Honoriaci* to a necessity of calling in the *Vandals* and *Alans*, that had Seated themselves in *Aquitain* and *Biscaye*, to their Assistance.

The Vandals enter Spain.

This was the first occasion of the *Barbarians* entring *Spain*. The *Romans* not being able to dispossess these Invaders ; the *Suevians*, a Nation of the *Vandals* took up their Habitation in *Castile* ; the *Alans* settled in *Portugal*, the other *Vandals* made themselves Masters of *Andolousia* and *Granada*. *Hermenericus* was the first King of the *Suevians*, *Ataces* of the *Alans*, and *Gundericus* the Son of *Godigisil* of the *Vandals*. From whom descended several Kings who Reign'd over those Nations in *Spain*, and from this Revolution the Dominion of the *Romans* in that Province decreast daily, after it had been 700 Years entirely subject to their Empire.

*Honorius* having bury'd his Wife *Mary*, *Stilicho's* Eldest Daughter, desir'd that he might have her Sister *Thermantia* in Marriage ; *Stilicho* was against it, but his Wife *Serena* urg'd him to it. The Emperor did not long enjoy his new Empress, her good Fortune lasted no longer than her Father's ; when he was put to Death she was sent home, *Honorius* being disgusted that she had no Children : Her Sister also dy'd Childless, and the reason that is given for it is, her Mother knowing she was not ripe enough for the Marriage-Bed when the Emperor marry'd her, and fearing it might be the Death of her Daughter, if *Honorius* shou'd not forbear the Conjugal Embraces till she was mature, consulted a Sage Woman how it might be prevented : This Person gave the Emperor a Philtre, or Charm'd him by her Art to such a degree of Impotence, that he had neither the will nor the Power to enjoy her, which Infirmary lasted to his Death.

Leg. in Carniola.

While the Affair of the Emperor's marriage was transacting, News came that *Alarich* had quitted *Epirus*, and was advanc'd as far as *Aemon* ; from thence he march'd towards the *Apennine* Mountains, past those *Streights* and sent Messengers

sengers to *Honorius*, to demand Money for the time he had lost in *Epirus*, and to defray the Charges of this Expedition. The Senate were call'd to consider what answer shou'd be return'd: Many of the Senators Voted for a War, only *Stilicho* and his Faction were for buying a Peace. The Senators that had giv'n their Votes for a War, desir'd *Stilicho* might give his reason why he was so much for a Peace, which was to be purchas'd with Money to the disgrace of the *Roman* Majesty. *Stilicho* answer'd, Because *Alarich* had continu'd so long in *Epirus* for the advantage of the Emperor, to be ready to assist him in his War with *Arcadius*, to take *Illyricum* out of his Hands and add it to the *Western* Empire. Whether the Senators were convinc'd by what he said, or were afraid to make any further opposition, Peace was resolv'd on, and 4000 Pounds of Gold Voted to be paid down as the Price of it: On which *Lampadius*, a Man of the first Quality plainly told them, 'twas not a Peace, but a *Paction* of Servitude.

A.D. 408.  
*Alarich*  
again In-  
vades Ita-  
ly, and de-  
mands  
Money of  
*Honorius*.

4000  
Pound of  
Gold giv'n  
him by *Sti-  
licho's* ad-  
vice.

Now *Stilicho* had gain'd his ends, he prepar'd to march into the East, and the Emperor told him he wou'd in Person remove to *Ravenna*, where the Army were to Muster, to Carefs the Soldiers that they might go Chearfully against so Powerful an Enemy as the Emperor of the East. *Stilicho* was not at all pleas'd with his intend'd Journey; he did not care that he shou'd get the Love of his Soldiers, and besides he was afraid, lest when he was at the Head of his Troops, he might be tempted to endeavour to drive *Alarich* out of *Italy* by force, and save the Payment of the 4000 Pound weight of Gold. *Stilicho* had other Work for *Alarich* to do; he depended upon his Assistance, and had made himself so many Enemies that he cou'd not rely on any other Person to protect him, if the Emperor shou'd be perswaded to forsake him. To divert *Honorius* from his Journey to *Ravenna*, he procur'd *Sarus* Captain of the Auxiliary *Huns* to raise a disturbance, which he did not intend shou'd be push'd so far as to make any Innovation in the State, but only to fright his Master from the Army. The Emperor soon after heard of his Brother *Arcadius's* Death, and being the more eager for the Eastern Expedition, he positively resolv'd to go to *Ravenna*. He sent *Stilicho* before to Chastise the Soldiers that had mutiny'd. When he arriv'd at the Camp 'twas propos'd in Council by *Stilicho*,

A.D. 498. that the Army shou'd march into the East to settle the Affairs of young *Theodosius* the Emperor's Nephew. *Honorius* inclin'd to undertake the Enterprize in Person, which *Stilicho* did not approve; and to deter him, represented to him the danger of leaving the West, while the Usurper *Constantine* Lorded it at *Arles*, and had reduc'd the most Powerful Provinces of his Empire to his Obedience. Neither was it safe for him to absent himself, when such a formidable Enemy as *Alarich* was so near, and so ready to invade his Dominions. He added, 'twas most advisable for him to hire *Alarich's* Troops, and send him against the Tyrant *Constantine*, and that himself shou'd be dispatch'd away into the East with full Instructions, with reference to what he wou'd have him do there.

*Honorius* seem'd to like his Proposals, and wrote Letters to *Theodosius* and *Alarich*: To the former he excus'd his sending an Army into the East, pretending 'twas purely to take care of his Interests, and he desir'd the latter to oppose *Constantine* as *Stilicho* advis'd; after which he departed for *Bononia*. *Stilicho* stay'd where the Emperor left him, shewing no disposition to proceed in his Expedition. In the mean while *Olympius*, who was in great favour with *Honorius*, and hated *Stilicho*, insinuated to him that his Father-in-Law wou'd not have been so fond of marching into the East, if he had not Plotted the Death of *Theodosius*, and his Son *Eucherius's* advancement to the Throne. This he suggested to the Emperor on the Road, and when they arriv'd at *Ticinum*, where some Troops were Quarter'd that did not love *Stilicho*, he so wrought upon them by his Artifices, that they fell upon all those that were Friends to *Stilicho*, and murder'd *Limenius* and *Cariobaudes*, who lately fled out of *Gaul*, *Vincentius*, *Salvius*, *Longinianus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy*, and other Eminent Persons. Of the Inferior sort, they kill'd every body that was suspected to favour *Stilicho*, who lay still at *Bononia*. When the News of this Mutiny arriv'd there, he call'd the Officers of the Confederate *Barbarians* together, to consider what Course they shou'd take. The report ran at first that the Emperor was kill'd in the Tumult; 'twas resolv'd if this rumour prov'd true, that the Confederates shou'd revenge his Death on the *Roman* Soldiers; but if only the Magistrates were slain, that they shou'd make

Examples

*Olympius*  
persuades  
*Honorius*  
to destroy  
*Stilicho*; a  
Tumult  
rais'd by  
*Stilicho's*  
Enemies.

Examples of the chief Mutineers. *Stilicho* hearing *Honorius* was alive, and that only his Friends perish'd in the Mutiny, which was rais'd by Procurement of *Olympius*, his Enemy, he thought his own Life was aim'd at, and to provide for his safety, remov'd from *Bononia* to *Ravenna*, a Populous City well fortify'd, and whose Garrison was at his Devotion : Here *Sarus* by the Emperor's Order attack'd *Stilicho's* Guards, broke into his Quarters and had taken him, if on the Noise of the Skirmish he had not fled to a Christian Church for Sanctuary. The Soldiers follow'd him thither, and Swore in Presence of the Bishop, that the Emperor's Order was only to take him into Custody : Upon this Security he put himself into their Hands, and as soon as they had got him out of the Church, they produc'd a fresh Warrant from *Honorius* to Execute him. The Barbarians and some other Soldiers his Creatures offer'd to make resistance, which he perceiving, to prevent further mischief held his Neck down to *Horatiano*, who struck off his Head. His Son *Eucherius* fled to *Rome*, where the Senate confirm'd the Sentence of *Stilicho's* Condemnation, order'd his Statues to be demolish'd, and his Name to be raz'd out of all Places, where 'twas Engraven to his Honour.

*Sarus attacks Stilicho's Guards.*

*Takes him Prisoner and kills him.*

*Zosimus* gives a fair account of his Actions to reflect on the Emperor's Justice in his Death. He commends him for his Modesty and Disinterest, instancing that tho' he had marry'd *Theodosius's* Niece, had liv'd to see two of his own Daughters Empresses, had commanded the Roman Armies three and twenty Years, and was Governour of both the Emperors, *Arcadius* and *Honorius* ; yet he never sold any Post in the Army, nor advanc'd his own Son higher than to be Tribune of the Notaries. Some Writers do not stick to say, that in putting this Great Captain to Death, the Emperor Cut off his Right Arm with his Left. But *Orosius*, *Philostorgus* and *Hieronymus*, accuse him of bringing *Alarich* into Italy, of Inviting the *Alans*, *Suevians* and *Vandals* to invade the Western Provinces to weaken the Empire, and make his design of transferring the Imperial Dignity to his Son *Eucherius* the more easy. He is charg'd with endeavouring to Poyson the Emperor, with assuming the Prerogative of a Sovereign, and Coining Money ; and his Son *Eucherius* is said to have promis'd the Pagans if they wou'd joyn with him, he wou'd restore the Old Religion and



A. D. 408. and abolish the New. The Christian and Heathen Authors as they differ in other things, so they disagree in the Character of *Stilicho*. The former affirm he was guilty and deserv'd to dye. The latter declare him Innocent, and accuse the Government for consenting to his murder: On the whole we can in this matter say no more, than that his Excellent Qualities as a Soldier and a Statesman, might have pleaded for him in any other Reign but this; and that he who had by his Valour and Councils sav'd the Empire more than once, from the destruction that had threaten'd it, had hard measure to be taken off for suspicion of Crimes, of which 'tis very Probable he was not so guilty as he is represented to be.

*Olympius* succeeded in the Ministry and his Master's favour. *Thermantia* was sent home to her Mother; *Stilicho's* Estate was Confiscated; *Eucherius* his Son seiz'd at Narny and brought in Chains to Rome, where he was Executed by the Emperor's Order. When the Soldiers who were Quarter'd up and down in Italy heard of *Stilicho's* Death, they fell upon the Wives and Children of the Confederate Barbarians, and kill'd them where-ever they found them, which prov'd of fatal Consequence to the Empire; for when their Husbands, Fathers, and Kinsmen were told that the Roman Soldiers had treated their Friends and Families so cruelly, they vow'd Revenge and in Conjunction with *Alarich* resolv'd to make War upon the Romans. Above 30000 of them deserted at once and went over to *Alarich*, who at first was cautious in Entertaining them, lest it might be look'd on as a breach of the Peace which had been concluded between the Emperor and himself, by *Stilicho's* Procurement.

The Romans fall  
on the Confederate  
Barbarians.

30000 of  
them desert  
to Alarich.

*Alarich* sent to *Honorius* to confirm it, and requir'd that *Ætius* Son of *Fovius*, and *Jason* Son of *Gaudentius* should be giv'n up as Hostages into his Hands, and in exchange he wou'd send some of his Prime Nobility Hostages for his Performance of the Articles of the Treaty: It *Honorius* consented to this for a small Summ of Money, he offer'd to lead his Troops out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. The Emperor rejected his Proposals, and lost an opportunity of making an advantageous Peace, and gain time to provide for War. On the contrary he rely'd wholly on the advice of *Olympius*, who out of Hatred to *Stilicho's* Memory oppos'd all the Councils which he had ap-

prov'd

prov'd, and not being so well qualify'd to undertake a War, was more averse to Peace, which involv'd the State in difficulties so great, that it cou'd never surmount them. *Honorius* on his refusing to confirm the Treaty with *Alarich*, instead of preparing vigorously for War, and Mustering his Army to be in a readiness to dispute the Enemies Passage into his Dominions, instead of advancing *Sarus*, whose Name was terrible to the *Barbarians*, to the Command of the Army; He neglected Preparations for taking the Field, and he plac'd all his Confidence in his fortify'd Towns: He made *Turpilio* General of the Horse, *Varanes* General of the Foot, and *Vigilantius* General of the Troops of the Household; Persons of little Courage and Experience. All sensible Men saw how things were going, and hung their Heads in despair of Success, when such Officers as these, *Olympius's* Creatures, were to Guard the State in such Perilous Times.

*Alarich* Laught at the Emperor's Promotion of Officers, and the Provision he made to oppose him. He sent for *Atauphus*, his Wife's Brother, out of *Upper-Pannonia* to be his Colleague and Assistant in the War, ordering him to follow him with no small Number of *Goths* and *Huns* that were under his Command. Himself in the beginning of the next Year past the *Alps*, descended into *Friuli*, past the *Po* and encamp'd near *Ravenna*: *Alarich* 409. He sent Embassadors to *Honorius* who then lay there, to desire that a Place might be assign'd in *Italy* for him and his Followers to Inhabit, on which terms he promis'd to be true and faithful to him. The Emperor notwithstanding he knew very well that *Alarich's* Army was Superior to his own, and that he durst not give him Battle, yet relying on the Fortifications of *Ravenna* and his other strong Cities, he Haughtily rejected his demands, bidding him Remember how he came off in the last Expedition. *Alarich* provok'd at this scornful answer, march'd directly towards *Rome*, Plundering the Towns and Villages that lay in his way. When he approach'd near the City he stop'd up all the Passages to it, which occasion'd a dreadful Tumult within it. Many Slaves and *Barbarians* got out and joyn'd him. *Marches* towards *Rome*.

The *Pagans*, as their manner was in all publick Calamities, charg'd the Christian Religion as the cause of these Mischiefs, and demanded the Restoration of the *Gentile*

A.D. 409. *Gentile Worship.* The Senate by means of *Placidia*, Daughter to *Theodosius*, by his last Wife *Galla*, and Sister to *Honorius*, Condemn'd *Serena*, *Stilicho's* Widow, Condemn'd by the Senate.

*Alarich* blocks up the City.

The Citizens desire to treat with him.

*Alarich* answers them haughtily.

The Pope allows of some Pagan Ceremonies.

*Gentile Worship.* The Senate by means of *Placidia*, Daughter to *Theodosius*, by his last Wife *Galla*, and Sister to *Honorius*, Condemn'd *Serena*, *Stilicho's* Widow to Death, for calling in the *Barbarians* to revenge the Blood of her Husband : Though she was innocent of the Crime, yet few People, either Heathen or Christian lamented her fall, she had behav'd her self so insolently in her Prosperity. *Alarich* continu'd to distress the Citizens ; he block'd up the Gates, to hinder their coming out. He put a stop to their Commerce, by seizing their Ports, which prevented their receiving Supplies by Sea. The City was so crouded, that a grievous Famine and Plague, drove them to the last Extremity. They sent to *Alarich* to demand a Peace on moderate Terms, or to suffer them to come out, and give Battel. *Alarich* deny'd their Request, telling them, *Thick Grass is more easie cut than thin* ; and when they came to treat of Terms, he requir'd them with an insolent Air, to deliver up their Gold and Silver, their rich Furniture and Slaves, otherwise he would never raise the Siege. One of the Messengers askt, what then would be left for the Citizens ? He reply'd, *their Lives* : However, he granted them a Truce, in order to a further Treaty. The Heathens renew'd their Clamours, that they might be allow'd to apply themselves by solemn Prayers, and publick Devotion to the Gods, who never fail'd to succour and preserve the City in all her Exigencies. The *Tuscan Augurs* affirm'd, there was no other way to save her from Destruction, but to restore the Ancient Sacrifices. Fear naturally begets Suspition, and the Senate to make use of all ways for their Preservation, consented to this Ridiculous one. Even the Pope, *Innocent the First*, flatter'd by the positive promises of the *Hetruscan Aruspices*, that the *Romans* should conquer, if they might be permitted to perform the Ceremonies of the *Old Religion*, allow'd them to try what efficacy there was in their Superstitious Rites : Yet neither their Sacrifices nor their Auguries, were of Service to them. No Relief came from *Ravenna* ; the Plague and Famine rag'd within the Walls, and the Enemy without. In despair of subsisting any longer, they again dispatch'd Messengers to *Alarich*, to beg or buy a Peace. The *Goths* agreed to raise the Siege, on payment of 5000 pound weight of Gold, 30000 of Silver, 4000 Silk Garments, 3000 Skins of purple dye, and 3000 pounds weight of

Pepper.

Pepper. forc'd take th in the the Ta ing paid ving co him, an While *Revenna* don for *gustus*, a not beer to be at *Constanti* receipt of Obedien Arms. self on t *Goths*, an which w though h whom *Hobus* in O *Alps*, and that he h out all h *Olympius* *nans* eng *et Honor* *laints*, an *Olympius* h ing to d y'd unw *Jovius F* e admir *ew Troul* a Person *imini*, an *ovius* seen *ands*. H *oney*, an *at he sh* him and *patch'd a*

Pepper. To pay this prodigious Sum, the Senate was A.D. 409. forc'd to abate of their Complaisance to the Pagans, and take the Silver, Gold, and the rich Ornaments that were in the Heathen Temples, to make good the deficiency of the Tax that was laid on the Citizens. The Money being paid, Alarich retir'd into Tuscany, Honorius not having consented to the Peace, though the Senate sent to him, and pray'd him to be included in it. *The Citizens buy Alarich off at an immense Sum to raise the Siege.*

While Alarich lay before Rome, Embassadors came to Ravenna from Constantine in Gaul, to beg Honorius's Pardon for taking on him the Title and Authority of Augustus, and to assure him, he had never done it, had it not been forc'd upon him by the Soldiers. Honorius, to be at leisure to deal with Alarich, temporiz'd with Constantine, and sent him the Imperial Habit. On the receipt of this welcom Present, the Usurper claim'd that Obedience as a Right, which he before compell'd by Arms. The Emperor having as he thought secur'd himself on that side, stood out against the Treaty with the Goths, and would not grant the terms Alarich demanded, which was to be made General of the Roman Armies, though he was more worthy of the Post, than those whom Honorius had promoted. Not long after, Ataulphus in Obedience to his Brother's Orders, pass'd the Julian Alps, and enter'd Venetia. The Emperor being inform'd that he had no great Body of Troops with him, drew out all his Garrisons into the Field, and commanded Olympius to hinder his joining with Alarich. The Romans engag'd the Barbarians, and cut off 1500 of them; but Honorius, whose ears were always open to Complaints, and his Friendship uncertain in absence, dismiss'd Olympius his Service, at a time when he had done something to deserve the favour, which till then he had enjoy'd unworthily.

Jovius Præfectus Prætorio of Italy, succeeded Olympius in the Administration of Affairs, and soon involv'd his Master in new Troubles: He sent to Alarich to come to Ravenna for a Personal Treaty: Alarich came to meet him as far as Rimini, and thither Jovius went to confer with him. Jovius seem'd to comply too far with Alarich's Demands. He agreed the Emperor should pay a Sum of Money, and a quantity of Corn and Provisions yearly: that he should assign Venetia, Noricum and Dalmatia, to him and his Men to dwell in. These Terms were Alarich patch'd away to the Emperor to ratifie, and Jovius

by



A.D. 409. by a Private Article Stipulated, that *Alarich* should be made *Magister Utriusq; Militiæ*, as he had desir'd in the former Treaty with the Senate. *Honorius* blam'd *Jovius* for granting so much, and answer'd, that though he left the Article of the Money and Provisions to him, yet he would never consent, that *Alarich* or any of his Nation, should be *Magister Militum*. *Jovius* to shew *Alarich* how hearty he was in the Treaty, read the Emperor's Letters out aloud before him, who took no notice of that part of 'em which related to the Gold and Corn; but when he found that *Honorius* had deny'd that Office to him, and any of his Nation, he flew out into a terrible Passion; and commanded his *Barbarians* to make ready to march once more to *Rome*, and revenge the Affront offer'd to them all. *Jovius* having made this false step in exposing his Master's private Opinion to his Enemies Resentment, could not tell how to recover himself: He broke off the Treaty, and return'd to *Ravenna*, where to ingratiate himself with his Master, and make amends for his Compliance at *Rimini*, he err'd as much on the other hand, and oblig'd the Emperor by Oath, never to make Peace, but to wage perpetual War with *Alarich*: Himself and all the Officers of the Court took the same Oath, by touching the Head of the Emperor. To prosecute heartily what they had sworn, *Honorius* hir'd 10000 Auxiliaries of the *Hunns*, and provided for the necessities of his Army and Garrisons, by transporting Corn and Cattel out of *Dalmatia* into *Italy*, where the Enemy was Master of the Field, and cut off their Provisions from most parts of the Province. *Alarich* either fearing the infinite number of the Inhabitants within the Walls of *Rome*, or willing to preserve the City from the fury of his Soldiers, prevail'd with several Bishops to attend *Honorius*, and pray him not to suffer that place, which had for above 1000 years been Mistress of the World, to become a Prey to *Barbarians*; and to offer him, that *Alarich* should be contented with both the *Noricums* on the *Danube* for a Settlement: That those Countries were so expos'd to the Incurfions of the Neighbouring Nations, they had been more chargeable than profitable to the *Romans*: That if the Emperor would consent to supply him and his Men with Provisions, in what quantity he thought fit, he would make no more mention of the Gold: To conclude

The Treaty  
broken off  
by *Jovius*'s  
Indis-  
cretion.

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Honorius

all, he was desirous to enter into a League Offensive and Defensive with him. This moderate temper of *Alarich*, was the admiration of all Men; and if the account giv'n of him by *Zozimus* be true, he less deserv'd the name of *Barbarian*, than those that gave it him. *Jovius* and the other Officers, who had sworn never to have Peace with the *Goths*, alledg'd the sanctity of their Oath, and the Bishops were unsuccessful in their Negotiation. *Alarich* finding there were no hopes of Accommodating Matters, resolv'd to press the Siege of *Rome*, with the utmost Vigour. Upon his arrival near the City, he threaten'd to raze it, unless the Citizens would joyn with him in the War with *Honorius*. The Senate hesitating what to do in the Affair, he besieg'd the City in form, made himself Master of the Port, and kept all sorts of Necessaries from them. The Senate in this Distress, assembled to consider how they should proceed; and after a long debate, they resolv'd to accept of the Offers made them by *Alarich*: They honourably receiv'd his Embassador, and sent some of their Members to invite him into the City. *Attalus* *Praefect* of *Rome*, Attalus made Emperor by the Senate. *Alarich* admitted into *Rome*. *Attalus* commanded them, and gave up *Placidia* the Emperor's Sister, into his Hands, as an Hostage for their Fidelity. *Alarich* in return for *Alarich's* advancing him to the Sovereignty, made him General of the *Roman* Armies; and which was very pleasing to the People, design'd *Tertullus* a Heathen Consul, for the following year: Other Heathens and *Arians*, were put in the highest Offices of the Government. *Alarich* being himself an *Arian*, favour'd only those of that Sect. *Attalus* muster'd his Forces, and march'd with all possible speed towards *Ravenna*, to besiege the Emperor in that City: This poor Prince was so terrify'd at the approach of such an Enemy, that he offer'd to associate him in the Empire. But *Attalus* was so far from hearkning to his Offers, that he would not suffer him to retain the name of Emperor, threatening to strip him of his Imperial Robes, and confine him to some distant and desolate Island; telling him, he should be thankful if he permitted him to go off so, and did not exact a Limb or Part of his Body, to mark him for his Slave. The prodigious Arrogance of the Usurper, frighted and astonish'd all that heard it: *Honorius* thought immediately of embarking, and escaping

A.D. 409.  
*Alarich*  
before he  
laid Siege  
to *Rome*,  
offers *Honorius* honourable  
Terms.  
Which are  
rejected.

He besieged  
*Rome*.

*Attalus*  
made Emperor by the  
Senate.  
*Alarich*  
admitted  
into *Rome*.

*Honorius*  
afraid  
of *Attalus*  
offers to  
make him  
his Col-  
league.  
*Attalus's*  
insolent  
Answer.

A.D. 409. ping his Nephew *Theodosius*. As he was going on board, 4000 Men arriv'd in the Haven from the *East*, being six Cohorts that were in the Service of his Nephew, whom he had recall'd. The arrival of these Forces encourag'd him to stay in *Ravenna*, and wait the issue of the War in *Africa*, where *Heracianus* commanded for him, and *Drumas* for *Attalus*: Whom if *Heracianus* defeated, he hop'd he might be able with the Troops he should receive from him, to make Head against both *Attalus* and *Alarich*.

While these things were transacting in *Italy* and *Africa*, *Constantine* continu'd absolute Lord of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Britain*: He sent his Son *Constans* into *Spain*, to suppress some Tumults in that Province. *Constans* took with him one *Iustus*, at which the Tyrant's Lieutenant *Gerontius* was so enrag'd, that he debauch'd the Troops under his Command, in their Fidelity to his Master, and drew all *Gallia Celtica*, the Southern Provinces of *France*, to revolt from him. He proclaim'd one *Maximus*, a Creature of his own, *Augustus*; and leaving him at *Terracona* in *Spain*, he march'd into *Gaul*, took *Vienne* in *Dauphine*, and *Constans* in it, whom he put to Death; from thence he proceeded to *Arles*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this History.

410. *Alarich* long'd impatiently to get *Honorius* into his Power; and therefore he advis'd *Attalus* to press the Siege of *Ravenna* more vigorously, than he had done of late, in expectation of the Success of his Arms in *Africa*; for which reason he had turn'd the Siege into a Blockade. When News came that *Heracianus* had worsted *Drumas*, *Alarich* began to wish he could rid his hands of his New Emperor, who was very unfit for the High Station to which he had advanc'd him. There wanted not some Romans, who had in appearance sided with *Alarich*, and were at the bottom true to the Emperor, to suggest to the Goth, that *Attalus* was Conspiring to take him off, that when he was dead, he might remain sole Lord of the Empire, and govern as he pleas'd without Controul. *Attalus* had manag'd his Affairs in *Africk* so ill, that *Honorius's* Lieutenant had secur'd those Provinces for his Master, seiz'd on the Ports, and hinder'd the Exportation of any Corn, from thence into *Italy*. This and the usual wast of War, had occasion'd a great Dearth; but the Famine was no where so violent, as in *Rome* it self, where

Gerontius  
in Spain,  
revolts  
from Con-  
stantine.  
Sets up one  
Maximus  
for Empe-  
ror.

Takes Con-  
stantine's  
Son Con-  
stans, and  
kills him.  
Heracian-  
us, Hon-  
orius's  
Lieutenant  
rouns Dru-  
mas, At-  
talus's in  
Africk.

where Men are reported to have fed on Men, and Hungers to have been too powerful for Nature: Mothers devouring their Infants, and Children their Parents. *Alarich* imputing all these Direful Calamities, to *Attalus's* Mismanagement, sent Embassadors again to *Honorius*, promising on certain Conditions, to strip *Attalus* of his Imperial Ornaments, and humble him to the State of a Subject, as he found him: The Emperor joyfully agreed to the Terms, which were, that he should be associated with *Honorius* in the Empire, and part of Gaul be allotted to him and his Men. *Alarich* besides de-throning the Usurper *Attalus*, engag'd to assist *Honorius* to the utmost of his Power, on all occasions: The Emperor having granted his Demands, *Alarich* drew out his Men at *Rimini*, where *Attalus* kept his Court; and in the presence of his Followers, took from his Purple Robes and Crown, which he sent to *Honorius*, and imprison'd him and his Son, till he could procure their Pardon of the Emperor. After *Alarich* had on his part perform'd so much of the late Treaty, he went to *Ravenna* to have it confirm'd by *Honorius*: The Pagans and Arrians dislike'd this Accommodation. The latter expected, that *Alarich* being an Arrian, would presently put them in possession of the Churches belonging to the Orthodox Christians; and the Heathens flatter'd themselves, that he would restore their Idolatry, as he had promis'd them, in case they gave him their Assistance. They needed not have been in any pain for the success of the Treaty; the Scene soon chang'd, and the fair prospect of Peace, was turn'd to Despair and Ruin. *Sarus*, whom we have often mention'd, had hitherto stood Neuter at *Picenum*, where a Body of *Hunns*, his Countrymen, Confederate with the *Romans*, quarter'd under his Command. When this Barbarian found *Ataulphus* his Mortal foe, was engag'd on *Alarich's* side, out of hatred to him, he declar'd openly for *Honorius*, and fell upon a Party of *Goths*, though he knew a Treaty of Peace was concluded; he kill'd and took most of them; and *Alarich* imagining that *Sarus* durst not have committed the fact, without *Honorius's* Privacy and Consent, departed from *Ravenna*, the place of Interview for ratifying the Treaty in a great Rage, and posted to his Army, which was still encamp'd near *Rome*. He prest the City so closely, that in the end, he became Master of it, whe-

*Alarich offers to treat with Honorius.*

*Attalus depos'd, and Peace made between Honorius and Alarich.*

*The Peace broken.*



A.D. 410. ther by force or fraud, or in what certain time of the  
 Alarich year, is not easie to determine; all that we can be sure  
 takes of, is, that 'twas taken in the 18th year of *Honorius's*  
 Rome. Reign, in the 116th year after the Cities foundation,  
 and in the year of our Lord 410. *Varanes* being sole  
 Consul.

Alarich's  
 Moderati-  
 on.

The Temper and Moderation of *Alarich* in this Enterprize, is very remarkable; for notwithstanding he had been provok'd by the breach of several Treaties, to revenge the slaughter of his Men, whom the *Romans* and their Confederates had surpriz'd; yet, when he and his Army enter'd *Rome*, he order'd, that such as fled to Churches, particularly those of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the Apostles, should suffer no Violence. He gave the Plunder of the City to his Soldiers, but commanded them to abstain from Blood, especially that of Christians; and so careful were his Men to obey his Commands, that all those who call'd on the name of God and the Saints, were spar'd: Thousands of *Pagans* sav'd their Lives by passing for Christians, and many of them continu'd in the profession of the true Religion ever after. Though the fury of the *Barbarians* was in a great measure restrain'd by *Alarich's* good Discipline, yet in a time of such Confusion, many thousands of *Romans*, as well Christians as *Pagans* perish'd; and the liberty he gave them to plunder, soon brought that proud City, the Queen of Cities, into a state of Misery and Slavery: And she that was the Envy, became the most deplorable Object of Pity, of all the Cities in the World. Among the Prisoners that were taken, *Placidia*, whom *Alarich* had left in *Rome*, fell again into his Hands; and in three days time, the *Goths* had so laden themselves with Riches, which the Pride and Luxury of the *Romans*, had for some Ages been heaping together, that they were weary with Rifling, and their Avarice being satiated, departed, having done less Damage in the Sack of an Enemy, than *Nero* her natural Lord did out of wantonness, when he set her on fire above three hundred years before. On the taking of *Rome*, *St. Austin* wrote his excellent Treatise, *de Civitate Dei*, to confute the Error and Malice of those that charg'd the Christian Religion, as the cause of this Judgment on the *Eternal City*.

## C H A P. IV.

*From the taking of Rome, by Alarich King of the Goths, to the Death of Valentinian, the Third, the last Roman Emperor of the Theodosian Race.*

*Containing the Space of 55 Years.*

**H**onorius was at *Ravenna*, when the *Goths* took *Rome*, A.D. 410. and was so stupidly negligent of his Affairs, that Honorius being told *Rome* was taken, he seem'd mightily concern'd for it, believing it had been a large *Hen*, which he call'd by that Name; and he did not presently give credit to the Messengers who brought the News, saying, *he had been playing with her that Minute.* Another Instance of his Carelessness, is related by several Authors, which we shall report, to give the Reader a better Idea of this Prince's Character, that he might not be surpriz'd, to see him sit an idle Spectator of the loss of his Empire. *Placidia* his Sister, a Woman of Sense and Spirit, not being able to endure his Negligence, caus'd a Writing to be presented to him, by which he gave her in Marriage to one of his Grooms; the Emperor without reading it, sign'd it: The Princess, as if one of his Servants had been so impudent, as to demand her for his Wife, by vertue of that Writing, Complain'd to her Brother of the Affront that was put upon her. Honorius could not believe it: To convince him, she shew'd him the Paper, and made him sensible by this Artifice, what danger himself and the State were expos'd to by his Carelessness. The Emperor after this, was a little more cautious how he sign'd any thing, yet having no Genius for Government, the *Roman* Affairs grew daily worse and worse to the end of his Reign.

A.D. 411. *Italy* remain'd still under the Tyranny of the *Barbarians*, and *Honorius's* Ministers could not hit upon proper Remedies to cure the desperate Distempers of the State. *Alarich* after he went from *Rome*, invaded *Campania*, and from thence led his Men into *Lucania* and *Calabria*, plundering and spoiling where-ever he came, shewing himself less generous and gentle to the Provincials, than he had been to the Citizens of *Rome*.

Embarks  
his Men,  
and sails  
towards  
Sicily.  
Driv'n  
back by a  
Storm to  
Consentia.  
Where he  
dies.

There is no reason to be giv'n, why, when he had possess'd himself of the Metropolis of the Empire, and was Master of her Wealth and People, he did not make it the Seat of his Sovereignty; and from thence carry on the War with *Honorius*, who in the Consternation his Men were in, on the taking of *Rome*, would in all probability have made a very weak Defence. Either he was intoxicated with his good fortune, as *Hannibal*, after the Battel of *Cannæ*, and knew not how to improve his Success, by keeping what he had got, or Divine Providence by some secret Influence over his Councils, turn'd him aside from the right way he was in, in mercy to the *Roman* Empire, whom he had warn'd by the shaking of his Rod, to prevent by a thorough Repentance and Reformation, the Correction which she afterwards drew down upon her Head. The *Goths* having wasted and rob'd the Coasts of *Italy*, resolv'd to pass over into *Sicily*. *Alarich* march'd his Army to *Rhegium*, and put them aboard a Fleet he had order'd to be got ready in that Part; from whence he sail'd towards *Sicily*, but was driv'n back by a Storm to *Consentia*, which City refusing to surrender on Summons, he took and plunder'd: Here he fell sick and dy'd: The *Goths* were extremely troubled and perplex'd at his Death. They bury'd him with as much Pomp, as their inexperience in matters of Ceremony would admit; and for fear the *Romans* should offer any Indignity to his Bones, they kill'd the Slaves that assist'd at his Funeral, that they might not inform his Enemies where his Body lay.

This Solemnity over, the principal Commanders of the *Barbarians* held Council to choose a King to succeed *Alarich*: They made choice of *Ataulfus*, or *Astaulphus*, who on his accession to the Sovereignty, prevail'd with *Honorius's* Sister *Galla Placidia*, to marry him, which happen'd very well for the Empire. This Princess by her

The *Goths*  
choose his  
Brother  
*Ataulfus*  
King.

her Charms, and her winning Behaviour, soften'd the rough Temper of the King her Husband; and prevented many Mischiefs which he would have caus'd to her Country, had she not dissuaded him from it. So far she gain'd upon him by her Address and Insinuations, that he gave over a cruel Resolution he had made, to return to *Rome* to raze the City, and build another at a distance, which he intended to call *Gothia*. *Placidia* also by her Prayers and Tears, dispos'd him to enter into a Treaty with the Emperor, to quit *Italy*, and settle himself in *Gallia Narbonensis*: He chose *Tolosa* for the Seat of his Government. *Honorius* acknowledg'd him as King, and Confederate of the *Romans*, to whom he was for the remaining part of his Life a good Friend and Ally, except towards the latter end of his Days, when he endeavour'd to restore *Attalus* to the Imperial Throne.

A.D. 411.  
Ataul-  
fus mar-  
ries Placi-  
dia, Ho-  
norius's  
Sister,

Langue-  
doc, Tou-  
louze.

The Empire had now no Enemy to disturb her, but those of her own Sons, who renounc'd their Obedience, and endeavour'd to erect themselves Sovereignities in several parts of her Dominions. *Constantine* we left at *Arles*, and *Maximus* at *Terracona*, in whose Name *Gerontius* was marching to suppress his former Master the Usurper *Constantine*: He besieg'd him in *Arles*, and while he lay before the Town, *Constantius*, a Noble Roman, whom *Honorius* had made his Lieutenant for reducing the Rebels in *Gaul*, arriv'd near the place with his Army. *Gerontius* was not strong enough to give him Battel, nor honest enough to submit; so he retir'd into *Spain* with as many of his Followers, as could escape falling into the hands of those that *Constantius* detach'd to perieve them. The Soldiers he left in *Spain* being angry with him, for running away so shamefully, set fire to his House, and burnt him. *Maximus* having lost his Friend and Supporter *Gerontius*, laid aside his Imperial Robes, got out of the way, and led the rest of his Life in Misery, according to *Orosius's* History; who being a Priest of *Terracona* at that time, was the best qualify'd to report the truth of this Event, which however is related in a different manner by other Historians. *Edoebus*, General of *Constantine's* Army, that was quarter'd on the borders of *Germany*, for the defence of the Province on that side, hearing his Master was prest by *Constantius*, collected a great Body of *Franks* and *Germans* to relieve

He makes  
Peace with  
the Ro-  
mans.  
*Gerontius*  
besieges  
*Constantine* in  
*Arles*.

Is himself  
driven  
thence by  
the Empe-  
rors Gene-  
ral *Con-  
stantius*.  
Burnt by  
his Soldi-  
ers.

*Maximus*  
throws off  
the Purple,  
and hides  
him,



A.D. 411. him. *Constantius* having notice of his Motions, posted *Ulpilas* General of his Horse, in Ambuscade to attack him in the Rear, while he himself charg'd him in Front: *Ulpilas* permitted *Edobechus* to pass by him with all his Troops, and then fell upon his Rear. *Constantius* at the same time engag'd the Van of his Army, which was easily routed: *Edobechus* being taken, had his Head cut off, and sent to the Emperor. Then *Constantius* prosecuted the Siege of *Aries*, where *Constantine* for four Months had made a stout Resistance; but now the Citizens on promise of Pardon, open'd their Gates to the Conqueror. *Constantine* fled to a Church, and obtain'd the Order of Priesthood, in hopes to secure his Life by the Sanction of his Office: However, *Constantius* order'd him and his Son *Julian* to be apprehended, and sent them to *Honorius*, who commanded them to be put to Death on the Road.

*Constantius lays Siege to Arles. Routs Constantine's Army. Takes Arles, and Constantine in it.*

*The Usurper and his Son Julian put to Death. Jovinus usurps. 412. Overthrown by Atraulfus. Sebastian his Brother usurps.* Before the two Rebellions of *Constantine* and *Maximus* were quite suppress'd, a new Usurper appear'd in Gaul. *Jovinus*, a Person of the first Quality, and very popular among the *Arverni*, Inhabitants of *Auvergne*, took on him the Title and Ornaments of *Augustus*, hoping by the assistance of the *Franks*, *Germans*, and *Burgundians*, to maintain himself in his usurp'd Authority, which he did not long enjoy; for in the year following, *Atraulfus* overthrew him in Battle, and drove him out of Gaul. His Brother *Sebastian* resolv'd to try, whether his fortune was better than *Jovinus*'s, and assum'd the Imperial Dignity. Against him *Constantius* march'd, and soon put an end to his short Reign, and Life together.

*Defeated and kill'd by Constantius.*

The Empire had now a breathing time: The *Goths* liv'd peaceably in Gaul; the *Vandals* were busy'd about their new Settlement in Spain: The Usurpers were either dead or in Prison, and *Honorius* found leisure to publish several good Edicts, for repairing the Breaches that had been made in the Government, during the late times of Danger and Distraction. The City of *Rome* began again to lift up her languishing Head, and the whole Empire to shake off their fears of approaching Fate.

*Heracianus*, who was nam'd Consul for the next year, had his Name raz'd out of the Registers, for not contenting himself with the Honours he might lawfully have enjoy'd, he assum'd the Title of *Augustus* in *Africa*, where

where he had done good Service in the War with *Attila*. A.D. 413.  
*cus*. He immediately put a stop to the Exportation of *Herac-*  
 Corn, the old way in *Africk* of distressing *Italy*; and *anus the*  
 as *Orosius* tells us, got together a Fleet of 3700 Vessels, *Consul*  
 on which he embark'd with his Forces, Landed in *Italy*, *usurps in*  
 and march'd directly towards *Rome*. *Marinus*, whom *Africk.*  
*Honorius* order'd to oppose him, was prepar'd to dispute *Lands an*  
 his Passage to the City. The Usurper finding he should *Army in*  
 meet with a vigorous Opposition, which he did not ex- *Italy.*  
 pect, believing the Forces of the Empire had been too  
 much weaken'd in the late Troubles, led his Men with  
 little Heart, and at last fled from the Enemy, took Ship- *Returns to*  
 ing, and sail'd to *Carthage*; where his Soldiers to make *Africa.*  
 their peace with *Honorius*, rose upon him, and slew  
 him.

In the mean while *Constantius* had reduc'd all the Pro- *Slain by*  
 vince of *Gaul* to the Emperor's Obedience, except a *his own*  
 part of it lying near the *Rhine*, which the *Burgundians* *Men.*  
 had seiz'd. To clear it entirely, he march'd against these  
*Barbarians*, who on his Approach, beg'd Peace, and ob-  
 tain'd it, on condition they liv'd peaceably, as Friends  
 and Allies to the *Romans*. The *Franks* resenting, that so  
 inconsiderable a People as the *Burgundians*, should be  
 suffer'd to seat themselves in the *Roman* Empire, took the  
 opportunity of *Constantius's* being call'd to *Rome*, to take  
 possession of the Consulship, pass the *Rhine*, and made  
 themselves Masters of *Triers*. *Castinus*, Steward of the  
 Emperor's Household, was sent against them, overthrew  
 them in several Engagements, and drove 'em out of the  
 Empire. The *Franks* were Natives of that part of Ger- *The Franks*  
 many, which now bears the name of *Westphalia*, and *over-*  
 were call'd *Franks*, not as the modern *French* pretend, *throwne*  
 from their love of Liberty, but from their fierceness  
 and barbarity. *Pharamond*, the first Monarch of *France*,  
 was the Son of *Marcomires*, who was kill'd by *Stilicho*,  
 and began his Reign much about this time.

While *Honorius* was so frequently threatned with ut-  
 ter Destruction in the *West*, *Theodosius* by the wise Ad-  
 ministration of *Anthemius*, and the Protection of his  
 Guardian the King of *Persia*, liv'd undisturb'd in the  
*East*, distributing Justice among his Subjects, enacting  
 wholsom Laws, and governing his People with so much  
 Care and Tendernefs, that young as he was, the *Eastern*  
 Provinces had known no such happy times since the

A.D. 413. Reign of *Theodosius* the First. His Sister *Pulcheria*, a Lady of incomparable Parts and Vertue, was very assistant to him in his Conduct; she chose all his Masters who taught him his youthful Exercises, preferring the most eminent for Piety and Learning. And this year her Brother in gratitude for her Care and Application about his Affairs, declar'd her *Augusta*, the first Woman that had the Honour of that Dignity in the *Roman* Empire.

414.  
*Pulcheria*  
declar'd  
*Augusta*  
by *Theo-*  
*dolius*.

*Ataulfus*  
obliges *At-*  
*talus* to re-  
assume the  
Purple.

415.  
*Constantius*  
drives  
him and  
his *Goths*  
out of  
Gaul into  
Spain.

*Attalus*  
taken and  
sent in  
Chains to  
Rome.

We must now return into the *West*, and see what became of *Ataulfus* in *Gaul*: Either his own restless Ambition, or the uneasiness of his Subjects, who lov'd to be in Action, and could not endure to live lazily at home, nor descend to the mean Labours of the Field, urg'd him to attempt once more, to raise new troubles in the Empire: He had carry'd *Attalus*, whom his Brother made Emperor, with him into *Gaul*, and caus'd him to reassume the Imperial Purple. *Honorius* incens'd at his breaking of the League between them, in favour of a Mock Tyrant, resolv'd to get Satisfaction for the Affront put upon his Majesty by Arms. He order'd *Constantius* to return into *Gaul*, where he was so successful, that he forc'd *Ataulfus* and his *Goths* to quit their new Settlement, and fly into *Spain* with *Attalus* the Usurper, who in the following year was taken by Surprise, and sent to *Honorius* by *Constantius*: The Emperor put him in Prison, reserving him for a Triumph, which was decreed him on this occasion. Some Authors write, that he was taken at Sea, as he was endeavouring to escape to *Africa*, whither *Ataulfus* intended to Sail; but *Constantius* had so well guarded the Seas, that the *Goth* did not think fit to venture on Ship-board: He seiz'd *Barcelona*, and seated his Men in the Neighbourhood of that City. The *Vandals* being the first Barbarians that settled there, lookt upon the *Goths* as Invaders; and though those could plead no more right to the Country, than these, yet they offer'd the Emperor by their Embassadors, to drive out the new Comers, if he would stand Neuter, on Condition they might be permitted to enjoy what they held in *Spain* without Disturbance, to which the Emperor consented, and the *Goths* and *Vandals* began a long and bloody War there, in which the former prov'd most fortunate. *Ataulfus* weary of the War, or prevail'd upon by his Wife, whom he

he entirely lov'd, inclin'd to come to an Accommodation with *Honorius*: His Subjects could not be brought to think of Peace and Submission: They had too long play'd the Masters, to like any Project of an Agreement, that depriv'd them of their Liberty to Rob and Spoil; and to prevent their King's Treating, they slew him and his Sons at *Barcelona*. In his room, they chose *Sigerich* to reign over them, whom in a short time they murder'd for the same reasons they kill'd *Ataulfus*. *Wallia* succeeded *Sigerich*. The New King attempting to pass over into *Africa*, met with a violent Storm, which so discourag'd him, that he gave over all thoughts of Invading those Provinces, and came to an Agreement with *Constantius*: Two of the Articles of the Treaty were, that he should deliver up the Emperor's Sister, *Placidia*, and make War upon the other Barbarous Nations in *Spain*: All that he Conquer'd, was to be restor'd to the Emperor, who in return, was to assign *Wallia* and his *Goths* a Province for them to settle in, on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*: *Honorius* consented that *Aquitain* should be giv'n to 'em for their Habitation. The *Goths* carry'd on the War with the other *Barbarians* several years, and there happen'd nothing else remarkable in the next.

A.D. 415.

*Ataulphus slain by his own Subjects.*

416.

The Church had all along had her share of Sufferings with the State: The Enemies of the Empire, were either *Arians*, as the *Goths*; or Heathens, as the *Vandals*; and both where they were Masters, persecuted the Orthodox Christians. *Honorius* was zealous for the Catholick Faith, and as fast as he clear'd his Dominions of the common Foes to the Church and State, he restor'd the Orthodox to their Rights and Priviledges: But as he was himself as much disturb'd by Domestick Usurpers, as Foreign Invaders, so the profession of the Faith of Christ, receiv'd as much Damage by Hereticks, who had Apostatiz'd from the Truth, as from the Heathens. Our Island at this time produc'd one of the most famous Arch-Hereticks, that ever troubled the peace of the Church, his true Name was *Morgan*, a *British* Monk, of the Monastery of *Bangor*: When he travell'd to *Rome* and *Greece*, he call'd himself *Pelagius*; he was generally esteem'd an Eloquent, Learned Man, warm in his Arguments, and elegant in his Writings. *St. Chrysostome* before his fall, valu'd him as a Pious Man,

*Pelagius, or Morgan's Heresie.*



**A D. 416** Man, and all the Fathers, his Contemporaries lamented his Apostacy: For his Tenets were so adapted to the frailty of Human Nature, that he had many Disciples in a few years, who were call'd *Pelagians*. He held, *That without Grace, a Man by the strength of Free-will, might acquire Merit sufficient for Salvation*: He deny'd Original Sin, and maintain'd many other Heterodox Notions, which oblig'd the Synod of *Diospolis* in *Palestine*, to summon him before them, to answer to the Heresies laid to his Charge: He was such a Master of the Art of Dissimulation, that he deceiv'd the Fathers with his Evasions, and Equivocal Answers. This Synod on his affected Submission, pronounc'd him Innocent. Continuing to spread his Errors, he was Condemn'd by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Popes, *Innocent*, *Zozimus*; and *Celestine*; and the Emperor *Honorius*, by a perpetual Edict, banish'd him and his Followers from *Rome*. *Pelagius* return'd home, and dy'd in *Britain* in Impenitence and Misery. His Heresie got ground daily a long while after his Death: So willing are Men to believe any thing that makes the way to Heaven easier, than 'tis reported in Scripture, and to embrace those Principles which flatter their Vanity, and the good Opinion they have of their own Merits.

*Clear'd by  
the Synod  
of Diospo-  
lis.  
Condemn'd  
by the  
Council of  
Carthage.  
He dies in  
Britain.*

This year the *Jews* rais'd a bloody Tumult at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where they were very numerous, and liv'd in continual Dissention with the Christians; from whom having receiv'd some Affronts, they meditated to be severely reveng'd. *Orestes* Governor of the City, being a *Pagan*, favour'd the *Jews* out of pure hatred to the Christians, and jealousy of the Bishop's Power, which began to grow upon the Governors. *Cyril* sat then in that Patriarchal Chair; and he was a Person, who rather inclin'd to stretch his Episcopal Authority beyond its due bounds, than to have any part of it diminish'd. The *Jews* waiting an opportunity to execute their Vengeance, hir'd certain Apostate Christians to cry out *Fire* in the Night, and being ask'd *where?* They reply'd, in the *Great Church*: The Christians ran out of their Houses in Confusion to extinguish the Flames; upon whom the *Jews* lying in Ambush arm'd, fell furiously, and kill'd them as fast as they came into the Streets. The Bishop incens'd at the slaughter of his Flock, took with him a sufficient Number of Christians, and went

*The Jews  
rise upon  
the Chri-  
stians, and  
kill them  
at Alex-  
andria.  
Cyril the  
Bishop,  
heads the  
Christians.  
Orestes  
the Gover-  
nor fa-  
vours the  
Jews.*

to the *Jews* Synagogue, where these unbelievers were murder'd in their turn, and such as escap'd with their Lives, were banish'd, and their Houses plunder'd. The Bishop not designing to make use of the Civil Magistrate, the Governor, in punishing the *Jews*, *Orestes* was justly offended with him for it, as intrenching on his Office, and complain'd to the Emperor *Theodosius*: *Cyril* did the same, and both Parties made themselves as many Friends to support them, as they could. Among the rest the Monks of *Nitria*, in the Neighbourhood of the City, attack'd the Governor as he rode in his Chariot that way; abus'd and wounded him: *Ammonius*, who gave him the Wound, was seiz'd, and tormented to Death for his Sedition. In whose Commendation, *Cyril* made a Funeral Oration, extol'd his Courage, *The fight he had fought for Godliness*, and commanded he should be call'd a *Martyr*, though he suffer'd for his unwarrantable insolence to the Præfect. The Citizens rose upon the *Monks*, and drove them out of the City; and thus the Breach between the Governor and the Bishop grew wider, neither of them making any steps to a Reconciliation. The Prelate standing on the Dignity of his Function, more than the Duty of his Call; and the Governor being more careful to maintain his Prerogative, than to keep Peace among the Citizens. Some of 'em mistrusting *Hypatia*, Daughter of the Philosopher *Theon*, was an ill Instrument between their Temporal and Spiritual Governors, pull'd her out of her Chariot, drag'd her into a Church; stripp'd her, mangled her naked Body, kill'd her, and then burnt her to Ashes: This Lady was her Father's most famous Disciple, and for good Sense and Learning, esteem'd the wonder of her Age. These extraordinary Qualities, were adorn'd by her Modesty, Meekness, and Chastity; and her Company was courted by Persons of the highest Quality. She visited the Bishop and the Prefect, without concerning her self in their Quarrels: Her Modesty and Meekness, might have been an Example to both of 'em; but the Populace running madly after their own fancies, suspecting, that because she saw them often, she hinder'd an Accommodation, treated her in this Inhuman manner.

A.D. 417.  
Constantius mar-  
ries Placi-  
dia.

Portugal.

The Goths  
Victorious  
in Spain.

418.

Two Popes  
chosen at  
once.

In the beginning of the Year ensuing, *Constantius* the Consul marry'd *Placidia*, the Emperor's Sister, Widow to *Astaulphus*. To Celebrate the Nuptial Pomp with the greater Splendour, *Honorius* made a Publick Entry into *Rome*, in a sort of Triumph for his Victory over the *Goths*, and *Attalus*, who was led before his Chariot with his Hands bound behind him : After the Solemnity was over, *Honorius* order'd his Right Hand to be cut off, and banish'd him to *Lipare. Wallia*, pursuant to the Treaty he had concluded with the *Romans*, Prosecuted the War with the *Barbarians* in *Spain* : He fell on the *Alans* in *Lusitania*, and the Province of *Cartagena*, kill'd *Atates* their King, and forc'd them to fly into *Castile*, where they incorporated themselves with the *Suevians*, and were no more talk'd of as a separate Nation. The *Goths* proceeding farther with the same Success, defeated the *Vandals* in *Betica*, from them call'd *Andalousia*, and oblig'd both the *Vandals* and *Suevians* to submit to the *Romans* : Having done such Signal Service to the Emperor, he retir'd into *Aquitain*, where he liv'd and reign'd 2 or 3 Years afterwards, and then dy'd in Peace.

This Year dy'd Pope Innocent the first, who began to assert the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* over other Bishops. His Successors, *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, *Cælestine*, *Sextus* and *Leo*, follow'd his Example in opposition to the 28th Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which gives equal Priviledges to the Church of *Constantinople* with that of *Rome*. Tho' the pretended Superiority of the latter, has ever since been usurp'd by all the Successive Popes.

On the 3d of *July* in the following Year *Placidia* was deliver'd of a Son, who was call'd *Valentinian*, and succeeded his Unkle in the Throne.

This Year *Zosimus* Bishop of *Rome* dy'd, he was advanc'd to that See after the Death of *Innocent*. In his Place there were two chosen, *Eulalius* the Arch-Deacon, and *Boniface* a Priest. *Symmachus* the Præfect or Governor of the City wrote to the Emperor, who liv'd mostly at *Ravenna*, that *Eulalius* was duely Elected. On the other Hand *Boniface's* Friends justify'd his Election, and *Honorius* was so importun'd by Letters from both of 'em, that he Summon'd the two Popes to appear before him and plead their Cause : He order'd some Bishops to

meet

meet and assist him with their Councils. But the Place A.D. 413. was so tempting for Profit and Power, that Reason or Justice were little heard in the Controversy. Neither of them wou'd quit his Pretensions, and the Emperor for fear they shou'd raise seditious Commotions in the City, forbade them to go thither. *Eulalius* not minding the Emperor's Order to the contrary, went to *Rome* and attempted to enter on his Episcopal Charge, being assisted by a Powerful Faction. *Symmachus* in obedience to *Honorius's* Commands oppos'd him, and was himself so violently oppos'd by the Faction that his Life was in danger. This provok'd the Emperor to decide the dispute in favour of *Boniface*. He wrote to *Symmachus* to receive him as lawful Bishop, and a Synod was call'd, The Emperor decides the dispute. who condemn'd *Eulalius* as unqualify'd for the Office, tho' he had the Majority of Voices at the Election. We have made this digression to shew how soon the Papacy was Corrupted, and how early Interest and Power were confounded with Right and Religion.

In the next Year the Emperor *Theodosius* made War 419. with the King of *Persia* on a Religious account. *Isdighardes*, his Guardian and Friend being Dead, was Succeeded in the *Persian* Throne by *Vararanes*, who at the A War with Persia in favour of the Christians. Instigation of the *Magi* Persecuted the Christians: The *Pagans* were provok'd by the Indiscreet Zeal of a Christian Bishop, who destroy'd the Holy fire, and burnt one of their Temples in his Diocess, and when he was Commanded to rebuild it, refus'd to obey the King's Order, for which he was put to Death. The King was so enrag'd at this affront, offer'd his Authority and Religion, that being urg'd to it as we have said by his *Wise Men*, (so the *Persian* Priests affected to be call'd,) that he order'd all the Christian Churches throughout his Dominions to be demolish'd, and rais'd such a bloody Persecution against his Subjects of that Profession, that vast Multitudes of 'em were forc'd to fly into the *Roman* Empire from the rage of their Enemies. *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, receiv'd all that came thither with much Kindness, and remonstrated to the Emperor the Injustice of their Treatment at home. *Theodosius*, a Prince of Extraordinary Piety, highly resented this usage of his Fellow Believers; yet he was not willing it shou'd be thought that his Rupture with *Vararanes* was a Religious War. He took hold of another occasion, which 419. Prefixed



A.D. 419 Presented to break the Treaty between himself and that King's Father *Isdigerdes*. The *Persians* had lately found out some Golden Mines, and not being well skill'd in working them, they hir'd Workmen out of the *Roman Territories*, who were to return back when they had done what was requir'd of them. These they detain'd forcibly; and to aggravate the differences between the two Princes, rob'd several *Roman Merchants* that Traded into *Persia*. *Vararanes* demanded of *Theodosius* to deliver up the Christian Refugees his Subjects, which the Emperor refus'd, and immediately commanded *Ardabarius* his General to march towards the Frontiers of *Persia*, where he was met by *Narses*, General of *Vararanes's* Army, which the *Romans* routed, made a great slaughter of 'em, and put the rest to flight. *Narses* recover'd himself in a short time, and with a new Army invaded the Empire; but *Ardabarius* coming upon him sooner than he expected, oblig'd him to retire within the Walls of *Nisibis*, where he besieg'd him and his Army. But News came that *Vararanes* was approaching with a great Number of Elephants to relieve the Town, upon which *Ardabarius* rais'd the Siege. However he defeated the Enemy in several Engagements, and one of his Officers, *Vitianes* routed and dispers'd the *Saracen Troops* that were in the King of *Persia's* Service, and esteem'd the best in his Armies. *Theodosius*, tho' the *Persians* had the worst of the War, sent Embassadors to offer *Vararanes* Peace, which the *Persian King* did not hearken to till he had met with another disappointment. For hearing the *Romans* had cut off 10000 of those of his Troops, that for their Valour were call'd the *Immortals*, he enter'd into a Treaty which was concluded on condition he ceas'd Persecuting his Christian Subjects, and restor'd to 'em their Estates and Priviledges: Tho' this Peace was not concluded till two Years afterwards, yet we thought fit to mention it in this Place, there hapning nothing more memorable in the *Persian War*.

10000 of  
the King of  
Persia's  
Troops  
call'd the  
Immor-  
tals cut off.  
A Peace  
concluded,  
the Chri-  
stians re-  
stor'd to  
their  
Rights and  
Privi-  
ledges.

The Emperor *Honorius* considering he had no Children to succeed him in the Throne, and that his Brother-in-Law *Constantius*, by his Victories over *Constantine*, *Sebastian*, and the *Goths*, had deserv'd every thing he could do for him; he advanc'd him to the Title and Dignity of Emperor, especially for that, he had a Son by his Sister to continue the Succession in the Line of *Theodo-*  
*sus*

*sus* the Great. On *Constantius's* Promotion to the Sovereign Power, his Picture, as was usual in those Days, was sent to *Theodosius*, who would neither receive the Picture, nor give Audience to the Messenger. *Constantius* took the affront so much to Heart, that he contracted a Disease by his Grief, which turning to a Pleurisy kill'd him the second of September, in the Consulship of *Eustathius* and *Agricola*, seven Months after his advancement, in the Year of our Lord 421. Before he marry'd *Placidia*, he was Universally belov'd for his Generosity and Con-  
A.D. 419. Constantius declar'd Augustus by Honorius. Theodosius refuses to own him as such. 421. Constantius took it so much to heart that he dy'd with grief.

The reason why *Theodosius* refus'd to approve of *Constantius's* Promotion, was thought to be his own Inclination to marry at this time; and his Hopes of Issue to provide for the Succession, might make him unwilling to Clog it with another Emperor's Heirs. The Woman he design'd to marry was *Athenais*, Daughter of *Leontius* an Athenian Philosopher, who was recommended to him by his Sister *Pulcheria Augusta*. *Leontius* pretending to discover by his Daughter's Physiognomy, or the Scheme of her Nativity, that she would be infallibly fortunate, left her a very small Legacy, scarce fifty Pounds of our Money; Inserting in his Will, Her good Fortune ought to suffice for her. Sometime after, her Mother was oblig'd to Solicite a Law Suit she had depending at *Constantinople*, and appealing to the Emperor, apply'd to the Princess *Pulcheria* for her favour, carrying her Daughter with her. The Princess was so Charm'd with her Air, Wit and Beauty, that she got her Instructed in the Christian Religion, had her Baptiz'd by *Atticus* the Patriarch, who gave her the Name of *Eudoxia*, and persuaded her Brother to make her his Wife, hoping as some have imagin'd, that by the interest of an Empress who ow'd her advancement to her, she might continue absolute in the Ministry.  
Theodosius marries Athenais, Daughter of the Philosopher Leontius. Athenais Baptiz'd and call'd Eudoxia.

*Honorius* thinking to improve the Victory the Goths had obtain'd over the *Vandals* to his advantage, resolv'd to attack them before they recover'd their Losses in the late Wars. To this end he sent *Castinus* with a Powerful Army

AD 422. Army into Spain, and order'd Boniface Governour of Honorious Africk to transport himself, and what Forces he cou'd spare, out of Africa into that Province, and assist Castinus to Expel the Barbarians. These two Generals did not long agree: Castinus wou'd not suffer an Equal in the Command, nor Boniface a Superior: Upon which the latter reimbarc'd his Troops, and return'd with 'em into Africa. Castinus by his Haughty Imperious Carriage, ruin'd the best design that had been laid for the Extirpation of the Barbarians in Spain, and we shall see hereafter how prejudicial the difference between the two Generals prov'd to the Western Empire. The Vandals encourag'd by the Division of their Forces, gave Castinus Battel, defeated him and kill'd neat 20000 of his Men. The Emperor did not live long enough to punish his Generals for their untimely disputes: A little while before his Death he quarrell'd with his Sister Placidia, with whom he had liv'd so loving and familiarly, that the Scandal of those times did not stick to make remarks on his Friendship, as if it had been so great that it became Criminal: However, whether he was inconstant and wanted to be rid of her, or which is most probable, whether he was inform'd that she Corresponded with the Goths out of respect to the memory of her first Husband Ataulphus, he us'd her so ill that she desir'd leave to quit his Dominions, and remov'd with her two Children to Constantinople.

Castinus  
the Ro-  
man Gene-  
ral Routed.

Placidia  
in discon-  
tent goes  
with her  
Children to  
Constanti-  
nople.

423.  
Honorious  
dies.

Honorious did not long survive the departure of his Sister. In the Year following the nine and thirtieth of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, Asclepiodotus and Marinianus being Consuls, he fell Sick and dy'd of a Dropsy. Historians disagree very much in his Character. Some Authors say he was little better than a Fool and a Coward; as a Proof of the latter, they tell us he never appear'd in his Armies, tho' his Reign was full of Rebellion and War. He is commended by other Writers for his Perseverance in the Orthodox Faith, which he defended from the attacks of Jews, Pagans, Hereticks and Schismaticks. All agree he was unfortunate, and make his Reign the Era of the Destruction of the Western Empire: For now the Goths, Hunns, Vandal, Suevians and Burgundians, had settled so many Kingdoms as they were

were

were Nations in *Pannonia*, *Gaul* and *Spain*, and giv'n A.D. 423. Birth to a Power, which in few Years grew too Mighty for the declining Strength of the Old Roman Monarchy.

### *Theodosius II.*

ON the Death of *Honorius*, *Flavius Joannes*, Chief Secretary to the late Emperor, and *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Italy* assum'd the Imperial Purple. *Castinus* was lately arriv'd from *Spain*, and to secure himself from any future Inquisition into his Conduct there, he perswaded *Joannes* or *John* to Usurp. He immediately dispatch'd away Embassadors to *Theodosius*, to desire that he wou'd be pleas'd to accept of him as his Colleague. Tho' 'twas not likely that he who had refus'd so Eminent and Worthy a Person as *Constantius*, wou'd own a Man of obscure Birth and wicked Principles, as *John* was, for his Associate. The Emperor treated the Messengers very roughly, and sent them back with a very unwelcome answer. Notwithstanding which *John* resolv'd to maintain his New Dignity, being much encourag'd by *Castinus*, whom he made Consul for the Year ensuing: *Ætius* the Son of *Gaudentius*, he made Lord Steward of his Household. The Father of this *Ætius* was a *Scythian* by Birth, but having marry'd an *Italian* Woman of Quality and Fortune, he was advanc'd to be *Magister Militum*. *John* sent *Ætius* into *Pannonia* to procure Assistance from the *Hunns*; among whom he made many Friends while he liv'd with them, as Hostages for *Honorius's* Performance of a Treaty he had concluded with that Nation.

*Theodosius* on News of *John's* Usurpation, sent a Party of his Forces to lye at *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, on the Borders of *Italy*, to be ready to prevent any Incursions from the Enemy, or to secure a Passage for his own Troops into that Province, when he thought convenient to begin the War. *John* order'd *Ætius* as soon as he had rais'd his Auxiliary *Hunns* to fall on the Rear of the Eastern Army, if they attempted to march into *Italy*, and himself at the same time wou'd charge them in Front. The Emperor imagining that the Usurper wou'd be provok'd by his ill treating his Embassadors to give him



A.D. 424.  
Theodo-  
sius de-  
clares Pla-  
cidia,  
Augusta,  
and Va-  
lentinian  
her Son  
Cæsar.

He sends  
them with  
an Army  
into Italy.

Ardaburi-  
us the Em-  
peror's Ge-  
neral taken  
by the  
Usurper.

Aspar,  
Ardabu-  
rius's Son  
enters Ita-  
ly.

Surprizes  
and takes  
John in  
Ravenna.

John's  
Hands and  
Head are  
cut off by  
Placidia's  
Order.  
Ætius,  
John's Ge-  
neral fights  
Aspar.  
Submits.

some trouble, unless he was prevented, confer'd the Dignity of *Augusta* on *Placidia*, and that of *Cæsar* on her Son *Valentinian*, resolving to assist 'em with all his Forces. He gave *Ardaburius* the command of the Army, he intended to employ against the Tyrant. The General departed with *Placidia*, and *Valentinian* for *Theffalonica*, from whence he Guarded them to *Salonæ*, and there embark'd the best part of his Troops, designing to Sail directly to *Ravenna*, and come upon the Usurper before he expected him, or was prepar'd to receive him. His Son *Aspar* he left at *Salonæ*, to lead the rest of his Forces by Land, and Convoy *Placidia* and her Son into *Italy*. *Ardaburius* in his Passage unhappily met with a Storm that divided his Fleet, and his own Ship was driv'n ashoar on the Coast of *Italy*, where he was seiz'd by *John's* Soldiers and carry'd into their Master's Presence, who either out of good Nature or Policy kept him in safe Custody, to procure the better Terms in a Treaty, to which he seem'd very well dispos'd. *Aspar* not knowing what had happen'd to his Father, advanc'd boldly into *Italy*, surpriz'd *Aquileia* and fortify'd himself there, waiting the Issue of *Ardaburius's* Enterprize, who was so well us'd by the Usurper that having the Liberty of the City on his Parole, he had an opportunity to observe the differences between *John's* Courtiers, and to gain some of 'em over to *Valentinian's* Interest : He also perceiv'd the Negligence and Security the Usurper liv'd in, and that the City Gates stood always open and unguarded, which he found means to give his Son notice of at *Aquileia*. He advis'd him to advance with a select Parry of his Forces, and seize the City, which *Aspar* perform'd, took the Tyrant and sent him Prisoner to *Placidia*, who as soon as he appear'd before her, order'd first his Hands, and then his Head to be cut off. *Ætius* arriv'd 3 Days after. *Aspar* took *John* with an Army of 60000 *Hunns*, and gave the *Romans* Battel. Bloody and doubtful was the Fight till *Ætius* heard that *John* was taken ; he then came to an agreement with *Aspar*, submitted and march'd his *Hunns* out of *Italy* to prevent their doing any further mischief.

Theodosius

*Theodosius II. Valentinian III.*

ON the News of this Revolution, *Theodosius* sent the Imperial Crown to *Valentinian*, which *Helio* the Patrician, who brought it, put upon his Head the 23d of October. *Placidia* was declar'd Regent during her Son's Minority; and as she began her Government with Rigorous Justice, so she continu'd to rule with an Iron Scepter; and her Severity might well be call'd Cruelty, if out of good Manners to her Sex, we were not oblig'd to give it a softer Name. She gave the City of *Ravenna* to her Soldiers to be Plunder'd, and sent *Castinus* into banishment after she had strip'd him of all his Offices: Being reduc'd to Poverty and Want he fled into *Africa*, where *Boniface*, who was his Competitor, by the Mediation of *St. Austin* Bishop of *Hippo*, gave him a favourable reception. Others write that in despair, he gather'd together a good Body of Forces of disbanded Soldiers, Invaded *Africa*, was defeated and taken. But the first account of him which is related by *Prosper*, seems most Credible.

*Ætius* was taken into favour for deserting in a good time to *Placidia*, when 'twas in his Power to have given her further trouble: He employ'd his Interest at Court to ruin *Boniface*, with whom he had an old Quarrel. He represented to his Mistress that *Boniface* by entertaining *Castinus*, whom he ought to have destroy'd, shew'd plainly that he intended to throw off his dependance on the Roman Empire, and make himself Sovereign of *Africa*. To prevent the ill Consequence of his Ambition, he persuaded her to recall him in time, before he was prepar'd to refuse obeying her Commands, and to hinder his being reconcil'd with her, he wrote to *Boniface* as his Friend, by no means to venture himself out of his Government, for his Enemies had Conspir'd to have his Head taken off if ever they got him in their Power. *Boniface* believing what he said was true, refus'd to quit his Post, which convinc'd *Placidia* that the Treasons *Ætius* had accus'd him of were real and not imaginary, wherefore she resolv'd to proceed against him as an Enemy to the State, and commanded *Mavortius*, *Galbio* and *Sinox* with a Powerful Army to carry on the War in

*Placidia suffers her Soldiers to Plunder Ravenna.*

*Ætius taken into favour.*

427.

*He falsely accuses Boniface to Placidia. Boniface recall'd from his Government of Africa. Boniface by Ætius's persuasions refuses to resign his Govern-ment.*

A.D. 427. *Boniface* hearing of the Preparations that were made to reduce him, shut himself up within the Walls of *Carthage*, resolving to stand there on his defence, the Town being strong, the Garrison Numerous, and the Magazines well stor'd with Provisions. The *Roman* Generals besieg'd him in the City, which he defended with Extraordinary Skill and Courage, till the *Romans* were tir'd out with the Length of the Siege, and despairing to take it fell out amongst themselves, as is usual when three Persons have equal Power, and are all unfortunate. *Marvortius* and *Galbio* were kill'd by the Practices of *Sinox*, and himself was soon after sent out of the World by *Boniface*, who 'tis reported obtain'd the Victory over these three Generals without the loss of a Man. *Placidia*, nothing discourag'd at the ill Success of this Expedition, rais'd another Army and gave the command of it to *Sigisvultus*, resolving to push on the War with the more Vigour, the more difficulty she found in it.

Defends  
himself in  
Carthage.

Routs the  
Roman  
Army.

Calls  
the Van-  
dal into  
Africa.

*Boniface* seeing she was obstinately bent on his destruction, and that he was not able to resist the whole Power of the Western Empire, apply'd himself to *Gundaric* and *Genferic*, Sons of *Godigisil* King of the *Vandals*, who after their Father's Death had settled themselves in *Spain* to assist him. They agreed to Transport an Army to that purpose, on condition that *Africa* shou'd be divided between *Boniface* and the two *Vandal* Princes, with whom 'tis said he held Correspondence ever since he left *Spain*, when he was commanded thither by *Honorius* to expel them that Province; he marry'd an *Arian* Lady related to the Kings of the *Vandals*, who perverted him from the Orthodox Faith, of which till then he was a zealous Professor. *St. Austin* Bishop of *Hippo*, had much ado to prevail with him, not to abdicate his Government and throw himself into a Monastery, so devout was he before his Apostacy to *Arianism*. The Bishop afterwards renounc'd Friendship with him, and Excommunicated him. *Boniface* continuing his Civil and Ecclesiastical Rebellion, *Gundaric* and *Genferic* past over into *Africk* with 80000 Men, Conquer'd and Wasted all the Country before them.

428.

*Boniface's* Friends in *Rome* were mightily concern'd, that a Man who had hitherto been a faithful Servant of the Empire, should enter into a League with the *Barbarians*; and believing he had still some remains of Integrity

regrity and Honour left, desir'd leave to go to *Africk*, A.D. 428. and reason the case with him. *Placidia* permitted them Boniface to go. When they arriv'd, he met them at *Carthage*, <sup>proves</sup> where they charg'd him with Treason and Rebellion: *himself In-* To excuse himself, he produc'd *Ætius's* Letters, which nocent to *Placidia*. which satisfy'd them, that he took Arms purely in his own Defence. They return'd to Court, and carry'd the Letters with them; at sight of which, *Placidia* was extremely incens'd at *Ætius's* Treachery, but durst not shew her Resentments. *Ætius* being at the Head of a Considerable Army in *Gaul*, where he had obtain'd several Victories over *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, who broke the Peace with the *Romans*. She wrote to *Boniface*, that she abhor'd the Injustice that had been done him, promis'd him her Favour and Protection, and advis'd him to be as diligent to remove the *Vandals* out of *Africk*, as he was to call them in. *Boniface* endeavour'd to do what she requir'd of him: He offer'd them a prodigious Sum of Money to be gone, and threaten'd them, with calling in the whole strength of the Empire to drive them out by force, if they would not go by fair means. *Gundaric*, who was now sole Monarch of the *Vandals*, and had got ground in the Province, was neither tempted by his Promises, nor terrify'd by his Threats: He resolv'd to keep what he had got, and gave Battel to *Boniface* and *Aspar*, who was lately arriv'd from *Italy* with fresh Forces, over-threw them, kill'd and took great Numbers of the *Romans*. Among the Prisoners was *Martian*, who afterwards was Emperor: He then advanc'd further into the Country, and being Master of the Field, committed all sorts of Cruelty and Rapine. Only three Cities, *Carthage*, *Hippo*, and *Cirtha*, all of them Maritime Towns, strongly Situated and Fortify'd, stood out against the fury and terror of his Arms.

*Hippo* he besieg'd, and press'd it with all possible Vigour for fourteen Months. *Boniface* had thrown himself into the Place, just before he form'd the Siege: He defended the Town with extraordinary Resolution. *Gundaric* was as eager to master it, as he was to preserve it; and *Boniface* finding his Men were quite spent with the heat of the Service, made his escape. The place was, not long after, surrender'd at Discretion. The *Barbarians* put all to the Sword, plunder'd the City, and then



A.D. 430. burnt iv, *St. Austin's Works and Library*, being the only things of Value, that were not consum'd in the Flames. *St. Augustine*, Bishop of the City, dy'd about a Month before the *Vandals* took it : During the Siege, he Preach'd and Pray'd in his Church, beseeching God either to remove the Siege, or give his Flock patience to endure it, and submit to his good Pleasure ; or to take him out of the World to himself. Accordingly he departed this Life in *August*, and the City was not taken till *September*, A. D. 430.

Hippo-  
sieg'd by  
the Van-  
dals.  
Taken and  
St. Austins  
Library  
sav'd.

431.  
The Third  
General  
Council  
at Ephe-  
sus.

Nestori-  
us's Here-  
sie Con-  
demn'd.

In the beginning of the following year, *Anicius Basilius*, and *Flavius Antiochus* being Consuls, the third General Occumenical Council met at *Ephesus*, consisting of 200 Fathers. *Cyril* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, presided in this Assembly, notwithstanding the Legates of Pope *Celestine* were present: The Fathers were summon'd by the Emperor *Theodosius*, to put a stop to a new Heresie, sprung up at *Constantinople*, of which *Nestorius* Bishop of that City was Patron: He asserted, that the *Virgin Mary could not be the Mother of God*, destroying the Mystery of the Incarnation ; for which he was Condemn'd, and depriv'd by this General Council. *Nestorius*, in opposition to the Synod, by vertue of his Patriarchal Power, assembled 40 Bishops, who sat in an Inn at *Ephesus* ; and in their turn, condemn'd *Cyril* as an Arch-Heretick, being countenanc'd by *Candidianus*, the Emperor's Legate in the Council. He stop'd the Synod's Letters to Court, which pass'd through his hands, and forwarded the Conventicles to his Master ; who hearing only one side, commanded the Fathers to stop their Proceedings against *Nestorius* ; and supposing the Conventicle to have been the legal Council, confirm'd the Decree of *Cyril's* Deposition ; but being better inform'd of the truth of the Matter, he restor'd *Cyril*, and approv'd of the Sentence against *Nestorius*, who was banish'd to the Deserts of *Oasis*.

This year *Patricius*, or *St. Patrick*, was sent into *Ireland* by Pope *Celestine*, to finish the Conversion of the Natives of that Island, which *Palladius* began. He liv'd sixty years, and during his Primacy there, is said to have ordain'd 365 Bishops. The greatest part of his History is so corrupted by Monkish Fables, that we shall not dwell longer upon it ; all that we can depend on is, that he succeeded in his Mission, and is accounted the

Apostle

Apostle of the *Irish*. Pope *Celestine* dy'd in *April* the next year. A few days after his Death, *Sixtus* a Roman was chosen into that See: *Celestine* was very much commended for his zeal against Hereſie and Paganism. Yet *Socrates*, the Continuator of *Eusebius's* History, who wrote in this Age, makes this remarkable Reflection on the life of *Celestine*, That the Bishop of Rome, (no more than a Bishop of *Alexandria*) passing the bounds of his Priestly Order, presum'd now to challenge to himself Secular Power and Authority. Pope *Sixtus* some time after his Promotion, was accus'd of Fornication with a Nun, upon which a Synod was held at Rome, who voted the Bishop Innocent, and absolv'd him in the presence of the Emperor *Valentinian* and *Placidia*, his Mother. Whoever has the Curiosity to read more of this scandalous Charge, and the foul Practices that were made use of to clear him, let him consult his Life written by *Platina*.

About this time, *Boniface* comply'd with *Placidia's* Invitation, and came to Rome; where, upon his Arrival, he was made *Magister Militum*. He challeng'd *Ætius* for falsely accusing him; and obtain'd leave of *Placidia* to fight him, which she could not deny, though *Ætius* was Consul for this year. *Boniface* got the better of his Adversary, who in shame and discontent, retir'd to his Country-House, and from thence into *Pannonia*, where he became still more acquainted with the *Hunns*. He liv'd there till his Opponent dy'd: *Boniface* on his Death-Bed, engag'd his Wife *Pelagia*, never to marry any other Man but *Ætius*. Whether he did it because he was sure she heartily hated him, and thought to prevent her future Marriage by it; or whether he was so sensible of *Ætius's* Repentance, and of his Merit, that he imagin'd she could not do better, is not to be determin'd.

The *Burgundians* breaking their League, Invaded the *Belgick Gaul*, and *Valentinian* could think of no body so proper to oppose them, as *Ætius*. So he was recall'd, and sent with an Army to drive them out of the Roman Territories, which he perform'd; and by this Action, recover'd the Honour he lost in the Duel with *Boniface*.

*Socrates*  
Condemns  
the Popes  
Pride and  
Usurpation.

*Pope Sextus*  
accus'd  
of Fornication  
with  
a Nun.

*Boniface*  
made *Magister Militum*.

*Fights the*  
*Consul Ætius*  
*in single Combat,*  
*and beats him.*

433.  
*Ætius*  
drives the  
*Burgundians*  
out  
of the Empire.

A.D. 434. *Arcobindus*, one of the Consuls for the year ensuing, was advanc'd to that Dignity, for over-coming the King of *Persia's* Champion in single Combat. The two Potentates, *Theodosius* and *Vararanes*, having agreed to decide all Differences between them, by the fortune of their Combatants; and that side whose Champion was Vanquish'd, was to pay the other Tribute.

An unhappy Accident fell out now in the Court of *Ravenna*, which afflicted them more than all their Losses by the *Vandals* in *Africk*. *Honoria* the Emperor's Sister, not being blest with the gift of Continence, offer'd her self in Marriage to *Attila* King of the *Huns*; who not making so much hast to oblige her, as her desires requir'd, she took *Eugenius*, Purveyor of her Household, to her Bed, and was by him got with Child. To prevent her Brother's chastising her Lover, or to reward the Services of her Galliant, she Conspir'd with him, to deprive *Valentinian* of his Dignity and Life. The Conspiracy being detected, the Emperor to make as little noise of the matter as possible, sent him to his Cousin *Theodosius*, to punish him as he thought fit.

435.

Peace made  
with the  
Vandals.

*Tigeti*, who on the defeat of *Aspar* and *Bonifac*, was sent into *Africa*, to prosecute the War with the *Vandals*, made a Peace with the *Barbarians*, to the great joy of the Citizens of *Rome*, who suffer'd very much by the interruption of their Trade to *Africk*. That part of it which lay about *Hippo*, and now makes the Kingdom of *Alger*, was assign'd to *Genferic*, the Son of *Gunderic*, and his Men to inhabit. *Aetius* also was very Successful in the War with the *Burgundians*, and oblig'd *Gundicarius* their King to sue for a Peace, which was concluded on terms very Honourable and Advantageous to the *Romans*.

Valenti-  
nian mar-  
ries The-  
odosius's  
Daughter  
Eudoxia.

*Valentinian* having settled the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire, in a good state of Tranquility, sent Embassadors to *Theodosius*, to demand his Daughter *Eudoxia* in Marriage: He had been betroth'd to her, when she was scarce twelve Months old; and *Theodosius* being ready to confirm the Contract, he went the next year to *Constantinople*, and marry'd her.

*Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, who had planted themselves in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*, by consent of the Emperor *Henorius*, again made War upon the Empire, and besieg'd *Narbonne*. *Litorius* with a good Army, march'd

to the relief of the City : He threw a great convoy of A. D. 436.  
Provisions into it ; and *Theodoric* finding the Siege was  
like to last a long while, was perswaded by *Avitus*, a  
Man of Quality and Interest among the *Arverni*, to  
raise the Siege, and return home. This year the Here-  
tick *Nestorius* dy'd, in the Desarts of *Oasis* : His Tongue  
that had Blasphem'd the Divinity of the Son of God,  
was eaten off by Worms, and he rotted to Death by  
the just Judgment of the Almighty.

The next year *Litorius*, General of *Valentinian's* Ar- 447.  
my in *Gaul*, made War upon the *Armoricans*, a Colony *The Ro-*  
of *Britains* ; who ever since the Reign of *Constantine* mans have  
the Great, had seated themselves in that part of *France*, Wars with  
which is now call'd *Bretagne*, or *Britany*. *Constantine* the Armo-  
carry'd some thousands of the Natives of *Britain* with ricans.  
him out of that Island, and incorporated them in his *The Ori-*  
Legions : To whom after they had serv'd him faithful- gins of this  
ly in his Wars, he gave that part of the Province of People.  
*Gaul*, which lies over against *Britain*, to Inhabit. *Max-*  
*imus* the Tyrant, in the Reign of *Valentinian* the Se-  
cond, conquer'd this People, and set *Conan*, Lord of  
*Denbighshire* over them ; whose Successors were grown so  
Powerful, that they became troublesom to the Empire.  
*Constantine* the Usurper, in the Reign of *Honorius*,  
drain'd the Island of *Britain* of all her Forces ; and from  
that time, the *Barbarians*, *Scots* and *Picts*, harraist the *Brit-*  
*ains* with perpetual Incursions, breaking down the For-  
tifications they had rais'd for their Defence ; and the *Ro-*  
*mans* seeing they were in no condition to protect the  
Natives, nor defend themselves, bury'd what Treasure  
they could not carry off, and left the Province, intend-  
ing never to return more, which we shall relate in its  
proper place more at large.

*Genferic* King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, being at lea-  
sure to hearken to the Instigation of his *Arian* Bishops,  
rais'd a terrible Persecution against the *Orthodox* *Chri-*  
*stians*, in which *Arcadius*, *Probus*, and other Noble *Spani-*  
*ards*, receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom.

The most Memorable thing which distinguishes the 438  
following year, is the Confirming and Publishing the *The Theo-*  
*Theodosian* Code. The Emperor enacting by an Edict, dosian Code  
that it should be decisive in all cases, as the Standard of publish'd.  
the Law.



**AD. 439.** The next year was unfortunate to *Litorius*, who had hitherto been Successful in *Gaul*. Presuming on his former Victories, and trusting to the Flattery of his *Aruspices* (for he was a *Pagan*) he follow'd *Theodoric* into his own Dominions, and laid Siege to *Toulouse*, his Capital City. *Theodoric* was so frighted with the boldness of the Enterprize, that he sent some of his Bishops to offer Peace, which *Litorius* refus'd. The *Goth* recollecting himself, muster'd all his Forces, fought him, defeated, and carry'd him Prisoner into *Toulouse*, where he hop'd to enter in Triumph. *Valentinian* immediately order'd *Ætius* to hasten towards the Frontiers of *Gallia Gothica*; so *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, were then call'd: And the approach of his Victorious *Romans*, had such good effect, that it not only kept the *Goths* within their own Bounds, but made them desirous of Peace, which was granted them by the Mediation of *Avitus*, *Præfectus Prætorio* in those Parts. *Genferic* in the mean time surpriz'd *Carthage*: Secure in the late Treaty concluded with him, he threw the Principal Citizens into Prison, and put 'em to all manner of Tortures, to force them to discover their Wealth. From thence, before the *Romans* could make Head against him, he pass'd over into *Sicily*, conquer'd the greatest part of the Island, plunder'd it, and then return'd to *Africa*; where he continu'd to persecute the Orthodox, expelling them their Churches, and putting *Arian* Priests in their Places: *Quod-vult Deus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, and most of his Clergy, he put naked a-board a leaky Vessel, expos'd to the fury of the Waves; yet by the special Providence of God, they all got safe to *Naples*: However, he did this Service to the Church, that he pull'd up Paganism by the roots in *Africk*, where it had endur'd the Shock of so many Edicts. He utterly Demolish'd the Temple of Memory, and the *Dea Cælestis* at *Carthage*, setting up his own Heresie in all places, subject to his Tyranny.

*Litorius*  
defeated by  
*Theode-*  
*ric, King*  
*of the*  
*Goths, and*  
*taken Pri-*  
*soner.*

Peace con-  
cluded by  
means of  
the Præ-  
fect *Avi-*  
*tus*.  
*Genferic*  
*King of the*  
*Vandals,*  
*takes Car-*  
*thage.*  
*Conquers*  
*part of Si-*  
*cily.*  
*Persecutes*  
*the Ortho-*  
*dox.*

Destroys  
*Paganism.*

*Paganism*  
made pe-  
nal by *The-*  
*odosius.*

*Theodosius* perceiving the *Pagans* were grown so bold, as to offer Sacrifice publickly, put forth an Edict against them, including all *Jews*, *Samaritans* and Hereticks, subjecting them to Pains and Forfeitures, which had not been usual in former Reigns.

Both the Emperors made preparations to carry on the War in *Africa*: *Sebastian* who marry'd *Boniface's* Daughter, commanded the *Roman Army* in that Province.

His

His Reputation aw'd *Genferic*; and had *Sebastian* im-  
prov'd the Enemies fears to his Advantage, he  
might have sav'd *Africk*, which the *Romans* lost soon  
after: Instead of this, he loyter'd away his time, and  
then came to a Treaty with the *Vandals*, who by good  
Words, and fair Promises, made him his Friend. *Gen-*  
*feric*, to engage *Sebastian* entirely in his Interest, en-  
deavour'd to pervert him to Arianism, which Heresie the  
other refusing to embrace, the *Barbarian* got him mur-  
der'd. *Theodosius* thought 'twas now high time for  
him to engage in the *African War*, and assist his  
Son-in-Law *Valentinian*, to clear the *Mauritania's* of the  
*Vandals*. He rais'd an Army, and gave the command  
of it to *Areobindus*, *Germanus*, and *Anaxillas*, who sail'd  
to *Sicily*, where they did little; and when they arriv'd  
in *Africa*, perform'd nothing answerable to what was  
expected from them: Only the terror of their Approach,  
and the appearance of such numerous Forces, gave *Gen-*  
*feric* so high an Idea of *Theodosius's* Power, that he sent  
Embassadors to *Constantinople*, to Negotiate a Peace,  
which was concluded the next year.

*Theodo-*  
*sius's Ge-*  
*nerals un-*  
*fortunate*  
*in Africa.*

In that which follow'd, the *Roman Empire* was dread-  
fully alarm'd with the Invasion of *Attila*, King of the  
*Huns*, who as we have related, drove the *Goths* and  
*Alans* out of their Dwellings, and follow'd them as far  
as *Pannonia*, where they had taken up their Abode.  
But seeing those whom they had thus forc'd from their  
Habitations, had possess'd themselves of better Countries,  
and were grown more formidable in the World, from  
base obscure Nations, being become two mighty and  
flourishing Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Gaul*; they resolv'd  
to follow them, and try to come in for a share of the  
fruitful and pleasant Provinces, of which the *Eastern*  
and *Western Empires* were compos'd. *Attila* and *Ble-*  
*da*, two Brothers, were Captains or Kings of this fierce  
People: *Attila* gathering together an infinite number of  
Men, past the *Ister*, pour'd into *Thrace* like a Deluge,  
and bore down all before him. At the same time *Bleda*  
invaded *Mæssa*, took *Naissus* and *Singidunum*, and the  
Emperor's Generals; *Arnegistus* and *John*, who were sent  
to oppose them, quarrelling among themselves. *John*  
was kill'd by the fraud of *Arnegistus*, to the unspeakable  
detriment of his Master's Affairs: 'Twas for this reason,  
*Theodosius* was oblig'd to consent to a Truce with *Genferic*,

441.

442.

*King of the*  
*Huns,*  
*invades*  
*Thrace.*

A.D. 442. *ric*, and to recal his Troops out of *Sicily* and *Africk*. The *Hunns* continu'd to rifle and wast the Provinces with more Rage and Cruelty, than either the *Goths* or *Vandals* had treated them before. *Areobindus* and *Aspar* were order'd to march against them, with the Forces that were newly arriv'd from *Africa*: *Attila* notwithstanding proceeded in his Conquests, and having destroy'd *Thrace*, he enter'd *Macedonia* and *Greece*, where he committed the same Spoil and Barbarity.

Valentinian makes Peace with the Vandals.

*Genferic* had nothing now to fear from the *East*, and to prevent any future trouble from the *West*, he apply'd himself to *Valentinian*, to treat with him, which the Emperor agreed to; and by the Articles of this Treaty, one of the Provinces of *Mauritania*, was yielded up to *Genferic*, who was to pay Tribute for it to *Valentinian*, and give up his Son *Honorius* as Hostage, for his performing the Condition of the Treaty.

443. *Attila* forces the Emperor *Theodosius* to pay him Tribute.

The next year produc'd no better turn of fortune to *Theodosius*, than the last. The Emperor finding his Arms were Unsuccessful, try'd how he could prevail with his Money: He offer'd *Attila* 6000 pound weight of Gold down, and 1000 pound more yearly, to quit his Territories. The *Barbarian* could not resist this Temptation; he accepted the Offer, receiv'd the Money, and repast the *Ister*, carrying with him a prodigious Booty, and one hundred and twenty thousand Captives.

The Irruptions of the *Hunns* were follow'd by Earthquakes, Tempests, Hurricanes, and portentous Prodigies; which in those times of Superstition and Ignorance, were lookt on as Presages of the terrible Storm, that a few years after tore up the foundations of the *Western* Empire, and shook the *Eastern* so violently, that it continu'd tottering till it follow'd the deplorable State of her Sister in the *West*, and was trodden under foot by *Barbarians* and *Infidels*.

444.

*Attila's* Insolence.

In the following year, *Attila* assum'd to himself the sole Monarchy of the *Hunns*, murder'd his Brother *Bleda*, and compell'd all the *Barbarians* on the Borders of the *Ister*, to submit to him. He call'd himself the Flail of God, affirming, *He was born to be the Scourge of Mankind, and the Destruction of Nations*; affecting a Tone, Gesture, and Mein, answerable to the Title he had taken upon him. Though he had made a Peace with *Theodosius*, yet he was meditating new Mischiefs, waiting

an opportunity to break it, or to invade the *Western* A.D. 444.  
Provinces.

We are sensible that some particular Years of this History will appear barren in Events, thro' the Distraction of the Times, which was so great that they are not transmitted to Posterity : We are forc'd to descend sometimes from the Character of General History to that of Annals, and find the Years distinguish'd by little more than the Names of the Consuls, which we shou'd have also mark'd, but that we were loath to alter the manner of the Author of the *Roman* History, whose Work we continue.

The Poor distress'd Inhabitants of *Britain*, two Years afterwards address themselves thus to the Consul *Ætius*.

446.  
The Britains implore aid of the Romans against the Scots and Picts.

To *Ætius* thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britains*.

The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us on the Barbarians, thus between two sorts of Deaths, we have our Throats cut or are drown'd.

They represented to him that 'twas below the Majesty of the *Roman* Empire to abandon them to the fury of their Enemies after they had been subject to her 500 Years. *Ætius's* Hands were full on the Continent : He had no Men to spare, and the wretched *Islanders* were necessitated to fly to the Mountains of *Wales*, to *Cornwal*, and *Britany* from the *Scots* and *Picts*, till recovering their Ancient Courage, seeing the *Romans* had deserted them, they chose a King of their own whose Name was *Vortigern*, and this Prince after he had maintain'd a long and doubtful War with the *Barbarians*, call'd in the *Saxons*, a Warlike Nation of *Germany* to his Assistance, who by force and fraud settled themselves in *Britain*, which is now no more to be reckon'd among the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire. The *Romans* never afterwards being in a condition to recover it.

The Romans lose Britain.

*Attila* pretending his Tribute was not duly paid by *Theodosius*, broke the Truce and invaded the Eastern Provinces, where he continu'd plundering and burning whatever lay in his way all this Year and part of the Next. *Anthemius* the Emperor's General, fell upon some stragling Parties of the *Hunns*, routed them, gave Battel to *Attila* near *Sardica* ; and tho' his Collegue *Ar-*  
*negistus*



A.D. 447. *negistus* deserted him, yet he obtain'd a Signal Victory, and oblig'd the *Barbarians* to come to Terms and conclude a Peace: One of the Conditions was, that the Traytor *Arnegistus* shou'd dye for his Treason; and Pursuant to the Treaty he was Hang'd.

*Attila again  
Invades  
the Eastern  
Empire.  
Is oblig'd  
to come to  
Terms.*

We have reported in the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign, how he had created his Sister *Pulcheria*, *Augusta*, and that by her Procurement *Athenais* or *Eudoxia* was marry'd to the Emperor. Let us now relate how the ungrateful Empress rewarded her for it, and by the example of *Athenais* demonstrate, that neither Beauty, Wit, nor Learning, with which this Princess was endow'd, can make amends for the one Sin of Ingratitude, so black in its Nature, that it renders Wit contemptible, and Beauty odious, and Sullies the Lustre of a thousand Virtues, if Virtue ever met in one Person with so detestable a Vice.

*Chrysaphius* the Emperor's Fav'rite Eunuch hated *Flavian*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and try'd all the ways his Cunning and Malice cou'd invent to remove him. But finding he was too well fix'd in the esteem of *Pulcheria*, he thought he shou'd never be able to accomplish his ends, unless he cou'd lessen *Pulcheria's* Power: To this purpose he insinuated to the Empress *Eudoxia*, that while *Pulcheria* was at the Helm, her Husband had but the Name of an Emperor, and her self was no more than the shadow of an Empress. *Eudoxia* hearing him often on this Subject grew jealous of her Benefactor, and at last by continual importunity prevail'd with the Emperor to part with his Sister, who had for almost 40 Years by her Wisdom and Care eas'd him of the Burthen of the Empire. *Theodosius* in compliance with his Wives Entreaties, order'd *Flavian* to make *Pulcheria* a Deaconness, a way that Princes made use of in those Days, to rid themselves and the World of such Ladies as had offended them. Something like the Modern Custom among Catholick Princes to shut them up in a Nunnery; for it answer'd the same design, and prevented their concerning themselves with worldly Affairs. *Flavian* gave the Princess notice of the Emperor's Order, and *Pulcheria* to avoid it retir'd from Court.

*The Empress* Not long after her departure, the Empress her self fell into disgrace on a very trivial accident: *Theodosius* had been presented with a Fruit of Extraordinary bigness, and

*Athenais  
or Eudoxia  
perswades  
the Empe-  
ror to for-  
bid Pul-  
cheria the  
Court.*

*The Empress  
falls into  
disgrace.*

and sent it as a rarity to *Eudoxia*, who gave it to *Paulinus* the Orator, whom she valu'd for his Learning and Eloquence. *Paulinus* carry'd it to the Emperor as something new and worthy his acceptance. *Theodosius* took it ill that the Empress shou'd make so slight of his Present, as to part with it to another. Concealing his resentment, he ask'd her what was become of the Fruit? *Eudoxia* fearing his displeasure if he knew she had giv'n it away, reply'd, she had eaten it; and the Emperor pressing her to be sincere in telling him what she had done with it, she confirm'd her first answer by an Oath, which put him in such a rage, that shewing her the Fruit, he commanded *Paulinus* to be Executed, and treated his Wife so scornfully, that she rather chose to remove to *Jerusalem* and spend her time in building of Churches, than live in a Court with contempt.

*Pulcheria* being gone out of the way, *Chrysaphius* thought he might easily remove *Flavian*; and 'twas not long before an opportunity presented to his wish. *Eutiches*, Abbot of a Monastery in *Constantinople* maintain'd, That there were two Natures in *Jesus Christ* before his Incarnation; that after there remain'd but one, which was the Eutichian Heresy. And as *Nestorius* asserted two Persons in *Christ Jesus* from his two Na-

tures, so *Eutiches* by a contrary reason concluded, That he had but one Nature, because he had but one Person. *Flavian* Summon'd a Synod at *Constantinople*, which Condemn'd *Eutiches's* Doctrine. The Abbot apply'd himself to *Chrysaphius* his Kinsman, by whose persuasions the Emperor call'd the second Council of *Ephesus*. They met in *August* in the Year of our Lord 449. And *Dioscorus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, a Friend of *Eutiches* was chosen President of it, and brought with him a Guard of Soldiers. *Eutiches's* Faction prevail'd here. This Synod which makes the fourth Oecumenical Council, approv'd of his Doctrine; 128 Fathers Sign'd it; *Flavian* was condemn'd, depos'd, and beaten to Death. *Theodosius* confirm'd the Synod's Decrees: The Pope's Legates were deny'd to be heard in defence of *Flavian*: The Pope himself was Excommunicated by *Dioscorus*, and the Bishops of his Party and the Council, was for this and other illegal Practices call'd an Assembly of Thieves. The Princess *Galla Placidia*, dy'd about the same time that the Synod sat at *Ephesus* in the Consulship of *Protagenes* and *Afterius*.

449.

The second  
general  
Council  
Of Ephesus  
being  
the 4th  
Oecumeni-  
cal Synod.

The Pope  
Excommu-  
nicated.  
Placidia  
dies.

A.D. 449. *Afterius*: She was a Lady of Prudence and Spirit; and tho' she sometimes betray'd the weakness of her Sex, and let the Woman prevail over the Politician, yet she held the Western Empire up by the force of her Wisdom and Courage: She maintain'd the Dignity of the Crown, restrain'd the Follies and Extravagancies of her Son, which as soon as she was gone, broke out to the ruin of himself and the Empire.

*Pulcheria* *returns to Court.* *Pulcheria* observing that *Chrysaphius* abus'd his Master's favour by oppressing his Subjects, particularly the Clergy, cou'd not endure to be a tame Spectator of her Brother's ruin; she left her retirement and return'd to Court, charg'd *Chrysaphius* for destroying *Flavian* out of Malice; convinc'd her Brother that *Eutiches* was a Notorious Heretick, and put him once more in a right way. He banish'd *Chrysaphius*, seiz'd his Estate, and severely reprov'd the Empress his Wife for joyning with the Eunuch to work *Flavian's* destruction, and make a difference between him and his Sister: Upon which as we have said elsewhere, she sunk lower and lower in her Husband's esteem till an accident happen'd, that turn'd her quite out of favour, and she retir'd to *Jerusalem*.

450.

*Theodo-*  
*Gus dyes.*

In this good disposition was the Emperor *Theodosius*, when it pleas'd God to take him to himself the 29th of *July* in the Year ensuing, *Valentinian* and *Avienus* being Consuls. Some Writers report that he dy'd of the Plague; others, that riding a Hunting, he fell from his Horse into the River *Albus* and dy'd the Night following, having Reign'd 42 Years and 3 Months and liv'd 49: He was Pious, Meek and Merciful; his only fault was an easiness or goodness of Nature, which render'd him too apt to be govern'd by others: When he fell into ill Hands the Empire suffer'd very much by it; but while he was guided by *Pulcheria's* Council, there were no complaints of Male-Administration.

### *Valentinian III. Martian.*

UPON the Death of *Theodosius*, the Sovereign Authority remain'd wholly in his Sister *Pulcheria*, who had before been declar'd *Augusta*. In her Brother's lifetime the weight of Publick business lay on her, yet every thing being done in his Name, it took off the odium of Female

Female Government, to which the *Romans* were naturally averſe. To prevent the ill conſequence of their diſlike of a Woman's Domination, ſhe reſolv'd to marry and to make choice of a Man, who contenting himſelf with the Name of Husband and Emperor, ſhou'd claim none of the Priviledges of her Bed, or her Throne. She Covenanted with him that her Virginity and her Authority ſhou'd not be touch'd, and 'tis eaſy to believe that the Perſon ſhe choſe readily conſented to the firſt Article, the Princeſs being above fifty Years of Age before ſhe thought of marrying.

The Man ſhe pitch'd upon was *Flavius Martianus* a *Thracian*, the Son of a Soldier, who following his Father's Profeſſion, had advanc'd himſelf by his Valour to the higheſt Poſts in the Army. He was many Years older than her ſelf, and therefore not likely to break the Conditions on which ſhe accepted of him for her Husband. 'Tis related that when he was taken Priſoner in *Africa* by *Genſeric* on the defeat of *Aſpar*, under whom he had a command, *Genſeric* perceiving an Eagle hover'd over his Head, as he lay aſleep in the Field among his fellow Priſoners, and cover'd him from the ſcorching Beams of the Sun; He took it for an Omen of his future Greatneſs, and to engage him to be his Friend, gave him his Liberty, and 200 pieces of Silver to defray his Charges to *Conſtantinople*. *Martian* in return promiſ'd that if ever he ſhou'd be ſo fortunate, as to have it in his Power to make War with the *Vandals*, he wou'd never break the Peace between them and the *Romans*. 'Tis ſaid *Pulcheria* conceal'd her Brother's Death till ſhe had effected her Deſigns, and on the 26th of *Auguſt* declar'd his deceaſe and her own Marriage to *Martian*, with whoſe Promotion the People were very well ſatisfy'd. *Valentinian* approv'd of it, and both Church and State were Indebted to the Empreſs for the Prudent choice ſhe had made.

*Martian's* firſt Care was for the Church. Three Days after he was Proclaim'd *Auguſtus*, he Publiſh'd an Ediſt againſt Hereticks, particularly *Eutiches* and his Followers. He reſtor'd all thoſe Biſhops that had been baniſh'd by the Council of *Ephesus* to their *Sees*, and Summon'd the fourth general Oecumenical and Orthodox Council to meet at *Nice* in *September*. But *Attila* invading *Illyria* the next Year, the Emperor cou'd not go ſo far from

Q

Conſtant



A.D. 450. *Constantinople* without prejudicing his Affairs in *Europe*: For which reason he adjourn'd the Synod to *Chalcedon*, where they met on the 8th of *October* in the following Year, *Martianus*, *Augustus* and *Adelphius* being Consuls. The Emperor and Empress assisted Personally at this Council, which consisted of 650 Fathers, and condemn'd the *Nestorian* and *Eutichean* Heresies. From the Council of *Nice*, held in the Reign of *Constantine* the Great to that of *Chalcedon* were 127 Years; from that of *Constantinople* under *Theodosius* the Great to the same Synod were 70 Years; from the first of *Ephesus* under *Theodosius* the younger to this of *Chalcedon* were 20 Years: And 'tis of these four general Orthodox Councils, that *Gregory* the Great writes in his Letters, *He receiv'd them, and rever'd them as he rever'd the 4 Gospels.*

451.

A decree  
against the  
Pope's su-  
premacy.

The sixth Day of the Synod's Session, the Emperor and Empress came into the Assembly and confirm'd their Decrees. The 28th Canon of this Council made the Bishop of *Constantinople* equal with that of *Rome*, which tho' Pope *Leo* Sirnam'd the Great, endeavour'd in vain to oppose, yet his own Legates, of whom *Hilarius* his Successor was one, consented to it, with the other Fathers whose Decrees had the Sanction of the Emperor's Confirmation, and there is nothing truer in History than that by the Canons of this Council, which Pope *Gregory* rever'd as he did the Gospel, The Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome* over all other Bishops is usurp'd and illegal.

Attila en-  
ters the  
Western  
Empire  
with  
700000  
Men.

We must now return into the West, where we find the *Roman* Empire threaten'd with irrecoverable ruin; for *Attila* at the Head of 700000 Men is marching into *Gaul*, accompany'd by *Andarich* King of the *Gepide*, and *Walamir* King of the *Ostrogoths*, a People that were tributary to the *Huns*, and liv'd under 'em in *Pannonia*; their Countrymen who settled in *Spain* and *France*, were distinguish'd from them by the Name of *Visigoths*. *Theodoric* King of this Nation, joyn'd his Forces with *Aetius* General of the *Roman* Army: The *Suevians* and *Mero-veus* King of the *Franks* did the same, being all resolv'd to forget their particular Quarrels, and unite themselves under the command of *Aetius* against *Attila* the common Enemy of Mankind. The *Hunn* met with little opposition till he came to *Orleans*, which City making a vigorous defence, *Aetius*, *Theodoric* and *Torismond* his Son, advanc'd with a Powerful Army to its relief, and oblig'd  
the

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the *Barbarians* to raise the Siege. *Attila* retir'd to the *A.D. 451.*  
*Campi Catalaunici*, the Plains of *Chalons* in *Burgundy*.  
*Ætius* march'd after him, resolving to give him Battel,  
 which the *Barbarian* was too Proud and too strong to  
 avoid. *Theodoric* commanded the Right Wing of the  
*Roman* and Confederate Army, *Ætius* the Left, and *Me-*  
*roveus* the main Body. *Wallamir* commanded the Left  
 Wing of *Attila's* Army, opposing the *Ostrogoths* to the  
*Visigoths*, and himself led the main Body. There was a  
 rising ground between both Armies, which *Attila* order'd  
 a Party of Men to possess : Against these *Ætius* sent a  
 detachment of his Forces, who engaging with the Ene-  
 my began the Battel, both Armies coming up to relieve  
 their Friends. The *Romans* made themselves Masters of  
 that advantageous Post, which mightily discourag'd the  
*Hunns* : However they fought resolutely all Day, and  
 continu'd fighting till Midnight. The Battel was obsti-  
 nate and bloody, neither Party yielded to the other for  
 fierceness of Courage ; but the *Romans* were better  
 skill'd in the Military Art, and kill'd an Infinite number *Attila*  
 of the *Barbarians*, no less than 180000 Men. *Attila* overcome  
 fearing the loss of so many of his Troops, wou'd end in by *Ætius*  
 an entire defeat, unless he prevented it in time, sounded the *Roman*  
 a retreat and retir'd behind some Works he had thrown *man Gen-  
 ral.*  
 up for the defence of his Camp, leaving *Ætius* Master of  
 the Field. The *Romans* and their Confederates did not  
 purchase the Victory at a cheap rate : *Theodoric* was slain  
 in the beginning of the Battel, and *Torismond* his Son  
 was so impatient to revenge the Death of his Father,  
 that he persu'd the *Hunns* to their Camp, was beaten off  
 his Horse, wounded in the Head, and with difficulty  
 brought off by his Men. *Attila* expected to be attack'd  
 in his Camp, and doubting the Issue of a second En-  
 gagement, had prepar'd a great Fire, resolving to leap  
 into it rather than fall into *Ætius's* Hands, whom he  
 mortally hated. *Ætius* warily entrench'd himself in his  
 Camp, and wou'd not be perswaded to fall on *Attila*,  
 tho' *Torismond* was very earnest with him to do it. But  
*Ætius* was jealous of the growing Greatness of the *Goths*,  
 and apprehensive, that if *Attila* had been entirely de-  
 feated, he might have to deal with a more formidable  
 Enemy in *Torismond*, and therefore he Politickly suffer'd  
 him to escape, and return to *Pannonia*, to awe the *Goths* *Attila res-  
 tures into*  
 and the *Franks*, who now began to make a Figure in the  
 World, *Pannonia.*

A.D. 451. World, from any attempts on the Empire : He highly extoll'd *Torismund's* Valour, but to divert him from Prosecuting his revenge, by pursuing the *Hunns*, he advis'd him to go immediately and take Possession of his Father's Dominions, representing the danger of deferring it, when he had such Powerful Neighbours as the *Suevians* and *Alans*, who waited for an opportunity to dispossess him. *Aetius's* Conduct might be thought Prudent by some, yet 'twas condemn'd by many that wish'd well to the *Roman* Empire ; and his Enemies at Court suggested to *Valentinian*, that having formerly held Correspondence with the *Hunns*, 'twas more than probable by his suffering *Attila* to march off without any interruption, that he continu'd it still with a Prospect of making use of his Friendship for his own ends : These Insinuations made a strong impression on the Emperor's mind, and dispos'd him to believe any thing that was said to his disadvantage, which ended in *Aetius's* ruin and his own.

452.  
*Attila* In-  
vades  
Italy.

*Venice*  
founded.

*Attila*  
takes and  
destroys ma-  
ny Cities.

*Attila* having recruited his Army in *Pannonia*, which was now call'd *Hungaria*, from the *Hunns* that had feared themselves there, resolv'd to try his Fortune once more against the Empire : He dreaded the *Goths*, *Franks*, and the other Confederates of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and thinking he shou'd have no such Enemies to cope with in *Italy*, he pass'd the *Danube* the next Year, drove the Garrisons from the Forts *Valentinian* had rais'd for the defence of the *Julian* Alps, enter'd *Friuli* and *Istria*, from whence the Inhabitants fled into the Islands of the *Adriatick*, where they had begun some Years before to provide themselves a Place of Security, and having lately had such frequent alarms from the *Barbarians*, found 'twas in vain for them to think that in this decadence of the Empire, they shou'd ever be safe on the Continent. So they took to building a City, which encreas'd by the destruction of *Aquileia*, *Attila* having taken it after a long Siege, and raz'd it to the ground : The new City was call'd *Venice* from *Venetia*, the Name of the Country about it : For about 200 Years 'twas govern'd by Consuls and Tribunes, then the Government was chang'd to a Doge and Senate, as at this Day. *Attila* met with a small resistance at *Concordia*, *Altino*, *Padua* and *Este*, all which he destroy'd, and then instead of going forward to do the same by *Rome* as he had threaten'd, he turn'd to the

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the Right, Plunder'd and Burnt *Treviſa, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Breſcia, and Bergamo*: From thence he paſt the *Adda*, enter'd *Lombardy*, the Ancient *Liguria*, riſed *Turin, Pavia, and Milan*, and level'd them with the ground. At *Milan*, finding a Picture of a Roman Emperor Painted ſitting on a Throne of Gold, the *Scythians* his Countrymen Proſtrate at his Feet, He order'd his own Picture to be drawn ſeated on his Throne, the two Roman Emperors carrying Sacks at their Backs, and pouring down Gold at his Feet. Towards Winter he croſt the *Po*, and treated after the ſame cruel manner *Placentia, Padua*, and other Cities in the Province of *Æmilia*, conſiſting at preſent of the Dutchies of *Parma, Modena, Ferrara*, the *Bologneſe*, and part of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*. Here he ſeem'd at a loſs what to do, whether to proceed to *Rome* or give Battel to *Ætius*, who was advancing towards the Borders of *Æmilia*, or follow the advice of his Principal Countellors, and march away with the Booty he had got. As he was in ſuſpence which of theſe reſolutions he ſhou'd put in Execution, *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, arriv'd in his Camp Embaſſador from *Valentinian*, and by the force and Charms of his Reaſon and Eloquence, ſoſten'd his ſavage temper, and perſwaded him to return Home on condition *Valentinian* paid him a Yearly Tribute, and ſent him *Honorio* his Siſter, who, we are told, invited him into the Empire to deliver her from the reſtraint ſhe was under, to prevent her bringing further diſhonour on the Imperial Family by her Lewd Courſes. As barbarous as *Attila* was, he however did not fall ſhort of our Modern Heroes in Gallantry, Swearing if the Emperor did not ſend him the Princeſs *Honorio*, he wou'd return and uſe *Italy* worſe than ever.

A D. 452.

Pope Leo prevails with him to ſpare Rome.

*Attila* being prevail'd with to quit his new Conqueſts, repaſt the *Danube* and march'd back into his own Dominions, where he had not been long before his reſtleſs rapacious humour put him upon new Adventures. He ſent to *Martian* to denounce War againſt him, if the Money *Theodoſius* agreed to pay him were not paid. *Martian* prepar'd to diſcharge the debt with an other ſort of Metal and Weapon than his Predeceſſor had done. *Attila* thinking he ſhou'd find eaſier Work in the Weſt, intended to fall upon the *Alans*, who had poſſeſt themſelves of a part of *Gaul* lying on the Banks of the *Loire*. *Torif-*

453.

He marches back.



A.D. 453. *mond* hearing which way he design'd to move, hasten'd to meet him, joyn'd the *Alans*, fought him, and forc'd him to return home again, as ingloriously as from the Plains of *Chalons*. From this time he grew remiss, and gave himself up to Idleness and Luxury. He had already many Wives, yet taking a fancy to a Beautiful Virgin, he marry'd her, and getting drunk at the Wedding Feast, he fell asleep, lying on his Back. Being us'd to bleed much at the Nose, the Blood for want of a Passage that way, pour'd down his Throat and choak'd him in the Year of our Lord 454. *Ætius* the fourth time, and *Studius* being Consuls.

*Attila dies  
of a de-  
bauch.*

454.

After the Death of *Attila*, *Andarich* King of the *Ge-pide*, shook off the Yoke, and asserted the liberty of his Nation, overcame *Attila's* Sons, who falling out about the Succession were taken at a disadvantage, and oblig'd them to content themselves with the old Habitations of the *Visigoths* on the Coasts of *Thrace*.

*Torismond* King of the *Goths* in *Gaul* returning home from his Victory over *Attila*, was murder'd by a Servant of his whom he commanded to let him blood. The Murderer did the fact at the Instigation of *Theodoric*, *Torismond's* Brother, and the chief of the *Gothick* Nation, who were weary of his severe Government.

*Torif-  
mond  
murder'd  
by his Sub-  
jects.*

This Year was fatal to *Ætius*, *Valentinian's* General, who was the only remaining Prop of the Western Empire; from whose Death we date her fall. The fate of *Rome* had a long while been preparing to give her the last terrible shake, which was to break her into as many Kingdoms as she had Provinces under her Dominion. The defence she had lately made seem'd like the strulings of a dying Man, and she was indeed now at the last gasp. But a few Years, and we shall hear of her no more.

The Emperor having no Mother to curb him, gave a loose to all his Vices and Passions, and hapning to fall in Love with a *Roman* Senator's Wife, a very Beautiful Lady, he contriv'd how to enjoy her. To this end he invited her Husband *Petronius Maximus*, descended from the Usurper *Maximus*, who was overthrown by *Theodosius* the Great, to an Entertainment, play'd with him, won all his Money at Dice, and then made him pawn his Ring for what he lost afterwards. The Ring was the only thing he wanted; he sent it privately to *Maximus's* Wife.

# Chap. V. Valentinian III. Martian.

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Wife as a token that she shou'd come and give the Em-  
 press *Eudoxia* a Visit : As soon as she came to the Palace,  
 she was seiz'd by some Persons that waited for that pur-  
 pose, and convey'd her to a private apartment, where  
*Valentinian* by force enjoy'd her. The injur'd Lady told  
 her Husband how she had been abus'd, curst him for  
 giving occasion to such mischief, and by Prayers and  
 Tears engag'd him to revenge her Honour and his own.  
*Maximus* enrag'd at the affront, promis'd her to take  
 Signal Vengeance for it, and to destroy the Ravisher.  
*Ætius* stood in his way, he was afraid of his Valour and  
 Experience in the business of the Field. To remove  
 him, he perswaded some of the Emperor's Eunuchs who  
 were his Friends, to insinuate to *Valentinian*, that *Ætius*  
 certainly intended to usurp. The Emperor giving Cre-  
 dit to their malicious suggestions, kill'd his Victorious  
 General with his own Hands, and in so doing did more  
 damage to his Empire, than if he had struck the Dagger  
 into his own Breast. He was so little apprehensive that  
 any thing wou'd come of *Ætius's* murder, that he prefer'd  
 several of the Army who heartily lov'd and respected  
 their General, to be of his Life Guard. *Maximus* gain'd  
*Ostila* and *Transila*, two of those Soldiers, by Presents  
 and Promises, to revenge the Death of their late Cap-  
 tain by serving *Valentinian* in the same manner ; which  
 they did not long defer : For on the 18th of *March* in  
 the Year ensuing, himself the Eighth time, and *An-  
 themius* being Consuls, they fell upon him as he was  
 mounting the Tribunal in the *Campus Martius*, to speak  
 to the Army. *Heraclius*, his chief Eunuch, endeavour-  
 ing to save his Master was kill'd with him. He dy'd in  
 the thirtieth Year of his Reign, and the 35th of his Age.  
 He was the last Emperor in whom appear'd any remains  
 of the *Roman* Majesty in the West. The Princes who  
 succeeded him in the Throne, were Upstarts and Usur-  
 pers, being like Apparitions, that Vanish as soon as they  
 are seen. In his time *Merovius* King of the *Franks* took  
*Paris*, and founded the Monarchy of *France*. *Africa*  
 was lost to the *Vandals*, *Suevi* and *Alans*. *Germany* and  
*Illyricum* to the *Burgundians* and *Hunns*. *Britain* to the  
*Saxons*, and almost all *Gaul* to the *Goths*, *Franks*, *Bur-  
 gundians* and *Alans*. The Empire of the West was so  
 crouded by her incroaching Neighbours, that she was  
 brought into the narrow compass of *Italy* and *Rhetia* ;

Valenti-  
 nian ra-  
 vishes  
 Maxi-  
 mus's  
 Wife.

Kills Æti-  
 us with his  
 own Hands.

Maximus  
 engages in  
 a Conspi-  
 racy  
 against  
 him.

455.  
 Valenti-  
 nian mur-  
 der'd.

The Mo-  
 narchy of  
 France  
 founded.

A.D. 455. and in no condition to maintain her old decay'd Dominion against so many young Vigorous Kingdoms, that had risen out of her Ruins.

## CHAP. V.

*From the Death of Valentinian the Third, the last Roman Emperor of the Theodosian Race, to the ruin of the Empire in the West in the Reign of Augustulus.*

*Containing the Space of 21 Years.*

*Martian. Maximus.*

Maximus  
assumes the  
Imperial  
Purple.  
Marries  
the Em-  
press Eu-  
doxia  
Valen-  
tinian's  
Widow.

Valentinian left no Relations to claim a divine right to the Crown, which made Maximus's way to the Throne the more easy. When he had Conspir'd his Death, he had thoughts of stepping into it; and seeing there was no body richer or greater than himself to dispute it with him, but *Martian* in the East, he suppos'd he had as good pretences to the Imperial Crown as the Husband of *Pulcheria*, and without staying for his approbation, assum'd the Title and Authority of *Augustus*. To secure himself in the possession of what he had seiz'd, he forc'd the Empress Dowager *Eudoxia* to marry him, his own Wife being lately Dead; and to gain her Affections after she was his Wife, he told her the whole Story of *Valentinian's* fate, flattering her, that it was for her sake that he contriv'd his Death. *Eudoxia* was so enrag'd to think 'twas on her account that her Dear Lord was murder'd, that her indifference towards her new Husband turn'd to an implacable hatred and burning to be reveng'd:

veng'd : She wrote to *Genferic* King of the *Vandals* A.D. 455.  
 in *Africk*, that the Emperor had been barbarously  
 butcher'd, the Empire seiz'd, and her own Person held *Eudoxia*  
 in Captivity by a Traytor, telling him 'twou'd be an *invites*  
 Act truly Royal, and worthy the Name of *Valentinian's* *Genferic*  
 Friend and Ally, If he wou'd by Arms vindicate the *King of the*  
 Majesty of *Rome*, which had suffer'd so great dishonour. *Vandals*  
*Genferic* had a long while wanted a fair occasion to make *into Italy*  
 an Expedition into *Italy* ; he rejoyc'd at this, and pre- *to revenge*  
 par'd to execute what *Eudoxia* desir'd of him, rather out *the Death*  
 of hopes of Plunder than a desire of revenge. *of Valen-*  
*tinian.*

*Maximus* was soon weary of the Sovereignty he had  
 acquir'd by the blood of his Prince. He began to com-  
 pare his former condition with his present, and to curse  
 the change : He was then Rich and Great, liv'd in full  
 enjoyment of all the good things which a vast Estate  
 cou'd procure. He had run thro' all sorts of Honours  
 and Offices below the Purple, and his Pleasures tasted  
 the sweeter, having the relish of a clear Conscience and  
 a fair Reputation. On the contrary, since his accession to  
 the Throne, his Guilt and Cares disturb'd him so much,  
 that neither his Mind nor Body cou'd ever be at rest.  
 Every thing about him was a Plague to him. He was  
 afraid of his Counsellors lest they shou'd betray him,  
 and of his Guards, lest they shou'd deal by him as they  
 had done by his Predecessor : In vain he sought for ease  
 on his Bed at Night. Sleep, a Friend only to Industry  
 and Innocence, fled from him, and left him expos'd to *Maximus*  
 all the horrors of guilt and remorse. The burthen of *repents of*  
 the Empire became insupportable to him, and he often *his usurpa-*  
 declar'd he envy'd the condition of *Damocles* the *Syracu-*  
*tion.*  
*sian*, whose Royalty continu'd only the length of one  
 Dinner : However fearing to quit what he had got by  
 such illegal methods, he put himself in a Posture to de-  
 fend it. *Valentinian* had two Daughters by *Eudoxia* ;  
 one of 'em he marry'd to his Son *Palladius Caesar*. He  
 made *Avitus* General of his Armies, and sent him into  
*Gaul* to conclude Alliances in his Name with the Neigh-  
 b'ring Crowns. By this means he imagin'd he had pro-  
 vided himself against any Forreign Troubles ; those that  
 most disturb'd him were the Strings of a guilty Consci-  
 ence, and his distraction was so visible that his Enemies  
 began to hope 'twou'd contribute to his fall.



**A.D. 455.** *Genferic* in the mean time Landed in *Italy* with an Army of *Vandals* and *Moors*, to the number of 300000, as some Authors affirm. His sudden and unexpected Invasion increas'd the Usurper's fears, and the Consternation he was in, preventing his Preparations to oppose the *Barbarians*. *Genferic* found an easy Passage to *Rome*; the City was in a terrible fright, and every Man was for flying with what he cou'd carry off out of *Genferic's* way. Among the rest *Maximus* endeavour'd to make his escape, which some of the Senators perceiving, they resolv'd that he who brought them into this danger shou'd be the first that suffer'd by it, and seeing his Guards had deserted him, they Ston'd him to Death. His Body they threw into the *Tyber*; and three Days after on the 12th of *June*, *Genferic* enter'd the City, and had not the Empress *Eudoxia* by her Tears and Prayers prevail'd on him to spare it, he had certainly burnt it to the ground: He Plunder'd all the Houses, took all the Gold and Silver Vessels out of the Churches; not sparing those that *Titus* had taken in the Temple of *Jerusalem*. These were recover'd by *Belisarius* in the Reign of *Justinian* the Great. *Genferic* carry'd the Empress Dowager, her two Daughters, *Placidia* and *Eudoxia*, and many thousand Prisoners to *Africa*. He gave the Princess *Placidia* in Marriage to his Son *Honoric*, sent the other to *Olybrius* a Roman, to whom she had been betroth'd, and kept the Empress for himself.

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tors.  
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ders it.  
  
*Marries*  
the Empress  
*Eudoxia*.

### *Martian, Avitus.*

**M***Artian* was so Old and Infirm that he cou'd only lament the ill fate of *Rome*; and tho' the Senate desir'd him to name a new Emperor, yet he did not care to give himself any trouble in the matter. *Flavius Eparchius Avitus*, *Maximus's* General, was a Man of great Interest in *Gaul*, and there by the Procurement of *Theodoric* King of the *Goths*, he was prevail'd with to accept of the Title of *Augustus*, which the Army gave him the 10th of *July*. He was a Person that deserv'd the Dignity as well as any Man, being a good Soldier, a good Statesman, Noble, Eloquent and Learned. He was promoted much against his will; yet when he was in possession of the Sovereignty, he notify'd his advancement

ment to the Senate, and apply'd himself diligently to A.D. 455. provide for the necessities of the Government.

The *Franks* began to enlarge their Bounds, and extend their Conquests on the other side of the *Loire*. To prevent their Incurfions, he fortify'd the Banks of that River, and enter'd into a League with *Theodoric*, by which the *Goths* was oblig'd to defend the little the *Romans* had left in *Spain*, against *Riccar* King of the *Suevians*, who aim'd to make himself Sole Monarch of that Province.

*Avitus* having settled his Affairs in *Gaul*, march'd to- *Avitus de-*  
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People, that imagining he shou'd have no occasion for  
the *Goths*, his Friends and Allies, he dismiss'd them. The  
Senate were glad that he had expos'd himself by it to  
their Resentment; for hating him, either because *Maxi-*  
*mus* prefer'd him, or for his Luxurious Life, they expell'd  
him the City, and oblig'd him to abdicate the Empire.

*Avitus* retir'd with a few of his Followers to *Piacenza*  
in the Dutchy of *Milan*, where he was made Bishop of  
the Diocess, in hopes that his Episcopal Office wou'd  
Protect him from danger; but finding the Senate wou'd  
not suffer him to stay there in safety, he intended to  
fly for Sanctuary to the Church of *St. Julian* in *Au-*  
*vergne*, the Place of his Birth, but dy'd on the Road.  
He wore the Imperial Purple 10 Months, being degrad-  
ed the 17th of *May* following, his Promotion in the  
Consulship of *John* and *Varanes*.

456.

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A.D. 456. proving the opportunity put into his Hands, by the absence of the *Romans* and *Goths*, to encroach on his Neighbours, settled the Foundations of the *French* Monarchy on so firm a Basis, that it has stood ever since, and continues flourishing to this Day.

The Emperor *Martian*, hearing *Genferic* had offer'd further Violence to the Empire, by driving the *Romans* out of the few Places that remain'd under their obedience in *Africk*, and adding them to his own Territories, prepar'd to revenge the Affronts the Majesty of *Rome* had receiv'd from the barbarous *Vandals*. But Providence had decreed that the Dominion of the World shou'd fall into other Hands, and all the Efforts that were made or making to recover the Languishing Estate of the Empire, were abortive and ineffectual. She was reduc'd so low that her Sovereignty which was formerly so Glorious and Powerful, was now the Pity or Contempt of Mankind. In this miserable distressed Condition of her Affairs, there were few Persons who were not in as miserable and desperate Estate themselves, that wou'd part with the Happiness of a private Life for the Impotent Honours of a dying Monarchy. And when *Martian* thought most of exerting the force of the Eastern Provinces for the Protection of the Western, God who had otherwise dispos'd of the *Roman* Empire, took him to himself the 26th of *January*. *Constantine* and *Rufus* being Consuls, in the 7th Year of his Reign and the 65th of his Age.

*Martian*  
dies.

457.

*His Character.*

He was a Prince endow'd with many excellent Qualities and Virtues. He was careful to preserve a good Correspondence between the Senate and the Army, and to maintain the Treaties he made with Foreign Powers. He is particularly commended for his Piety, Zeal, Charity and Chastity. Happy had it been for both Empires, had he mounted the Throne sooner, or liv'd longer. The Army and the People were in such a good disposition when he dy'd, that there were no Tumults or Disputes about the Succession. The Senate unanimously chose *Leo*, a *Thracian*, who soon after his Promotion, turn'd his thoughts to provide for the Peace and Safety of the West, by placing a proper Person over what remain'd under the Power of the *Romans* in those Provinces: The Man he made choice of was *Julius Valerius Majorianus*, *Magister Militum*, whom he sent into *Italy* with recommendatory

Letters

Letters to the Senate, and a Noble Train to accompany him. Upon his arrival in the Province, he was by consent of the Senate Proclaim'd *Augustus*. A.D. 457.

*Leo. Majorianus.*

THE beginning of *Majorianus's* Reign answer'd the expectation the People had of him from *Leo's* commendation. *Ricimer* his General in *Italy* repulst the *Vandals* that were making attempts on the Coasts of *Campania*, and *Bauto*, who commanded his Army in *Rhetia*, drove the *Germans* out of that Province which they were Robbing and Spoiling. The new Emperor encourag'd by *Ricimer's* Success in repelling the *Vandals*, Transported himself and a considerable Army into *Africa*, if possible, to recover those Provinces out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*. To discover the strength of the Enemy, and the disposition of the Inhabitants to the *Roman* Government, he is said to have disguis'd himself, and acting the Person of an Embassador, to go with Proposals of Peace to *Genferic*, who receiv'd him Honourably; and when he had taken a View of the Treasure and Magazine of *Carthage*, he return'd to his Army and march'd towards the City, to which he laid Siege; yet tho' he push'd it on with all possible Vigour he cou'd not prevail, and with fatigue or discontent falling Sick, he was forc'd to give over the thoughts of reducing it, to reimbarc his Troops and Sail back to *Italy*. Majorianus makes War with Genferic in Africa.

448.

We have related how *Theodoric* had subdu'd the *Suevi* in *Spain*, pursuant to his agreement with *Avitus* who was his Friend. And the *Goth* was so angry with the *Romans* for treating him so ill, that he broke the Peace with them, sack'd their Cities, past the *Rosne*, took and rassist *Lyons*, and threaten'd to deal as severely by the rest of their remaining Cities in *Gaul*. *Majorianus* sent a powerful Army to oppose him, and *Theodoric* apprehensive of the Consequences of carrying on a War with so brave and active a Prince, made some steps towards a Treaty which was agreed to and ended in a Peace. Theodoric King of the Visigoths takes Lyons.

The next Year, the Consulate of *Ricimer* and *Sigonius*, was famous for nothing but the Session of the Synod of *Constantinople*, at which Pope *Leo's* Legates assisted, and the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon* were again solemnly 450. Concludes a Peace with Majorianus.

A.D. 459. lemnly confirm'd ; which is an argument, the Champions of the Papacy can never get over, That the Church of Rome by her own consent is no more than the Church of Constantinople, and consequently less than a general Council, or a Metropolitan Synod : Of course then her pretence to Infallibility has no more right according to the Canons of the Primitive Councils, than her claim to Sovereignty in temporal matters, is warranted by a donation of Constantine the Great : For now that it is above one hundred and twenty Years since the Death of Constantine, we read of no other chief Governours in Rome, but Emperors, Consuls and Præfects ; and 'twill be many hundred Years before we shall find the Pope mounted from the Chair of St. Peter to the Throne of Augustus.

460.

There is very little remarkable in the following Year, and the Roman History grows more mean and barren of Events, as her Empire draws towards her dissolution. Majorianus, if we may believe some Authors in opposition to others his Contemporaries, or who wrote not long afterwards, went into Spain and entirely reduc'd Lusitania to his obedience. He then equip'd the Imperial Navy, designing once more to pass over into Africk, of which Genseric being inform'd, he presently sent out part of his Fleet to surprize the Romans. The Vandals came upon them unware, and burnt 300 of their Ships in the Port of Carthagena. This disappointment oblig'd the Emperor to think of some other Expedition : So he march'd into Gaul against the Alans, who posselt a small part of that Province bordering on Liguria. These Intruders as well as their Neighbours thought to make their advantage of the weakness of the Empire, and invaded Italy. Majorianus follow'd close after them, and the Barbarians return'd home not over-loaden with Booty: When he arriv'd at Tortona in the Dutchy of Milan, Ricimer the Goth, who had Conspir'd with Severus to destroy him, waited on him with a Body of the Army which he commanded, pretending to come to his assistance, forc'd him to resign the imperial Purple, and then murder'd him near the River Hyra, the 1st of August in the fifth Year of his Reign, Severinus and Dagalaiphus being Consuls, A. D. 461.

Ricimer  
kills Majorianus.

The wound Ricimer gave Majorianus was to the Empire, like a wound giv'n to a Man just recovering from the Agonies of Death. This Prince had so many good Qualities,

Qualities, as Learning, Industry, Courage, Experience, A.D. 460.  
Honour and Ambition, that had not the fate of Old  
*Rome* follow'd close on her Heels, and put it into the  
Head of the Traytor *Ricimer* to remove him, even  
now there were hopes that her Imperial Crown might  
yet flourish, and her fading Laurels revive. Her En-  
emies were not quite warm in their Seats. She had still  
Men enough in *Rome, Italy* and *Rhetia*, in the remain-  
ders of her Territories in *Gaul* and *Spain*, to furnish her  
with Troops sufficient to maintain her Dignity. *Rome*  
was not yet so drain'd, but it cou'd raise plentiful supplies  
for the defence of her Sovereignty, if so great and so  
good a Prince as *Majorianus* had liv'd to have put his  
high designs in Execution.

After his Death, *Ricimer* got *Severus* to be declar'd  
Emperor by the Army: He cou'd not pretend to that  
Exalted Station, himself being a *Barbarian*, and he was *Sets up Se-*  
no longer true to his Friend, than he thought 'twas for *verus.*  
his Interest.

### Leo, Severus.

THE New Emperor *Severus* without staying for *Leo's*  
approbation took upon him the Sovereign Autho-  
rity, and invaded the Consulship for the following Year. 462.  
*Genferic* renew'd the Hostilities against the Empire, and  
attack'd the Islands in the *Mediterranean* adjoining to  
*Africa*. *Ricimer* oppos'd him with Success. *Theodoric*  
began a new War with the *Romans*, and was more for-  
tunate in this than in the last; for having debauch'd one  
of their Officers, he betray'd the Populous and Wealthy  
City of *Narbonne* into his Hands.

*Theodo-  
ric breaks  
the Peace,  
takes Nar-  
bonne.*

In the East another *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths*,  
who had possess'd themselves of *Pannonia*, to remain quiet  
in his Territories, was to receive a certain Summ yearly  
from the Emperor, which *Leo* the present Monarch re-  
fusing to pay, he sent his Embassadors to demand it, and  
if satisfaction was deny'd, to denounce War. The Em-  
bassadors being disgusted with their reception at the  
Emperor's Court, return'd home and complain'd of it to  
their Master, who in revenge invaded *Illyricum*, and *Leo*  
to put a stop to the Progress of the *Barbarians*, was com-  
pell'd to pay the Arrears of the Tribute, for it deserves  
no *Illy-*  
no *ricum.*

*The Osto-  
goths in-  
vade Illy-*



A.D. 409. no other Name, on condition the *Goths* quitted his Dominions, and engag'd not to disturb him again. For performance of the Treaty on the Payment of the Money, they deliver'd up *Theoderic* the Son of *Theodomir* in hostage, who improv'd his time at *Constantinople* in the Studies of the Arts of War and Peace.

Are bought  
off.

This Year *Childeric* King of *France* or the *Franks*, was turn'd out of his Kingdom by his Subjects for his Lewdness and Cruelty. His Realm consisted of the *Lower-Palatinate*, *Alsace*, *Lorrain*, *Champaign*, *Burgundy*, the 17 Provinces, promiscuously call'd *Flanders* and *Holland*, and the Country of *Gaul*, as far as the *Loire*, except *Bretagne* and part of *Normandy*, which were under Princes of their own, and made the Kingdom of *Armorica*. Thus we see that *France* in a few Years was grown to be a mighty Nation, and in a condition to support it self, when the rest of the Kingdoms that were founded out of the Ruins of the *Roman Empire*, declin'd by degrees, and soon follow'd the fate of the Monarchy they destroy'd. That of *France* became greater and greater in every succeeding Age, till it last it assum'd the Empire of the West.

463.

In the Year following, *Leo* made his Son in Law *Zeno* Vicegerent of all his Dominions: He had marry'd the Emperor's Daughter *Ariana*, and from *Isauria*, the Place of his Birth, was Sirnam'd *Isauricus*. He was deform'd in Mind and Body, the ill shape and crooked form of the one bearing a resemblance to the ill disposition and severity of the other: We must leave him a while, and proceed to the Affairs of the West, which are drawing nearer every Year to a Catastrophe.

464.  
Ricimer  
defeats the  
Alans.

*Georgas* King of the *Alans* invaded *Liguria*, and put all to Fire and Sword, till *Ricimer* meeting him near *Bergamo*, fought, defeated and kill'd him in Battle. Whether the Empire had reason to rejoyce or grieve for this Victory, is a question that cannot easily to be decided. For *Ricimer* grew so insolent on his Success, that he despis'd the Emperor *Severus* as a Creature of his own making; and knowing 'twas in his Power to pull him down with as little difficulty as he set him up, he treated him with so much contempt, that others following his Example, the Poor Emperor was in a worse condition than the meanest of his Subjects, not daring to act in any thing without *Ricimer's* Permission; and when the latter was quite weary of him, he remov'd him out of the

the way by Poyson in the fifth Year of his Reign, *Bassiscus* and *Hermenerick* being Consuls. A.D. 465.  
Poysons Se-  
verus.

Some Months before his Death, the City of *Constantinople* was almost wholly consum'd to ashes by a dreadful fire, which burnt 6 Days without Intermission. This Judgment was follow'd by Earthquakes, Hurricanes, and other terrible Convulsions of Nature in the East, which were look'd on as Presages of the downfall of the Western Empire, whose end is not now afar off.

### Leo.

THE *Vandals* being very troublesome to the Romans by their Piracies in the *Mediterranean*, the Senate and People of *Rome* began to feel the want of their late Sovereign *Severus*, who tho' he came to the Crown by indirect methods, was very careful in the Administration of the publick Affairs, and mindful of the Interest of the Common-wealth, which render'd his Government easy to his Subjects. 466,

'Tis reported that *Ricimer* himself fearing the ill effects of their resentment, joyn'd with the Senate in an Address to *Leo*, to send them such another Prince as *Majorianus*, or else in a short time *Rome*, that once was Mistress of the World, wou'd be a prey to the Neighbouring *Barbarians*. The Emperor prefer'd *Flavius Anthemius* to the Imperial Dignity: He was General of his Armies, and had been fortunate in a War with the *Huns*: He marry'd *Euphemia*, Daughter to the Emperor *Martian* by his first Wife: He pretended to be related to the *Constantine* Family, as descending from *Procopius*, *Julian's* Cousin, who usurp'd in the Reign of *Valentinian* the First.

This Year was remarkable, for that there was neither Emperor nor Consul in the West. On the 12th of April in that which follows, *Anthemius*, was with Universal Applause Proclaim'd *Augustus* at *Rome*. To engage *Ricimer's* Fidelity, he gave him his Daughter *Perennis* in Marriage, and in the same Year his own Son *Martian* was marry'd to *Lenotia* Daughter of *Leontia*. 467.  
Anthe-  
mius Pro-  
claim'd  
Emperor at  
Rome.

## Leo. Anthemius.

BY these Alliances 'twas hop'd the Empire wou'd have been strengthen'd; but *Ricimer's* turbulent humour uncapable of Controul, soon destroy'd all these hopes, and hasten'd her approaching Fate.

468.

The *Roman* Power was sunk so low, that *Seronatus* Præfect of *Gaul* openly sided with the *Barbarians*, and fearing no Punishment intended, to deliver up the remaining part of that Province to the *Goths*; but the People seiz'd him, and being Convicted of Treason he was put to death.

Leo sends  
Basiliscus  
against  
Genferic.

*Genferic* resenting that *Olybrius* was not made Emperor of the West, at his request began to infest the Coasts of *Illyricum* and *Greece*, which being under the Government of the Emperor *Leo*, he resolv'd to Chastise the Insolence of the *Vandals*, and fitting out an Infinite number of Ships, he gave the command of the Fleet and of the Land Army that was put aboard, it consisting of 100000 Men, to *Basiliscus* his Wife's Brother: The promoting this Man to so high a Post was the ruin of the Expedition. *Basiliscus* was an intimate Friend of *Aspar*, and the latter had such a Powerful faction in the East, that had he not been an *Arian*, he had succeeded *Martian* in the Throne. He joyn'd his Interest with *Leo's* at the Election of a New Emperor, and thinking *Leo* had not done enough in return for such an obligation, he grew a Male-Content and flatter'd *Basiliscus's* Ambition with hopes, that the same Interest which advanc'd *Leo* might raise him to the Sovereignty. Some Writers report, that 'twas concerted between *Aspar* and *Basiliscus* to spare *Genferic* and the *Vandals*, to weaken *Leo's* Power, who, they were afraid, wou'd become too strong for them if he thou'd beat the *Vandals* out of *Africk*. He having already driv'n 'em out of *Sardinia*.

*Marcellianus* a Friend of *Ætius*, ever since that General's Death had liv'd in *Dalmatia*, and having drawn many Souldiers and others to revolt, he held that Province in subjection by their assistance. The Western Empire had been so weaken'd by the late distractions, that none of the Emperors since *Valentinian* the Third durst attack him. *Leo* by good Words brought him into a good humour,

mour, perswaded him to enter into his Service, and sent A.D. 468. him to *Sardinia* to expel the *Vandals*, which he perform'd.

*Heraclius*, another of *Leo's* Commanders Landed in *Africa* near *Tripolis*, overthrew the *Barbarians* in Battel, took that City and march'd his Army to *Carthage*: He was before the Place when *Basiliscus* arriv'd with the rest of the Forces. The Traytor fearing if he sent him supplies the War wou'd be brought to a speedy end, the *Vandals* being in great Consternation on the defeat of their Army, and the loss of *Tripolis*, instead of reinforcing *Heraclius* to press the Siege of *Carthage*, he loiter'd away his time at a Town call'd *Mercury*, seven Leagues off.

*Basiliscus*  
proves a  
Traytor,

*Anthemius* on his part made the necessary Preparations to assist his Collegue, in which he was privately oppos'd by *Olybrius*, for whom *Genferic* had promis'd to procure the Empire of the West. The latter perceiving *Basiliscus* by his negligence or Treason, had giv'n him an opportunity to free himself from the danger which threaten'd him, rais'd what Forces he cou'd, Mann'd out his Fleet, and to amuse *Basiliscus*, sent to him to desire a Truce for five Days, that he might consider whether he shou'd submit to the Emperor or continue the War. *Basiliscus* presently granted what he desir'd, and liv'd in so great Security, that the Enemy had an easy task to destroy his Ships and put an end to his Enterprize. The *Vandals* in the Night-time when the *Romans* were asleep, bore down upon the Imperial Navy, and setting some light Vessels on fire, let them drive with full Sail and a fair Wind amidst the *Roman Fleet*, which 'tis said, consisted of no less than 1000 Ships. The Vessels that were set on fire falling in among such a Multitude, spread the flames on all sides of the Enemies Navy, and the *Roman* Admiral in a fright, tack'd about and sheer'd off with all the Sail he cou'd make. The rest of the Fleet made after him, and the *Vandals* easily defeated the Land Army, deserted by the Admiral and the Ships that were to wait upon their motions, and assist them as occasion requir'd. *Basiliscus* on his arrival at *Constantinople*, took Sanctuary in the Church of *St. Sophia*; the Empress procur'd his Pardon, and he was permitted to retire to his Country House.

His Fleet  
destroy'd by  
the *Vandals*.

He is Pardon'd.



A.D. 468. The defeat of the *Romans* in *Africk*, discourag'd the Subjects of the Empire, and made *Genferic* more bold: He Transported an Army into *Sicily*, where *Marcellianus* after the reduction of *Sardinia*, Landed and proceeded with good Success, but being now over-power'd by the *Vandals*, he was forc'd to retreat to his Ships and return home. Thus was the Mighty design of *Leo*, which had so hopeful a Prospect in the beginning, frustrated, and the *Romans* despair'd of ever recovering their Dominion over the *Mauritanias*. 'Twas all owing to the Treachery of *Aspar*, who being himself an *Arian*, favour'd *Genferic*, the Patron of that damnable Heresie. So Presumptuous was he grown on *Leo's* Losses in *Africk*, and the Powerfulness of the *Arian* Faction in the Army, that finding the Emperor neglected to make his Son *Cesar*, as he promis'd to do before his accession to the Throne, he took hold of his Robe and told him! 'Twas

*Aspar's Insolence.* *shameful for an Emperor to Lye. Leo reply'd, neither ought he to be compell'd to do what would be a detriment to the State.*

469.  
His Son  
made Cæ-  
sar.

They both  
fly to San-  
ctuary at  
Chalce-  
don.

'Are per-  
swaded to  
return to  
Court.

*Aspar* reply'd, *neither ought he to be compell'd to do what would be a detriment to the State.* However so prevalent was *Aspar's* Party in the Army, that notwithstanding the Emperor had intelligence of their Correspondence with *Genferic*, yet he was oblig'd to dissemble, and the next Year to create his Son *Patricius, Cesar*. On the promotion of an *Arian* to that Honour, several commotions happen'd at *Constantinople*, by which *Aspar* perceiving he could not carry his Point to get the Empire for his Son while he profess'd that Heresy, both he and his Son renounc'd it, and pretended to embrace the Orthodox Faith: The favour shewn to his Family did not hinder *Aspar's* Conspiring to destroy the Emperor *Leo*, and hasten the Reign of his Son. The Citizens of *Constantinople* saw what he drove at, and were provok'd by it so far as to insult him and his Son in the *Hippodrome*, which so terrify'd them, that they took Sanctuary in the Church of *St. Euphemia* in *Chalcedon*. The Emperor sent *Gennadius* Bishop of *Constantinople* to assure them of Protection if they would return to Court: They refus'd it, unless *Leo* would fetch them in Person and defend them from the fury of the People. The Emperor did as they desir'd, took them home with him, made 'em eat at his Table, and promis'd to forget all Injuries: But being inform'd, that both the Father and the Son had said, *That they might not be the Lyon's Prey, they must destroy him.* To provide for

for his own safety, he order'd *Zeno* to cut off their Heads as they were making use of the Baths in his Pallace. There is a great difference among the Writers of *Roman* History relating to this event : Some report it in this manner ; others say, that *Patricius Caesar* was only banish'd, and that 'twas his Brother *Ardaburius*, whose Head was cut off with his Father's. Neither do the Authors agree better about *Zeno's* Marriage, some of them affirm, he marry'd *Leo's* Daughter as a reward for his Service in killing *Aspar* ; others place his Marriage several Years back, whose Authority we have follow'd.

Both be-  
headed.

*Ricimer* resented the death of *Aspar* on account of his Religion, which was the same with his own, and two Years afterwards broke out into Rebellion to revenge it on *Anthemius*, whom *Leo* had prefer'd to the Empire of the West : The *Arian* Faction was so strong, that most of the Great Officers of the Crown were Hereticks. *Euric* King of the *Goths*, and *Genferic* King of the *Vandals*, Persecuted the Orthodox in *Gaul* and *Africk*. *Ricimer* in *Rome* favour'd only such as were Professors of that Heresy. The *Goth* had often affronted *Anthemius*, who was not of so passive a temper as *Severus*. He more than once express'd his resentment, and *Ricimer* fled to *Milan* to avoid the effects of it. *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia*, to prevent the fatal Consequences of a Rupture between the Emperor and his Son in Law, negotiated a reconciliation. *Ricimer* seem'd willing enough to comply on his part with what was reasonable, but *Anthemius* knew his dissimulation too well to trust him ; yet not to have the blame of a civil War lye at his Door, he dispatch'd away the Bishop who came to him with Proposals of an accommodation to *Ricimer*, to assure him he was ready and willing to live in Peace with him. Both Parties continu'd in this amicable disposition for almost a whole Year, and then *Ricimer* throwing off the Mask of Peace, broke out into an open rupture, march'd towards *Rome* with a Powerful Army, and besieg'd *Anthemius* in the City. The Citizens wish'd well to their Emperor whose Cause was best, and were in hopes that *Bilimir* the *Goth*, who was marching with a considerable body of Troops to relieve *Anthemius*, wou'd compel *Ricimer* to raise the Siege. The latter was not at all discourag'd at the approach of these Auxiliaries ; He met them, gave them Battel, kill'd *Bilimir* and put his Army to flight.

471.  
*Ricimer*  
is afraid of  
*Anthemius*.

Peace made  
between  
them.

*Ricimer*  
breaks it.

Routs *Bilimir*, *Anthemius* ;  
Confederates  
And, &c.

**A.D. 471.** And now the Citizens of *Rome* were so dishearten'd that they made a weak defence, which *Ricimer* observing, push'd on his attacks with the greater Vigour and broke into the City, where he committed as horrible Acts of Blood and Rapin, as *Alaric* or *Genferic*, or any of the profest Enemies of the Empire: Forgetting his duty to *Anthemius* as he was his Subject and Son in Law, he commanded him to be put to death; the Third Emperor that this Inhumane *Barbarian* had murder'd. He set up *Olybrius* in his Place, who in gratitude made his Nephew *Gundibarius* a Patrician, an Office created by *Constantine* the Great, and of so great Honour that the Patrician had precedence of the *Præfectus Prætorio*. *Anthemius* was murder'd in the 6th Year of his Reign, *Festus* and *Martian* being Consuls, and was the last Emperor of the West that was acknowledg'd by the Eastern Emperor.

*Besieges  
and takes  
Rome.  
Puts the  
Emperor to  
Death.*

### Leo. Olybrius.

**W**HEN *Leo* heard of the Death of *Anthemius*, he thought of sending a Successor into *Italy*; but those that had been lately sent thither on the same errand, had met with such bad fortune that few were fond of a Crown, which was attended with so many Difficulties and Perils.

*Olybrius* dy'd, or as some say was kill'd by the *Goths* a Month after he was declar'd Emperor, and *Ricimer* that infamous Traytor, and Parricide dy'd a few Days before him. In his room arose his Nephew *Gundibarius*, pretending to the same Power in the Government which his Unkle had Usurp'd: He took on him the disposal of the Vacant Throne, and Prefer'd *Glycerius*, Lord Steward of the Household to the Purple, taking no notice of *Julius Nepos*, the Son of *Nepotianus*, to whom *Leo* had marry'd his Niece, and whom he had design'd *Cæsar*.

These Revolutions in *Italy* were the last Agonies of an expiring Empire, like the Convulsive Pangs of a dying Man, and 'twas not difficult for the Neighbing Kings to guess, that her hour was at hand; for this reason all of them were for getting in to have a share of her Spoils.

Leo. *Glycerius*.

**T**heodmir and Widimir two Brothers, Kings of the Ostrogoths invaded Italy and Illyricum, and neither Leo nor Glycerius were able to clear their Dominions of the Barbarians, without making use of the late Scandalous Practice unknown to the old Romans, of buying a Peace, or soothing their Enemies by good Words and fair Promises to leave their Territories. Glycerius by his Ambassador perswaded Widimir to march into Gaul, and joyn himself with his Countrymen the Visigoths, that together they might make themselves Masters of Gaul and Spain, and tho' the Franks were too Powerful for 'em in Gaul, yet they brought the entire Province of Spain under the Gothick Dominion. To Theodmir, Leo, besides Rich Presents which he gave him, resign'd the Eastern Part of Illyricum: The Goth contented with what he had got, return'd home. 'Twas the nature of the Goths to ramble and rifle; they chose rather to live by Plunder than Industry, and made War only for subsistence, which they were too lazy to get by labour: When their Booty was spent, they starv'd, and till they wanted again they lay quiet. Theodmir returning into Pannonia fell Sick, and calling his Principal Officers about him, he declar'd Theodoric his Successor and then dy'd: We shall have occasion to speak largely of Theodoric hereafter. Leo the Son of Ariana and Zeno was Born this Year; his Grand-father immediately made him Augustus, but he did not enjoy the Honour above ten Months, not living long enough to be sensible of what he got by his Birth, or lost by his Death. The Emperor Leo himself dy'd in the beginning of the following Year, the Eighteenth of his Reign, for which there is no other Consul mention'd than the Infant Leo, who surviv'd him about six Months. 473.

Leo the Elder was a Wise and Vertuous Prince, a little too timorous, and his fear made him too complying with the Arians. 'Tis said Zeno the Father of the younger Leo, remov'd him out of his way to the advancement of his younger Son, by Poyson: He was, as we have elsewhere related deform'd both in Body and Mind, a profest Eutychian, and withal so publickly vicious and debauch'd, 474.



A.D. 474.  
His Cha-  
racter.

that he seem'd to value himself upon his Extravagance and Lewdness, and to defy the divine Vengeance by acting his wickedness openly in the face of Day, equally Insensible of shame or guilt. The Hand of Heaven in due time fell heavily upon him for his Cruelties to the Orthodox Christians, for his Personal Profaneness and Immorality.

### Zeno. Glycerius.

THE new Emperor Zeno began his Reign in the East with persecuting the Catholicks. He banish'd *Maryrius* Bishop of *Antioch* and plac'd *Peter*, Sirnam'd the Fuller, a Notorious *Eutichean*, in his Chair. He restor'd *Timotheus Aelurus*, Bishop of *Alexandria* to that Diocess, from whence *Leo* the Elder had justly driv'n him, for being accessary to the murder of his Predecessor *Proterius*. Indeed there had been such Scandalous methods made use of by Persons ill qualify'd for the Episcopal Charge, to get into the Metropolitan Chairs at *Constantinople*, *Rome* and *Alexandria*, that the Enemies of the Gospel had too much reason to argue from the Morals of the Professors of the Christian Religion, that they could not believe themselves, what they wou'd impose upon others for Articles of Faith. And 'twas a just Judgment of God on those who call'd themselves Orthodox in suffering the *Arians*, *Euticheans* and *Apollinarians* to insult and destroy them. At *Rome* by the favour of *Ricimer*, the *Arians* had seiz'd the Church of *St. Agatha*, which they kept above one hundred Years. The Churches of *Gaul* and *Africk* were trodden under Foot by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, *Arians* both. The *Eutichean* and *Apollinarian* Heresies triumph'd over the Truth in *Egypt* and the East. In every Place where the *Goths* were Masters, and no part of *Europe* that was subject to the *Roman* Empire was free from their Dominion, the Divinity of our Saviour was deny'd, and his Humanity in *Asia*. Between both of these Heresies, the Being of the Son of God was render'd doubtful and precarious, and the Salvation of Mankind was consequently dangerous and uncertain. But as he had triumph'd over Hell and the Grave, so in the course of Time, the Brightness of the Eternal Truths shone forth in its Meridian Glories, and all

all the Clouds of Infidelity, Hereſie and Schiſm, vaniſh'd A.D. 474. like Vapours before the Sun. Yet Satan the Inveterate Enemy of the Race of *Adam* rais'd up new Weeds to choak the Wheat; Superſtition and Idolatry crept in under the appearances of Zeal and Devotion. The Arch-Hereticks were ſucceeded by the Arch-Pontiff, *Antichriſt* the Pope, whoſe Reign has been long and bloody, but will as ſurely have an end, as Truth will always prevail over Error and Light ſucceed to Darkneſs.

We hope the Reader will excuſe this digreſſion, which was neceſſary to ſhew how the Church ſhar'd in the Calamities of the State. And the Interests of both Church and State had been interwoven with ſo much Art by the good underſtanding between thoſe who lately preſided over them both, that 'twas impoſſible to wound the one, and not hurt the other.

To return to our Hiſtory, *Julius Nepos*, whom *Leo* deſign'd to govern in the Weſt, got together a good body of Men, and embark'd them aboard a Fleet, the Government had provided for him; with theſe he Sail'd to *Italy* and Landed at *Oſtia*. On his approach, *Glycerius* fled to a Place call'd the Port near the Mouth of the *Nepos* *Tyber*; *Nepos* beſieg'd him in the Town, forc'd him to *Sails to* ſubmit and to abdicate the Empire. After his depoſition, *Italy*. he was Conſecrated Biſhop of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where he liv'd ſeveral Years.

### Zeno. Nepos.

**N***Nepos* made *Oreſtes* a Goth, General of his Army in *Gaul*, and order'd him to put himſelf at the Head of his Troops in that Province, to oppoſe *Eurich* King of the *Viſigoths*, who daily got ground upon the *Romans*. *Oreſtes*, inſtead of accepting the Honour, *Nepos* offer'd him, reſolv'd to improve his Intereſt in the Army and the People to better advantage. He conſpir'd with his Friends to dethrone the New Emperor, and ſet up his Son. All things being ready to put the Plot in Execution, the Goth haſten'd from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, came upon *Nepos* unaware, took from him the Imperial Purple, and put it upon his Son *Manilius Auguſtus*, whom the *Romans* in raillery call'd *Auguſtulus*. And as *Octavius Ceſar*, who founded the Empire was worthily Stil'd *Au-*  
*gustus*

A.D. 475. *gustus*. So *Manilius*, in whose time it fell and never rose more, was as worthily Nam'd *Augustulus*, the diminutive of *Augustus*.

### *Zeno. Augustulus.*

475. **I**N the Reign of this Prince, *Rome* the Mistress of the World was compell'd to put on the Yoke, which for many hundred Years she had impos'd on the best part of *Europe*, *Africa* and *Asia*, and with him the poor remains of her Universal Monarchy were bury'd.

*Nepos* retir'd to a House he had near *Salone*, where his Predecessor the Emperor *Glycerius*, whom he had depos'd was Bishop; and 'tis reported, that in revenge for the Exchange, he made him submit to, of an Imperial Crown for a Miter, the Prelate hir'd some Assassins to murder him in his retirement. Tho' according to other Authors, he liv'd till the Year 430, and kept a very Friendly Correspondence with *Glycerius* his Neighbour. At last he was kill'd by *Viator* and *Ovida*, two *Comites* in that Country, whom *Odoacer* King of *Italy* punish'd with Death for their Barbarity.

*Orestes* to strengthen his Son's Interest, enter'd into a League with *Genferic*, and was preparing to assist the *Arverni*, who were very much distress'd by the *Goths* in *Gaul*: But before he was ready to go upon that Expedition, he found Work enough in *Italy* to keep him there. For the *Romans* disliking that *Orestes* had advanc'd a *Barbarian* to the Sovereignty, an Insolence that *Stilicho* and *Ricimer*, Men of much greater Merit and Power than *Orestes* durst never attempt, resolv'd if they must have a Forreigner to be their Lord, to choose one for themselves, that their Slavery might have the Face of Liberty. The Person they pitch'd on was *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, a Nation of *Germany* Inhabiting that part of it, which now makes the Dutchy of *Mekelburgh* in *Lower-Saxony*, and half of *Upper-Saxony*. He was Born in *Rugen*, an Island in the *Baltick* Sea, Subject at present to the King of *Sweden*. He had formerly serv'd under *Orestes* as a Volunteer in the Emperor's Service, by which means he knew the strength and weakness of *Italy*. And observing that his Countrymen the *Germans* had been Successful abroad, as the *Franks* and *Burgundians*

dians in Gaul, and the Saxons in Britain ; He rais'd as A.D. 475. many Men as the Hopes of Plunder cou'd tempt to take Arms, and try their Fortune in Italy. Several Nations who border'd on the Danube in Panmonia, joyn'd with him, and as he was advancing towards Rome, the Senate gave him encouragement to proceed, and free them from the Tyranny of Orestes and Augustulus.

In August following, Basiliscus and Armatus being Consuls, he was met on the Borders by Orestes, from whom the Goths deserted, because the Lands that were promis'd them, were not assign'd them. Orestes fearing to trust the Forces which remain'd with him, shut himself up in the City of Pavia, where he was besieg'd and taken by Odoacer, who order'd him and his Unkle Paul to be put to death, and gave the Plunder of the City to his Soldiers, by whom he was Saluted King of Italy. He had only Augustulus to deal with now, and hastning after him to Ravenna, he found he was gone thence before him to Rome. Odoacer follow'd him thither, taking all the Cities that lay in his way. When he approach'd near Rome, the Citizens came forth to meet him, and receiv'd him with Loud Acclamations, as their Lord and Sovereign. Manilius for fear of the Conqueror, threw off the Imperial Purple, which Odoacer modestly refus'd, contenting himself with the Title of King. Neither did he endeavour to secure to himself the Possession of the Royalty by the death of the Prince he had dethron'd : He gave Augustulus his Life, confining him to Lucullanum, a Castle near Naples.

Much about the same time, Rome's younger Sister Constantinople suffer'd the same Violence. Basiliscus whom Leo had Pardon'd being return'd to Court and advanc'd to the Consulate, so manag'd matters, that he rais'd a Tumult in the City against Zeno, who in a fright fled to Isauria, where he was Born and was belov'd, the Mannes of the Isaurians agreeing with his own. Basiliscus was immediately Saluted Emperor by the Soldiers. He created his Son Marcus, Cesar ; but he did not long enjoy the Sovereign Power. Zeno was restor'd, and his misfortunes having no effect upon him as to the change of his Morals, his Wife shut him up in a Monument and Starv'd him to Death. Basiliscus was banish'd, and dy'd in Cappadocia, in Want and Misery, as we shall relate more at large in the following Chapter.

Thus

The Senate

invite

Odoacer

King of the

Heruli to

depose Au-

gustulus.

Odoacer

routs

Orestes,

takes him

and puts

him to

death.

476.

Odoacer

Saluted

King of

Italy.

Augustu-

lus throws

off the Im-

perial Pur-

ple.

Basiliscus

drives

Zeno from

Constan-

tinople.



AD. 476. Thus did Divine Providence shew exemplary Justice in the fate of these two Tyrants, Hereticks and Traytors: But the time of the State and the Church's Deliverance being not yet come, we must leave the whole Empire for a while, in this disorderly Condition. The *Eastern* oppress'd by Usurpers, Tyrants, and Hereticks. The *Western* over-run by the *Northern Barbarians*. The *Saxons* Lorded it in *Britain*: The *Goths*, and under them the *Suevians* and *Alans* in *Spain*: The *Hunns* and *Goths* in *Pannonia*: The *Vandals* in *Africa*: The *Goths*, *Franks*, and *Burgundians* in *Gaul*. In short, all the Nations of the *North*, from the *Euxine* to the *German Ocean*, follow'd the Example of the *Goths* in the Reign of *Valens*. They left their old frozen Regions, and seated themselves in warmer Climates in the *South*. The *Romans* who were lately their Masters, are now their Servants: And *Rome* that was formerly the Queen of Cities, the Strength and Glory of the Empire, now hangs her Head in Slavery, and shall never know freedom more. We have seen her in her Birth, her Growth, her Maturity, her Declension, her final End and Destruction. From all which we cannot avoid reflecting, that as there is no State so Poor and Contemptible in the beginning, but by Courage and Industry, may arrive to the highest pitch of Riches and Power; So there is no worldly Greatness, though never so shining and powerful, which is secure from the violence of Time and Fortune, which Luxury and Discord cannot destroy. Let us consider *Rome* in her Infancy, under *Romulus* her Founder, when her Walls were the limits of her Sovereignty, and her People were a company of Thieves and Vagabonds; Can any thing be more base and despicable? Let us then behold her in the fulness of her Glory, under the Emperor *Trajan*, when her Empire extended from *India* to *Britain*, when she triumph'd over all quarters of the known World, and the Kings of the Earth paid her Homage; when the Fame of her Virtue was as Victorious, as that of her Valour; Can any thing be more Glorious, more Formidable, and to Humane Apprehension, seem more worthy the care of Providence? Yet in a few Ages, 'tis all vanish'd like a Dream: Her Virtue and Valour sunk into Luxury and Effeminacy; and we have left her as we found her, in the hands of Vagabonds and Robbers. How

rash and vain then are those Princes, who Sacrifice their Honour and their Conscience, to spread their Conquests, and enlarge their Dominions, which in time are sure to be a prey to the Lusts and Passions of their Slaves? And how mad are those Kingdoms and States, that by encouraging homebred Factions and Divisions, expose themselves to be Insulted and Destroy'd, by Foreign and Domestick Tyrants?

Such was the Fate of the Monarchy of *Rome*, 1228 years after the foundation of the City, 501 years after the full Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 164 years after the Conversion of *Constantine* the Great to Christianity, 148 years after the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantine*, 101 years after the admission of the *Goths* into *Thrace* by *Valens*, A. D. 476.

## C H A P. VI.

*From the taking of Rome by Odoacer,  
and the Exile of Zeno the Emperor, to  
the Reign of Justinian the Great.*

*Containing the Space of 50 Years.*

BEING driven out of the *West* by *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, who, as we have related in the fifth Chapter of this third Volume of the *Roman History*, was Crown'd King of *Italy*, we must now remove to *Constantinople*; and since we have little more to say of Old *Rome*, see how it fares with the New, on the Death of her elder Sister; who besides her Claim to all the Possessions, Titles, Honours and Dignities she enjoy'd, has left her a very fair Inheritance. In *Europe* she still holds all the Ancient *Greece*, *Crete*, and the Isles of the *Archipelago*, part of *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and *Mesia*, including *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Romania*, of the Moderns. In *Asia* she is Mistress of *Bithinia*, *Phrygia*,  
*Lydia*,

A.D. 476. *Lydia, Licia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, Palæstine, Mesopotamia*; part of *Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Pontus*, and the Island of *Cyprus*. In *Africk* she possesses the rich and fruitful Province of *Egypt*: Her whole Empire extending from the Gulph of *Venice*, to the *Tygris* in *Affyria*; and takes in almost all the Kingdoms and States, which are now under the Dominion of the *Turks*. She maintain'd the Succession of the *Roman* Emperors in the *East*, till the beginning of the ninth Century, when the limits of her Territories were reduc'd to a much narrower compass. The *Roman* Majesty, Name, and Language, were insensibly lost; the Princes that sat on the Imperial Throne, from the Reign of *Nicephorus*, were *Greeks*, and their Dominions call'd the *Greek* Empire, till about the middle of the fifteenth Century, when *Mahomet* the second Emperor of the *Turks*, took *Constantinople*, kill'd *Constantine* the xivth, then Reigning, and put an end to the Monarchy of the *Greeks*.

We are now to proceed to the History of the Emperor *Zeno*, who as we said in the former Volume, fled into *Isauria*, from the Usurper *Basiliscus*: The latter did not enjoy his Power above a year and eight Months, for by his Avarice he became odious to the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and by his Tyranny to his Subjects in general; which *Zeno* hearing, he got an Army together, and march'd against him. *Basiliscus* gave the command of his Forces to *Armatus*, his fellow Consul the last year, and order'd him to oppose *Zeno*. *Armatus* knowing *Basiliscus* had rendred himself obnoxious to the People, and that his Reign was very Precarious, listen'd to Proposals that were made him on the part of *Zeno*, and deserted to him with all his Troops, on Condition that the Emperor should make his Son *Basiliscus* a Boy, *Cæsar*, and declare him his Successour. *Basiliscus* being thus betray'd, fled to his old Sanctuary the Church of *St. Sophia*, and was deliver'd into the Emperor's Hands by *Acacius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who bore him no good will, for his protecting the *Eutichian* Heresie. *Zeno* banish'd him with his Wife and Children into *Cappadocia*, and forbid his Subjects to supply them with any Necessaries. They were by this means starv'd to Death with Hunger and Cold, though *Evagrius* affirms, they were slain at *Aconsus*. *Zeno* did as he promis'd to do, he created *Armatus's* Son *Cæsar*, and

*Zeno raises an Army to recover his Dominions.*

*Armatus, Basiliscus's General, revolts to Zeno.*

477.  
*Basiliscus banish'd.*

*Starv'd to Death.*

and advanc'd him himself to the highest Posts of Trust and Honour ; but either fearing that he who had been Traytor to one Master , might be so to another ; or weary of having a Man always in his Presence, to whom he was so much indebted, he put him to Death, and depos'd his Son, who was ordain'd Priest, and some time after Bishop of *Cyzicus*. In the following year, *Odoacer* abrogated the Office of Consul in the *West* : It had lost its Ancient Prerogative, and was become an Honourary Title, without any real Power. And being in peaceable Possession of his new Kingdom of *Italy*, he endeavour'd by his Embassadors, to perswade *Zeno* to confirm him in it. The Emperor knew 'twas an In-croachment on his Authority, for him to seize on the Sovereignty of *Rome*, without his consent ; and he therefore resolv'd with the first opportunity, to shew his Resentment : However, dissembling his Anger , he gave *Odoacer's* Agents good words, and seem'd satisfy'd, that their Master had contented himself with the Title of King, and govern'd his Subjects with so much Justice and Moderation. He restor'd to the Cities their Ancient Priviledges ; and though he was an *Arian*, he carry'd himself so uprightly and impartially towards the Catholicks, that *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, chosen on the Death of *Hilarius*, said, he ador'd the Divine Providence, for giving Peace to the Church, in the midst of the *Revolutions and Distractions of the State*. Thus by his prudent and gentle Administration, he gain'd the love of his People ; and his Vertues seem'd to be a Reproach of the Emperor's Vices, who as much out of Aversion to his Manners, as to his Title, hasten'd his design of expelling him out of *Italy*.

*Odoacer* to strengthen his Interest against any Attempts from the *East*, resign'd to *Eurich*, King of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, that part of the Country which lies between the River *Rhosne* and the *Alpes*, and was all that the *Romans* had left in the Province. In consideration of this Gift, *Eurich* enter'd into an Alliance with him ; the same did *Gundebaud* King of the *Burgundians*, and *Genferic* King of the *Vandals* ; who hearing in what Reputation he reign'd in *Italy*, desir'd his Friendship, and granted *Sicily* to him, to be held in Tribute. The *Romans* taking it ill, that he had abolish'd the use of Consuls, under whom their Ancestors had perform'd such

A.D. 477.

Armarus  
put to  
Death.

478.

479.



A.D. 480. such mighty things, *Odoacer* to please them, prefer'd *Basilius* to that Dignity for the following year. There happen'd nothing remarkable in his Consulate. The Emperor *Zeno* shew'd, that his Misfortunes had not mended his Morals, he was as lew'd and Prophane as before ; but to engage the Catholicks on his side, he publish'd several Edicts against the *Euticeans*, and to please Pope *Simplicius*, was very favourable to the Orthodox Christians, hoping to find the Bishop of *Rome* ready to encourage his designs against *Odoacer*.

481.

The Emperor's thoughts for recovering his Dominions in the *West*, for a while were laid aside, having work enough to preserve his own Territories, which were now Invaded by *Theodoric*, Son of *Triarius*, who came with an Army of *Goths* within four Miles of *Constantinople*, and might have carry'd the place, had he gone on boldly, and giv'n the Assault, while the Citizens were in Consternation, on his sudden approach so near their Walls : Instead of proceeding, his Officers either envying his Success, or fearing the number of the Inhabitants, perswaded him to return with the Booty they had gotten in their march through *Thrace*. *Odoacer* perceiving the Diversion the *Goths* had giv'n the Emperor, would hinder his Enterprize in the *West*, turn'd the Forces he had rais'd for his own Defence on the *Rugi*, a Neighbouring Nation to the *Heruli*, with whom he was offended, he gave them Battel, took *Phorbas* their King Prisoner, and led him and his Wife in Triumph to *Rome*. *Frederick*, *Phorbas* his Son, fled to *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, who some time after made War upon *Odoacer*, as will be related in its proper place.

Pomera-  
nians.

482.

The following year was as fatal to *Zeno*, as the former : *Martian* the Son of *Authemius*, late Emperor of the *West*, had marry'd *Leontia*, the youngest Daughter of *Leo*, born after his accession to the Throne, whereas *Zeno's* Wife was born when her Father was a Subject. *Martian*, without considering that it was the Sanction of the Senate's Choice, which confirm'd *Zeno's* Title, pretended in right of his Wife, to have the better claim to the Crown ; got a company of Malecontents, and loose fellows together, and attack'd *Zeno's* Guards ; who having the worst on't, the Emperor shut himself in his Palace, where *Martian* thinking he could do him no

Martian  
Rebells.

harm,

harm, left him, and deferr'd prosecuting his design till A.D. 482. the Morning. This delay gave *Zeno* time to reflect on his Danger, and consult how to prevent it: He set his Emissaries at work, to draw off some of the chief Malecontents from *Martians* Party, who succeeded so well in their Commission, that the next day when the Rebel attempted to pursue his Victory, most of his followers forsook him, and himself fled to the Church of the Apostles, from whence he was taken by force, shav'd and put into a Monastery. *Zeno* was scarce freed from fear of the Tumult, before he was frighted by news of an Insurrection in *Asia*, where *Leontius* the Governor of *Syria*, at the Instigation of *Verina*, the Empress Dowager, *Zeno's* Mother-in-Law, assum'd the Imperial Dignity at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The Emperor order'd *Illus*, *Zelus* General of his Army, to oppose the Usurper: Him *Verina* by her Flattery, Promises and Caresses, got over to *Leontius's* Party, and prevail'd with him to join the Rebels with all his Forces. The Emperor in this streight, not knowing whom to trust of his Natural Subjects, apply'd himself to *Theodorick*, the Son of *Walamir*, King of the *Goths* by *Eusebia* his Concubine, He was the Person that the *Goths* had deliver'd to *Leo*, in Hostage for the performance of their Treaty with him. His Father Reign'd over part of *Mesfia* and *Dacia*, and was a younger Brother of the Race of the *Ostrogoth* Kings in *Pannonia*. *Theodorick* on the Death of his Father and his Uncles, united all the Nations of the *Goths* in *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, and *Mesfia*, under one King. He had learnt in the Court of *Constantinople*, the Arts of Government, and contracted a Friendship with the *Romans*, which was very serviceable to them on several occasions; he assisted the Emperor *Zeno* against *Basiliscus*, and undertook to suppress the Rebellion in *Asia*, where he carried on a bloody and doubtful War with *Leontius* and *Illus*, whom he at last defeated, drove them to a Castle call'd *Paprus*, took them, cut off their Heads, and sent them to *Zeno*; who on certain Information, that *Verina* secretly promoted the late Civil War, banish'd her to *Leontius* and *Illus*, and confin'd her to the Province of *Thrace*. The Emperor to reward *Theodorick* for the Service he had done him, granted him the honour of a Triumph, erected his Statue on Horse-back, before the Imperial Palace, gave him part of *Dacia* and *Mesfia*, which was

Made a  
Monk.

*Leontius*  
usurps.

*Illus*, *Zelus*  
no's General,  
deserts  
to him.

*Bosnia*,  
*Servia*,  
*Wallachia*.

*Theodorick* King of  
the *Ostrogoths*, opposes  
*Leontius*.

483.

Defeats  
him.

Takes *Leontius* and  
*Illus*, and  
cuts off  
their  
Heads.

A.D. 484. under the Romans, made him Consul for the following year, and adopted him for his Son. 'Twas a new thing in the Empire, to see a King of the Barbarians Consul : But the Romans had of late been us'd to obey Strangers ; and by the fate of the *Western Empire*, were prepar'd to receive such Novelties. 'Tis said, the Emperor besides these Honours, made him a grant of the Kingdom of *Italy*, which Title he afterwards asserted to *Oloacer's* Cost.

Theodor-  
ic highly  
rewarded.

485.

*Theodoric* went home, and kept his Court at *Novi in Mæsia*, where his Subjects who abhor'd a quiet and peaceable Life, would not long suffer him to live in the enjoyment of the fruits of his Victories, and his new Acquisitions. Before we proceed to give an account of his Expedition into *Italy*, we must take notice of *Zeno's* Behaviour, since the suppressing of the late Rebellion. *Theodoric* had enlarg'd his Brother *Longinus*, whom *Illus* took in *Isauria*, and had kept in Prison : He came after the defeat of the Rebels to *Constantinople*, where in a little while he grew Infamous for his Vices and Extravagances. The Emperor would feign have created him *Cæsar*, and declar'd him his Successor ; but the dissoluteness of his Life, made him so many Enemies, that he could never bring it about : All that he could obtain for him, was the Consulate, which he held the next year.

About this time, *Zeno* to please his Subjects, if possible, publish'd the *Henoticon*, or Edict of Pacification, to reconcile the Differences between the *Eutibeans* and the Orthodox ; 'tis said to be drawn so Artfully, that the Heresie of *Eutiches* was secretly couch'd under words taken out of the Confessions of Faith, of the three general Oecumenical Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*. *Acacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople* comply'd with it, and he was always esteem'd Orthodox : He was deceiv'd by the wording of the Edict ; and out of love to Peace, promoted it through his Diocess. Pope *Felix*, who succeeded *Simplicius* in the See of *Rome*, zealously oppos'd it, as well because the Emperor and the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, did not consult him, and have his Approbation to a thing which belong'd to him, as Head of the Church, as because the *Henoti-*

*Difference* con its self was not Orthodox. But the Bishop of *Rome* instead of proceeding by fair Methods, by Ghostly  
Bishops of Council

Council, and Brotherly Advice, summon'd a Synod at A.D. 485. Rome, and Excommunicated *Acacius*, and condemn'd the *Rome and Henoticon*. On the contrary, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who would not give up the rights of his Church, but pretended to the Primacy with as much reason, as the Bishop of *Rome* condemn'd all those that would not sign the *Henoticon*, and prevail'd with the Emperor to have *Felix's* Legates thrown into Prison: He order'd the Pope's Name to be raz'd out of the *Dyptiques* or Register of his Church; and proceeded to Excommunicate, without any manner of respect to the Apostolick Vicar. This was the first open breach between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches: And now the Holy Function of *Episcopacy*, which for the first two hundred years, was an Office purely Ecclesiastical, the Name of Bishop and Presbyter, being us'd promiscuously till then, was so swallow'd up in the Temporal Greatness and Authority of the Prelate, that every day very wicked Methods were put in Practice, to acquire and maintain that Spiritual Dignity; not so much for the good of Souls, as the getting Riches and Honour, which were not enough at last for the Bishop of *Rome*, without the Sovereign Power. He now calls himself Vicegerent of the Almighty, and in that Quality, claims Precedence of Princes, Kings and Emperors, Synods and Councils: Though it seems, the Emperor and the other Bishops of Christendom, had in Primitive Times quite different Sentiments of his Primacy, *Odoacer* commanded, that no Pope should be chosen, who was not first approv'd by the Kings of *Italy*: And *Theodoric* forty years after made Pope *Felix* the Fourth, Bishop of *Rome*; which Prerogative the *Gothick* Kings, and after them the *Greek* Emperors, claim'd as inherent in the Crown, till *Charlemain*, the first *French* Emperor, made the Pope Sovereign of the Territories, now call'd the Patrimony of *St. Peter*; and from that time the Power of Temporal Princes over them, has been Precarious, according as the Popes have found it their Interest to be Humble or Imperious.

At the same time that these Divisions arose between the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, *Huneric*, King of the *Vandals*, who had succeeded his Father *Genferic* eight or nine years before, rais'd a terrible Persecution against the *Catholicks* in *Africa*: He banish'd 4966 Ecclesiasti-



A.D. 486. cal Persons, and is said to have put to Death 400000 Orthodox Christians, by the perswasion of his *Arian* Bishops. He order'd his Brother's Wife and her Children to be slain, to secure the Succession to his Son; and when the measures of his Crimes were full, Eternal Justice overtook him, and carry'd him to his Grave by a most filthy Distemper, being devour'd by Worms, and rotting while he was yet alive.

487. The famous *Manlius Severinus Boetius*, was Consul for the year ensuing. The Emperor *Zeno* grew daily more and more debauch'd: His Family following his Example, were render'd unworthy the Imperial Purple, had they liv'd to have put in their Claim. A Son of whom he was fond, and took a great deal of care to have him Educated according to his Quality, kill'd himself with Riot and Intemperance; and his Brother was so Profligate a Wretch, that he was despis'd by every Body, there being no room to hope, that the People would accept of him for their Sovereign. In the Consulate of

Theodo-  
ric invades  
the Empire.

488.  
Goes to  
Constantinople,  
and begs  
pardon of  
Zeno.

Swedes.

*Boetius*, *Theodoric* either compell'd to it by the importunity of his Subjects, who were weary of lying Idle, or Disgusted, that *Zeno* did not apply himself more heartily to assist him, in recovering the Dominion of *Italy*, broke into *Thrace* as far as the City of *Melantias*, Plundering and Wasting the Country as an Enemy of the Empire, and then retreating to *Novi*. The Emperor to appease him, and get rid of a turbulent Neighbour, invited him the next year to *Constantinople*, and promis'd to give him Satisfaction in what he desir'd. We are told *Theodoric* went thither, beg'd pardon for having Invaded his Dominions; and *Zeno* by an Authentick Writing, made over the Kingdom of *Italy* to him, bestow'd on him a Consecrated Cap, and wrote Letters of Recommendation for him to the Senate and People of *Rome*. Other Authors, as *Jornandes* the Goth, and some other Gothic Writers, make no mention of his Ingratitude and Treachery to *Zeno*. They say, that growing Jealous, or rather Emulous of *Odoacer's* Fame and Power, he resolv'd to undertake an Expedition into *Italy*, and put the Imperial Grant to him of that Crown, in execution. *Odoacer* had lately overthrown *Frederic*, the King of the *Rugi's* Son, and remov'd all that Nation into *Italy*: Upon which the *Lombards* possess themselves of their Habitations, and got so much the nearer *Italy*,

Italy, where we shall hear of them in their turn. Add A.D. 488. to Theodoric's Jealousie and Emulation, his concern for the good of his Subjects; who for want of Action were grown poor, and requir'd some new Enterprize to enrich them. He therefore waited on the Emperor, and represented to him what a Condition they were in; and that he could not think of a better way to mend it, than by making use of his Grant, and pushing for the Crown of Italy: That the Province was over-run by the Heruli and Rugi. That Rome, the Ancient Seat of the Roman Emperors, and Mistress of the World, was now enslav'd by Odoacer: That if he pleas'd to command him to attempt it, he would employ his idle and indigent Goths to procure her Liberty. That if he should accomplish his Designs, the Honour would be his Majesty's: If he miscarry'd, he would ease himself of a troublesome Friend, and a chargeable yearly Pension. And since he had done him the Honour, to adopt him for his Son, he did not doubt of his preferring him to another in the Sovereignty of that Province. The Emperor being willing to clear Illyricum of such burthensom Guests as the Goths, consented to his Request. Theodoric immediately prepar'd for his March; he order'd all his Subjects to take Arms, and carry with them their Wives and Children, and their most valuable Moveables. When all things were ready, he was forc'd to defer his Enterprize a little while, by business nearer home; for Transilla King of the Gepides, and Butha King of Bulgaria, either jealous of his growing Greatness, or engag'd by Odoacer, to give him a Diversion, fell upon him with their joint Forces: Theodoric watch'd his opportunity, when the two Kings were divided, and attack'd them singly; he fought and overthrew Transilla and the Gepides, after which the Bulgars were easily vanquish'd. Flush'd with this Success, he took it as a happy Omen of his future Fortune, and in the middle of Winter, in the year of our Lord 489, he began his march for Italy, past the Drave and the Save, and encamp'd near the River Isonzo in Frioul. Odoacer had seiz'd the Bridge over the River, and with an advanc'd Party, resolv'd to dispute his Passage: But Theodoric drove him from the Pass to his Camp, gave him Battel, and defeated him near Verona, which City open'd her Gates to the Conqueror. And it being the first Town that submitted to him, in honour of the

A.D. 489. place, and in remembrance of the Victory he obtain'd near it, he took the Sirname of *Veronensis*: He pursu'd *Odoacer*, and the remains of his broken Troops, overtook him near the *Adda*, oblig'd him to engage, and came off with the same Success as at *Verona*. *Odoacer* had now nothing to trust to, but the Strength and Fidelity of *Rome*: If that City remain'd true to him, he hop'd the rest of *Italy* might be preserv'd, and what he had lost recover'd, there being Men and Money enough in *Rome*, to renew the War with Vigor. The Citizens like the rest of Mankind, forgetting all the Obligations they had to him, when he approach'd near their Walls, shut their Gates upon him, and declar'd, they would in Obedience to *Zeno's* Commands, own *Theodoric* for their Sovereign. *Odoacer* enrag'd at their Ingratitude, burnt their Suburbs, and retir'd to *Ravenna*: *Theodoric* had sent an Army under the command of *Libitta* a Goth, to hinder his getting into that City, which had lately been the Residence of the Sovereigns of *Italy*, and was on that account grown considerable. *Odoacer* fought *Libitta*, slew him, made himself Master of his Camp, and was receiv'd into the Town the 10th of July, in the year following. *Theodoric* in the mean time took *Milan*, where a great part of the *Italian* Soldiers that were list'd in *Odoacer's* Army, deserted to him; and *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia*, waited upon him, as his rightful and lawful Sovereign, whom *Theodoric* receiv'd with particular marks of Respect and Esteem. The *Italians* that revolted to him, were soon prevail'd on by one *Tuffa*, a Man of Consular Dignity, to return to the Obedience of *Odoacer*; and *Theodoric* fearing the Citizens of *Milan* might be as false to him, left the Town, and remov'd to *Pavia*, where he thought he should be more secure, the Bishop being his Friend: *Odoacer* encourag'd by the desertion of his Troops that had revolted, besieg'd him in *Pavia*. The Bishop was very earnest with the one and the other, to come to Terms, and the *Goths* made such a brave defence, that *Odoacer* as much dishearten'd by the Courage of his Enemies, as mollify'd by the Arguments of *Epiphanius*, rais'd the Siege, and return'd to *Ravenna*; where in his turn, he was besieg'd by *Theodoric*, who took heart on the Enemy was gone; and leaving the *Gothick* Women and Baggage in *Pavia*, follow'd *Odoacer*, and blockt

blockt up *Ravenna* in three several places. The situation A.D. 490. of the Town prevented his storming it. While the Blockade lasted, he went with a detach'd part and took in *Rimini*, where Embassadors came to him from *Gundamund*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk* to desire Peace, which was concluded between them, and *Sicily* entirely giv'n up into his Possession.

We must now take a view of the Transactions in the East. *Zeno* still continues his wicked course of Life, for which *Pelagius* the *Patritian* openly reprov'd him, and the Emperor resenting the liberty he took, order'd him to be strangled: His Office shews him to be a Man of the first Quality, and besides his rank in the Court, he was Eminent for his Virtue and Learning: He wrote an Historical Poem of the *Roman* Affairs, from the Days of *Augustus* *Cæsar* to his own. At his Death he pray'd to God, to punish *Zeno* for his Cruelty and Injustice. He declar'd that he was murder'd for reprov'g him, and opposing the advancement of his Foolish Brother *Longinus*. The Emperor as if he was resolv'd to pull down the divine Vengeance that hung over his Head, put to Death *Arcadius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Gazæus* a Rhetorician, and other Illustrious Persons, which render'd his Government so grievous to his Subjects, that his approaching Death was the most welcome Blessing that Heaven cou'd have giv'n to the Prayers of the Empire.

The next Year he was either seiz'd with an Epilepsy, 491. or made himself dead drunk, or in a Fit of an Apoplexy, was stretch'd out, put into a Coffin and plac'd in a Vault, where returning to his Senses, he cry'd out with a horrible noise: But his Wife either desirous of another Husband, or weary of his Vices, was glad to see him lye where he did, and wou'd let no body relieve him. So he expir'd in that miserable condition after he had eaten the Flesh off his Arms, and the Buskins that were upon his Legs. *Zeno* bury'd alive. Amongst all his failings he had some good Qualities, particularly he was very careful what Judges he made, and that they were equal in distributing Justice. He was also generous to his Servants, and granted them great Honours and Priviledges. He was severe in punishing false Witnesses, Monopolies and incestuous Marriages; an Enemy to tedious Suits, and very Industrious in supplying the City of *Constantinople*, with Provisions and Necessaries. His Laws in *Justinian's*



A.D. 491. *an's* Code are an Eternal Proof of his *Care of the Judicature*: He commanded by an Edict that the Judges shou'd strictly follow the Law, and not what was irregularly commanded by the Prince. Which certainly was an Act so Just and Noble, that he deserv'd not the Character giv'n him by a Modern Author of the *Roman History*, That he was a Man void of every Quality requisite to a Prince. There is no Quality more requisite than that of Equity, and the Care of the Courts of Justice, for which he is often commended. 'Tis true, in Criminal Cases he was Cruel, and his suspicious temper frequently hurry'd him on to Acts of Violence and Blood. He was a Profest *Debauchee*, an Heretick, and every thing that is Morally bad but a Hypocrite. His Reign had been intollerable if he had not made some amends for neglecting the Manners of his Subjects, by being careful of their Properties.

Anastasio His Brother *Longinus* after his Death, made some fruitless attempts to get the Purple. *Ariana* the Empress had cast her Eyes on a Handsome Courtier, *Anastasio* of *Dyrrachium*, and him she resolv'd to make the Partner of her Bed and Throne.

*Succeeds him by the Empresses Procurement.*  
*Durazzo in Albania.*

### *Anastasio.*

*Anastasio* on his promotion, presently sent away *Longinus* into *Isauria* under a strong Guard, attended by many more of his Countrymen, who desir'd leave to depart thither. He affected while he was a private Man an Air of Religion and Piety, and did not immediately throw off the Mask of Hypocrisie: However *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* wou'd not put the Imperial Crown on his Head, till he had taken a Solemn Oath to observe the Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*. His Mother and his Unkle were known Hereticks, and there was reason to fear he might not prove so Orthodox as he pretended to be. On his engaging to protect and profess the Catholick Faith, the Bishop Crown'd him the 9th of *April*. The *Manicheans* and *Arians* were not concern'd to see him disown them. They knew he did it for his present Interest; and being sure of him, they permitted him without grumbling to dissemble with the Orthodox as much as he pleas'd. Pope *Felix* wrote him

him Congratulatory Letters, and the Citizens were so well pleas'd at the choice the Empress had made, that soon after his advancement, when he assist'd at the *Circensian Games* they cry'd out, *Govern us Sir, as you have liv'd.* In the beginning of his Reign he seem'd very Pious, Gentle and Just; He went often to his Devotions, was Charitable to the Poor, forbad the Sale of Offices which *Zeno* had too much conniv'd at, and abolish'd the Odious Tax call'd the *Chrysargirum*, which was levy'd every four Years, not only by a general Poll Tax on all Persons, without exception to Age, Sex, or Condition, but upon all sorts of Animals, and even Dung it self. He behav'd himself so well at first, that there were great hopes of his making the Empire happy, by his Prudent and Impartial Administration, which did not last many Years, as will be shewn in the sequel of his Life and Reign.

In the Year ensuing, *Anastasius* began to shew that his Religion, Mercy and Justice were meer Affectation; tho' he had remitted one Tax, he laid another in its place call'd *Chrysotelia*: He pardon'd Criminals for Money, sold Offices of Trust, burthen'd the Provinces with Impositions, and seiz'd the Goods and Estates of his Subjects to his own use, which in the second Year of his Reign occasion'd a sedition at *Constantinople*; the greatest part of the City and Cirque was burnt in the Tumult, and among other Edifices the Cathedral Church of *Sta Sophia* rebuilt by *Justinian*. His Subjects perceiving that all their hopes of good Times were groundless, were extremely disappointed, and now hated him as heartily as they lov'd him. The *Isaurians* were angry that *Longinus* was put by, and another Person of meaner Quality prefer'd to the Throne. They bore their Malice quietly, while *Anastasius* govern'd mildly and justly. As soon as he provok'd them by his oppression, they reviv'd their old Quarrel, took Arms and rose in favour of *Longinus's* Pretensions, and maintain'd a War with the Emperor five or six Years.

492.

The Rabble in *Constantinople* whom *Longinus* had oblig'd by his profuseness, hearing he was at the Head of an Army in *Isauria*, and had assum'd the Purple, rose also in his behalf, tore down the Emperor and Empresses Statues, and dragg'd them about the Streets: *Julianus, Magister Militum* was kill'd by them, fighting by Night; but

*The Isaurians rise in favour of Longinus, Zeno's Brother.*

493.

A.D. 493. but for want of a Head to command and keep them together, they were suppress'd.

We must now return to *Italy*, and see what Progress *Theodoric* has made in his Conquest of that Kingdom: The Blockade of *Ravenna* still continues, and that Town and *Cæsena* distant about 24 Miles, were the only places that remain'd in the possession of *Odoacer*. *Theodoric* knowing the latter was defended by a numerous Garrison, did not think fit to attempt it: He thought 'twou'd be easier to reduce *Ravenna*; and thither he march'd resolving to turn the Blockade into a Siege. He prest the Citizens so close that *Odoacer* streightned for want of Provisions, muster'd all his Forces, and in the Night sally'd out on *Theodorick*, who was prepar'd to receive him. *Odoacer* was a Prince of great Bravery and Skill in War, and 'twas more owing to ill Fortune and the Treachery of his Subjects, that he was oblig'd to shut himself up so long within the Walls of *Ravenna*, than to Fear or Imprudence. He fought now for Liberty and Empire, and set his Soldiers such an Example that the *Goths* were forc'd to fly before the *Heruli*. *Theodoric* with the rest taking to his Heels, his Mother met him in his flight, stop'd him and ask'd him, *Whither he was flying?* Telling him, *there was no place of safety for him, unless she could receive him into her Womb?* The *Goth* sensibly touch'd with so seasonable a reproof, rally'd his Troops, fac'd the Enemy that pers'u'd them, and drove them back into *Ravenna*. Both sides were however equally weary of the War. The *Heruli* suffer'd all the hardships of a Siege. Want and Labour, and the *Goths* were tir'd out with the fatigues of a Camp, despairing to be Masters of a City that had resist'd their fury for above two Years. *John Bishop* of *Ravenna*, observing the good disposition both Parties appear'd to be in towards an Accommodation, so manag'd the matter between them, that after several Conferences, they came to the conclusion of a Treaty, by which *Odoacer* consented that *Theodoric* shou'd Reign with him in equal Power as King of *Italy*. Pursuant to the Treaty, the *Goths* rais'd the Siege, and their King made his Publick Entry into *Ravenna*, where he was Saluted King of *Italy*, and Lodg'd with *Odoacer* in the Royal Palace. But Rivalship in Empire, is as Inconsistent with Friendship as it is in Love. *Theodoric* Impatient of a Partner in the Throne, a few Weeks after he

*Theodoric concludes a Treaty with Odoacer.*

was

was admitted to share it with *Odoacer*, invited him to a *A.D. 493.*  
 Feast, where he order'd him to be slain together with  
 his Son, and the chief Officers that attended him. This  
 cruel inhospitable deed is an Indelible stain on the Me- *Murders*  
 mory of *Theodoric*, who otherwise wou'd have left a very *him and*  
 fair Fame. He excus'd himself by alledging that *Odo-* *his Son.*  
*acer* Plotted against his Life: And *Cassiodorus* affirms, that  
 the *Herulean* was really guilty of Conspiring to destroy  
 him. However he is not to be depended on, being the  
*Goth's* Secretary and Favourite.

*Theodoric* after the Death of his Competitor remain'd  
 sole Monarch of *Italy*, and by several Alliances with the  
 Neighb'ring Potentates, endeavour'd to secure himself in  
 his new Kingdom. He took to Wife *Anafleda*, Daugh-  
 ter of *Childeric*, and Sister to *Clowv* King of the *Franks*,  
 who had been Converted to the Christian Religion by  
 his Wife *Clotilda*, Daughter to *Childeric* King of the *Bur-*  
*gundians*, and was baptiz'd by *Remigius* Bishop of *Rheims*,  
 the Apostle of the *French*; with him 3000 of his  
 Subjects receiv'd the Sacrament of Baptism. *Theodoric*  
 Marry'd one of his Natural Daughters to *Alaric* Son of  
*Eurich* King of the *Visigoths*, and Mother to *Sigismund*  
 Son of *Gondebauld* King of *Burgundy*; he there apply'd  
 himself to regulate the Civil Government, and heal the  
 Breaches which the late Wars had caus'd in the State.  
 From this time we may date his Glorious Reign in *Italy*,  
 seventeen Years after the Total failure of the Western  
 Empire in the Person of *Augustulus*. By a solemn  
 Treaty he desir'd to continue his Friendship to the  
 Eastern Empire, and *Anastasius* gladly consented to grant  
 him Peace at his request, which the Emperor's Predé-  
 cessors were wont to buy of him, and his Ancestors the  
*Ostrogoth* Kings. He made no alterations in the form of  
 the *Roman* Government, only chang'd the Title of Em-  
 peror for that of King, which was the more modest and  
 less Invidious. By the advice and assistance of *Cassiodo-*  
*rus*, he brought the Affairs of *Italy* into good order; after  
 which he endeavour'd to reform the Manners of his  
 Countrymen, whose rough and martial Tempers he  
 soften'd by degrees, and made them to be in Love with  
 a quiet Life, and delight themselves in the Arts and  
 Pleasures of Peace. He was an *Arian* in his Principles,  
 yet he equally favour'd and promoted the Orthodox  
 Christians, and was so far from encouraging his Subjects



A.D. 493 to be of the Religion of their Prince, that when one of his Favourites Apostatiz'd from the Catholick Faith and turn'd *Arian*, he either kill'd him himself, or commanded him to be beheaded, saying, *How can I expect that thou who hast been a Traytor to thy God, wilt be true to me who am but a Man?* We shall have more to say of him hereafter, and 'tis now time to take a view of the *Isaurian* War, in which we left *Anastasius* involv'd. The Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria* joyn'd with *Longinus* in his Insurrection, and the Passes into the Country of *Isauria* were so difficult, and the Province so Mountainous and Barren after an Army had gain'd the Passes into it, that 'twas no hard matter for them to lengthen out the War so many Years. The Particulars of this dispute are no where met with; all that we know of it is, that the *Isaurians* were at last defeated, and *John* a *Gothick* Commander in *Anastasius's* Service took *Longinus*, and *Theodorus* one of his Principal abettors, cut off their Heads and sent them to the Emperor. Another *Longinus*, *Selinantius* and *Judas*, three of the *Isaurian* Conspirators were led in Triumph with Chains about their Necks thro' the Streets of *Constantinople*, and the Emperor was now deliver'd from his fears of a Competitor, which had kept him in awe. The Bishop of *Apamea*, the first Bishop *Militant* we read of, came to a Violent end, and *Anastasius* having nothing to apprehend from that Quarter of his Dominions, began to shew himself in his proper Colours to favour Heresy, and foment Divisions among the Orthodox.

Longinus  
taken in  
Isauria.

497.

The difference between the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, was receiv'd with greater heat than ever. *Felix* had such an aversion to *Acacius* for opposing his Primacy, that he wou'd not be satisfy'd unless *Euphemius* who succeeded *Flavita*, *Acacius's* Successor, wou'd raze his Name out of the *Dypticks*, as was usual to deal by *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks*. *Acacius* who was Orthodox in the main, did not in the Opinion of *Euphemius*, as Orthodox a Prelate as *Felix*, deserve such a treatment. Neither had the Bishop of *Rome* any Authority to send his Mandates into his Diocels, whose Claim of Precedence was disputable with that of *Rome*. Upon his refusal to obey the Bishop of *Rome's* Orders, *Felix* and after him his Successor *Gelasius*, refus'd to Communicate with *Euphemius*, resolving to assert the Power the Bishops of *Rome* had lately Usurp'd over all other Bishops.

And

And the Patriarch of *Constantinople* knowing there was A. D. 496. no Foundation in Reason, Law, or Gospel, for such a Claim, vindicated the Honour of his See, and wou'd make no Submissions to the Pope. *Anastasius* did not like *Gelasius's* Principles any better than those of *Euphemius*; yet out of hatred to the latter for obliging him at his Coronation to subscribe to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and for his firm adhering to the Catholick Faith under pretence that he Countenanc'd the *Isaurian War*, he depos'd and banish'd him. He persecuted alike the Orthodox and *Euticheans*, professing himself to be neither of the one Opinion nor the other, but of the Sect of the *Acephales*, or *Scepticks*. He caus'd *Macedonius*, Nephew to the Patriarch *Gennadius* to be chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, and when he found he did not answer his Expectations that he wou'd comply with his own Herefie; on the contrary, that he was a zealous Catholick, he treated him in a most barbarous Inhumane manner, which we shall relate in due time. *Macedonius* as well as his Predecessor refus'd to strike *Acacius's* Name out of the *Dypticks*, and the Bishops of *Rome* Persevering in their resolution not to have Communion with those of *Constantinople*, till they had gain'd that Point of them, the Schism continu'd thirty Years, and was carry'd on with much Animosity.

Some of *Anastasius's* Courtiers, Emulous of *Theodoric's* Greatness, perswaded the Emperor to declare War with him. *Theodoric* having notice of it in time, dispatch'd away his Embassadors to renew the late Alliance, and by his prudent compliance with the Emperor's terms, preserv'd the Peace of both their Dominions. He was now in the fifth Year of his Reign, and by the Exercise of his many Royal Vertues had gain'd the Love of his Subjects, and the good will of the Neighbring Princes. He was so equal in the Administration of the Government, that he wou'd not displace the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, tho' his Enemies, out of their dwellings which he had promis'd to give his *Goths*, without making them full satisfaction elsewhere. Those *Italians* that had continu'd faithful to *Odoacer*, he was so far from discountenancing that he prefer'd them to Places of Trust, Honour and Profit; and on the other Hand wou'd never advance or encourage those that had deserted their old Master, or having Sworn to be true to himself had revolted to

*Odoacer*

A.D. 456. *Odoacer* again. He order'd that *Gothick* Judges should determine all Controversies arising among *Goths*; and all Causes of the *Italians*, were to be decided by *Italian* Judges. Courts of Judicature were erected in every City, for bringing Suits to a quick and easy Issue. His Moderation in Religious Matters, was very Commendable; and on the Death of Pope *Anastasius*, *Gelasius*'s Successor, when there was a double Election, and a Civil War in *Rome* upon it, he undertook to end the Quarrel by his own Arbitration. Instead of increasing the feud between the two Parties, to the ruin of both, as might have been expected from an *Arian*, he could not be at rest, till he had reconcil'd them: The Story is related to us thus.

The Emperor on the Death of *Anastasius*, order'd his Agents at *Rome*, to spare neither Money nor Pains to get a Prelate for his purpose in the Episcopal Chair: He knew, unless he could procure a Pope to his mind, he should always meet with vigorous Opposition in his proceedings against the Orthodox, and the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Festus*, *Sabinus*, and other Senators, were engag'd by his Emissaries to appear for *Laurentius*. *Fauftus*, and the major part of that Assembly, made use of all their Interest for *Symmachus*: Both sides proceeded to an Election, and each pretended, that the Pope they had chosen was lawful Bishop. From Words they came to Blows, and much Blood was spilt in the Quarrel. At last *Theodoric* took the decision of the Matter on himself, and summon'd both Parties to attend him at *Ravenna*, where he usually kept his Court. He put an end to the Dispute, when he had heard what each Faction had to say for it self; ordering, that he who had been first Elected, and had most Voices, should be confirm'd Bishop of *Rome*. *Symmachus* being first chosen, and having the major part of the Electors on his side, was declar'd the lawful Bishop: *Laurentius*'s Party refus'd to stand by his Decision, though a Synod was call'd, and *Symmachus* acknowledg'd as the true Pope. They held out three years and then they submitted, *Laurentius* contenting himself with the Bishoprick of *Nocera*. Pope *Symmachus* on his promotion, wrote to the Emperor to notify his Election, and to desire him to be more favourable to the Catholics. *Anastasius* resenting, that he should intermeddle in his Concerns, affronted his

Messen.

Messengers, and declar'd himself more openly than ever, A.D. 498. in opposition to the Synod of *Chalcedon*: How far he might in this heat have push'd his Resentments to the prejudice of the Orthodox, had he been at leisure, we may guess by his Cruelty towards them, when the danger that now threaten'd him was over.

The *Bulgarians* in the year 499, Invaded, Plunder'd 499. and Destroy'd *Thrace*. The Emperor commanded *Arifus* his General in *Illyricum*, to make head against them: Accordingly he march'd towards the Enemy with an Army of 15000 Men, and 520 Wagons laden with all sorts of Necessaries for the War. He was so sure of Victory, that he offer'd the *Bulgarians* Battel near the River *Zarta*, in which he was worsted, 4000 of his Men were kill'd, and among them many Officers of Note. *Anastasius* instead of raising a new Army to drive the *Barbarians* out of his Dominions, Ignominiously bought a Peace of them, who were but a handful of Men, compar'd to the infinite swarms that frighted his Predecessors, into such a scandalous Practice. The Emperor had the Cause of his Heretick Friends at Heart, and wanted to clear his Territories of his Foreign Enemies, that he might turn his whole thoughts on destroying his own Catholick Subjects.

The Romans  
worsted by  
the Bulgarians.

The Sixth Century open'd with the Consulate of *Patrius* and *Hypatius*, in which *Theodoric* hearing the Contentests continu'd at *Rome* between the two Candidates for the Bishoprick, resolv'd to go thither himself, and summon a Synod, as has been hinted before, to put an end to it: For 'tis reported, that as well great numbers of the Citizens, as the greatest part of the Clergy, had lost their Lives in the Dispute. What hopes could the Church have of a Pastor, who was stain'd with the Blood of his Flock; Though it had lately been so common a thing for the Bishops of *Rome* to get into the Chair by force, that 'twas not taken notice of? The Eyes of all *Italy* was on the King's Progress to *Rome*, he having never yet had the curiosity to see that City, which had for above seven hundred years, been the Capital of the World. He made his Publick Entry with extraordinary Pomp: The Splendor and number of his Train, reviving in the Hearts of the Citizens, the Idea of the Triumphs of their Ancestors, and the glory of their City. Inexpressible was the joy on this occasion; and

500.

*Augustus*



A.D. 500. *Augustus* or *Titus* himself who was justly stil'd the Delight of Mankind, could not have been receiv'd with more signs of Duty and Affection, than the Romans shew'd for *Theodoric* their *Gothick* Sovereign. So true it is, that Justice and Mercy, will make any Prince be belov'd by his Subjects, let him be a Native or a Stranger; and the notion, that a Natural Prince will not be a Tyrant, nor a Foreigner a Father of his People, is equally absurd and ridiculous. When he approach'd near the Senate House, the famous Orator *Boetius*, made a Speech to him, in the name of that Assembly; and in return, he promis'd he would be very solicitous to advance the Dignity and Interest of the Senate. He spoke also to the People, entertain'd the Senators at a Royal Banquet, and distributed Corn among the Commoners. He spent several Days in viewing the Antiquities of the City, saying, *That the Forum of Trajan alone, must needs be a Miracle to those that saw it every day.* *Fulgentius* afterwards Bishop of *Ruspa* in *Afric*, hapning to be at *Rome* at this Solemnity, and seeing the Pomp and Lustre of *Theodoric's* Court and Train, cry'd out, when the King had done speaking to the People in the Amphitheater; *If Earthly Rome is so glorious, what will the Heavenly Jerusalem be, which God has promis'd to the Elect?* The King observing the Walls of the City, and other publick Places were out of Repair, order'd that they should be rebuilt, and contributed largely towards the Charge. After he had seen all the Rarities of *Rome*, and compos'd the Differences between *Symmachus's* and *Laurentius's* Factions, about the Papacy, he left the City with Regret, and return'd to *Ravenna*, Protesting, *He thought it a Sin for any Man to live out of Rome, whose business would permit him to dwell there.* We have shewn how *Theodoric*, by his upright Administration in Civil Affairs, and his Moderation in Religious, had insinuated himself into the Hearts of the Romans. Let us see how the Emperor by a Conduct quite opposite to the *Gothick* Kings, has lost their Affections; and Reigns over them in the East by Fear, and not by Love. Their hatred of him was become so general and violent, that they publicly revil'd him, call'd him *Heretick*; particularly the Citizens of *Constantinople*, who had not yet forgot the Liberality of *Longinus*, nor the Emperor their readiness to assist him: For which he severely

A.D. 501.

severely chastis'd them, four or five years after the suppression of his Insurrection. In the year of our Lord 501, when a Multitude of the ordinary sort of People were got together, to see the publick Shews in the Amphitheater, he order'd his Guards to fall upon them; and pursuant to his Orders, three thousand of those wretches were murder'd at once, who, says *Baronius*, had all been Martyrs, had they dy'd in Communion of the Church of *Rome*. This Barbarity was sufficient ground for Pope *Symmachus*, to Excommunicate him, tho' the Bishop of *Rome*. we may suppose, was the more willing to proceed to Ecclesiastical Censures, because of his siding with *Laurentius*. The former Popes, though for two or three hundred years they had been preparing the way for the future greatness of their Successors; yet we find them very cautious, how they oppos'd their Authority to that of the Emperor. St. *Ambrose* indeed deny'd *Theodosius* the Great the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, till he had shewn his Repentance for the *Thessalonian* Massacre; but to publish a Sentence of Excommunication, and in a modern Phrase, to plant the Church Artillery against the Person of an Emperor, was a Novelty that *Anastsius* could not digest. Though Excommunication in those days, extended only to keep out Ecclesiastical Offenders from the Communion Table; the denying them the benefit of Divine Service, and Christian Burial; The laying Principalities, Kingdoms, and Empires, under an Interdict, is a later Invention of the Bishops of *Rome*, to enlarge their Power, and have a Right of disposing of Crowns and Scepters at their pleasure. The Emperor enrag'd at the Affront he had receiv'd, declar'd by a publick Writing, that the Sentence of Excommunication was null of it self, there being no foundation in Law or Gospel for the Popes Presumption in such a case: And in the same Paper, he laid many foul Crimes to the charge of the Pope, which the Bishop endeavour'd to clear himself of in an Apologetical Reply, justifying all that he had done; and arrogantly affirming, *That the Dignity of a Pope, was as much above that of an Emperor, as Heaven is above the Earth*: He wrote Circular Letters to all the Bishops of the *East*, exhorting them to persevere in vigorously opposing the Emperor, and continu'd his quarrel with him, as long as he liv'd. The next year the *Bulgari* encourag'd with

Pope Symmachus  
Excommunicates the  
Emperor.

A.D. 502. their last Success, again invaded *Thrace*, and for a Sum of Money, were prevail'd with to turn their Arms on *Theodoric*, King of *Italy*, who defeated them, took *Sirmium*, and extended his Conquests in *Pannonia* and *Bulgaria*. The Storm in the North was scarce blown over, when a blacker rose in the East: *Cabades* King of *Persia*, being indebted to the King of the *Epthalites*, desir'd *Anastafius* to lend him a Sum sufficient to discharge the Debt. The Emperor was dissuaded from it by the advice of some of his Courtiers, who represented to him, that 'twould be more for his Interest, to let the Barbarians fall out among themselves, than to furnish the *Persian* King with Money to maintain the Peace with the King of the *Epthalites*. *Cabades*, on his denying him the Loan he desir'd, invaded the Empire with a numerous Army of *Persians*, and *Epthalites*, and besieg'd *Amida*, the strongest City of *Mesopotamia*; which after a long and fruitless Siege, he surpriz'd, by means of one of his Soldiers discovering a Vault, by which his Men enter'd the place; and he himself making use of the same passage, got into the Town, and master'd it. The Christian Historians were in those dark Ages of the World, very fond of Miracles, and easily believ'd what the Superstition or Credulity of the times made to pass for truth. *Procopius* is an Author of such Authority, that though we are not oblig'd to give credit to every thing he writes; yet we shall be blam'd, if we omit any thing remarkable: He reports, that one *James* a *Syrian* Hermit, who liv'd in a solitary Village near *Amida*, had acquir'd such a Reputation for his Sanctity, that the Country People seeing him take no care of his Health, nor to provide against the extremities of Heat and Cold, or the violence of a Tempest, pitch'd some Pales about the place where he us'd to sit, with spaces between them, just enough for him to see and talk to those that came to visit him, and roost it over head, to keep him dry and warm. A Party of *Epthalites* by chance fell upon his Cottage, and offering to shoot him, their Hands were so benumm'd, they could not draw their Bows. They inform'd *Cabades* of their Adventure, when they return'd to his Camp; and the King had the curiosity to go in Person, and examine into the truth of the Miracle: Being convinc'd of it, he begg'd the Hermit's pardon for his Soldiers Insolence, bidding him for his

*Cabades*  
King of  
Persia, in-  
vades Me-  
sopota-  
mia.  
takes Ami-  
da.

further

further Satisfaction, ask what he would, and it should be granted; imagining, the poor Man would demand some of his Gold; instead of that, he only made it his request, that he might have the privilege of Protecting those, whom the Misfortunes of War should drive thither, for their Security. *Cabades* readily granted his Petition, left him Letters of Protection; and the report of his Privilege, drew Persons from all places to his Village for safety.

*Cabades* Garrison'd *Amida* with 1000 *Persians*, and then march'd home: The Emperor was extremely troubled at the loss of the City, and rais'd a mighty Army to recover it. He gave the command of it to *Arebindus*, who had marry'd the Daughter of *Olybrius*, the Western Emperor. *Arebindus*, invaded the Enemies Country, to revenge his Master for the loss of *Amida*, despairing to reduce it by a Siege, he divided his Army into several Bodies: *Cabades* having notice of their Division, improv'd the advantage he had giv'n him, and advanc'd against that which *Arebindus* commanded in Person: The latter fled in great Consternation, and abandon'd his Camp and Baggage to the Enemy: *Cabades* sackt it, and afterwards follow'd *Patritius* and *Hyman*, who commanded another Body of the Roman Army; and had cut off 800 *Ephalites*. These *Cabades* surpriz'd, revelling in security for joy of their Success, and charging them with great fury, he kill'd the greatest part of them on the spot. There still remain'd a third Body of the Romans together in his Dominions; however, *Cabades* was forc'd to leave the Borders at their Mercy, to oppose the *Hunns*, who had invaded his Territories in another quarter. The Romans for want of a Commander in Chief, did little, the Inferior Officers differing among themselves. *Arebindus* was recall'd to *Constantinople*, and those that were at the Head of the Forces who were in a Body in the East, lay down before *Amida*, blockt up the City, and try'd to Master it, by starving the Garrison, whom they brought into terrible streights; yet they kept their necessities to themselves, and the Romans knowing nothing of it, were apprehensive of *Cabades's* returning to relieve them, before they were reduc'd to the extremities they expected from their Blockade. The ill state of the Garrison, and the length of the Siege, dispos'd both



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507. This Prince was the most powerful King of all the *Barbarians* that govern'd the Kingdoms which were founded on the ruins of the *Western* Empire: He had obtain'd many Victories over the *Germans* on the *Rhine*, and compell'd *Gundebaud*, King of the *Burgundians*, to pay him Tribute. He made War with *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths*, *Theodoric's* Ally; who, he thought, had concern'd himself too much in the late War, between him and *Gundebaud*. *Theodoric* earnestly invited the King of *Burgundy*, the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, who had seated themselves in the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Country lying at the foot of the *Alps*, to interpose by their Mediation, between *Clovis* and *Alaric*; and if the former refus'd to give Peace to *Alaric*, to joyn in a League to keep

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A.D. 510. *Languedec* and *Guienne* : However, *Saintonge* and *Poitou*, were added to the Monarchy of *France*, out of which neither the *Goths* nor their Confederates, could expel him. The Noble and Learned *Boetius*, was Consul for the year following, which was remarkable for little else, except that at that time the *Saracens* invaded and wasted *Palestine*, and *Anastasius* began to persecute *Macedonius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, whose

511. Troubles continu'd till the next year.

The Citizens of *Constantinople*, had a great Veneration for their Bishop; and the more *Anastasius* hated him for his Perseverance in his Orthodox Principles, the more they admir'd and lov'd him for his Constancy. The Emperor to ruin him procur'd 200 Monks, headed by one *Severus* to come to Court, and offer their Service against *Macedonius*; who seeing his Life was in danger, address'd himself to the People, and they resolutely declar'd, they would defend him; saying, 'Twas a shame for Christians to desert their Bishop in times of Persecution. The Emperor finding he was safe in the Affections of the Citizens, from any publick Attempt, suborn'd false Witnesses to accuse him of enormous Crimes; and when their forg'd Evidence was detected, *Anastasius* commanded his Guards to seize him by Night, who obey'd his Commands; and *Macedonius* was hurry'd away into Banishment. Four years after the Emperor, as if he intended to defie the fury of the Multitude, got *Timotheus*, a Debauch'd Man, and an Heretick, to be plac'd in his Chair, which so exasperated the People,

512. that the year ensuing they rose in Arms, and 10000 of them are said to be kill'd in the Tumult. The Massacre of the Citizens, quench'd the flames of the Sedition for a time; but like a fire half extinguish'd, it

513. broke out again. The Emperor and Empress were forc'd to hide themselves in the Palace, the People loading them with Reproaches, and threatening to choose another Sovereign. On this, *Anastasius* thought fit to humble himself a little, and promis'd to observe the Council of *Chalcedon* : Yet not long after, he renew'd his Persecution, promoted *Severus*, whom we have already mention'd, to the See of *Antioch*, and turn'd the Orthodox Bishops, Priests and Monks, out of their Houses and Benefices. *Vitalianus*, who was in hopes to mend his Fortunes at the expence of the Publick, affecting an extraordinary Concern

*An Insurrection at Constantinople.*

concern for the wrongs done to the Catholicks, rais'd a A D. 513. considerable party of Horse, over-ran *Mesia* and *Thrace*, took *Cyrl* Governour of that Province, and advanc'd almost as far as the Gates of *Constantinople*. *Anastasius* sent his Nephew *Hypatius* against him, whom *Vitalianus* took Prisoner, and the Emperor finding he cou'd not prevail by force, tempted him with a vast Sum to be quiet, promising to recall *Macedonius*, and Summon a Council to meet at *Heraclea*, to put an end to all differences in Religious matters. These offers were too fair to be rejected; *Vitalianus's* followers accepted of them, and their Leader cou'd not maintain the War on any other grounds than that of Religion. He took the Money and gave *Hypatius* his Liberty.

These transactions were not quite over till the latter end of the next Year, the Consulate of *Cassiodorus* the Historian. *Anastasius*, as he was wont to do, soon broke his word, and Persecuted the Catholicks with as much fury as ever. Yet to prevent any future Troubles on account of Religion, he seem'd to continue in his resolution of calling a Council. He wrote to *Hormisdas*, Pope *Symmachus's* Successor, complaining of the obstinacy of his Predecessors, desiring him to use his endeavours for healing the Breaches in the Church, and inviting him to that end to assist at the Council he intended to Summon. The Pope return'd an answer by his Deputies, who were instructed not to consent to the Council till *Anastasius* shou'd by Letters assure all the Bishops in his Empire, that he had approv'd of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Bishops had declar'd the same in their Churches. That they shou'd curse *Nestorius*, *Eutiches* and *Acacius* together with all that adher'd to his Communion, that himself shou'd decide the cause of the depos'd Popes. Every one of these Articles were intended to confirm and encrease the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; for till he was satisfy'd as to his Primacy and Precedence, the Bishops in the *East* might for him live in Exile, the Church be rent and torn by Persecution and Divisions, and Millions of Souls be abandon'd to Perdition, he denying them the benefit of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Body and Blood of Christ the only means of their Redemption, and those Bishops that have since sat in the See of *Rome*, have for twelve hundred Years been improving the Impious Pride and Obstinacy of their Predecessors,

A.D. 514. decessors, to the ruin of Millions of Millions, of Souls for the advancing their Temporal Greatness and Power. *Hormisdas* without staying for the decisions of a general Council, Expunges the Names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius* out of the *Dypricks* for owning *Acacius*. *Anastasius* receiv'd the Popes Legates very civilly, and told them he was ready to agree to all the Articles except that which related to *Acacius*. He made this exception to regain the Love of the Citizens, who had the memory of that Bishop in great esteem; and to render himself still more Popular, he settled a considerable Income on the Church, that the Priests might forgive their dues at the Burials of the Dead; yet he secretly continu'd to favour Hereticks, and Protect and Promote such as were most averse to the Catholicks.

155. *Vitalianus*, to flatter him, was made *Magister Militum*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Thrace*: The Emperor bury'd his Wife *Ariana*, who had past sixty Years of her Life at Court: The *Huns* Invaded *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, *Lycaonia*, and carry'd off a great Booty: *Theodoric* in the West spread the Terror of his Arms as far as *Swabia* in *Germany*: He forc'd the Inhabitants to pay him Tribute, and made one *Fridelade* their Governour. His Wars in *Gaul* and on the *Rhine* being almost over, he thought of providing further for the Prosperity of his Family. And hearing an Extraordinary good Character of *Eutharick*, Great Grand-Son to *Torrismond* King of the *Visigoths*, tho' he had no Kingdom to Inherit, yet for his Vertue and Merit, he gave him his Daughter *Amalasunta* in Marriage. She was a Princess famous in her Days for Wit and Learning; She spoke the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages perfectly well, and answer'd all the *Barbarians* in their several Dialects. The Emperor to Honour the Bridegroom, presented him with the Imperial Ornaments, and adopted him for his Son.

156. *Anastasius* dissembling his hatred of the Catholick Faith, recall'd some of the Orthodox Bishops whom he had sent into Exile from Banishment, and restor'd them to their Sees. *Vitalianus* had now no manner of pretence to keep up any part of the Forces that he had rais'd for the defence of the Catholick cause. He dismiss the remainders of them, whom as *Magister Militum* of *Thrace*, he had till now kept on Foot, and liv'd retir'd. The Emperor no sooner heard that he had disarm'd, than remem-  
bring

bring the late affront he had receiv'd from him, he took away his Commission as Lieutenant of *Thrace*, and all other Offices which he had giv'n him to bring him into a good humour : He seem'd so secure that he boldly reviv'd the Persecution against the Catholicks. Threaten'd all those that own'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, or joyn'd in Communion with *Hormisdas*.

517.

Being inform'd that all the Bishops of *Illyricum* had United themselves to the Latin Church, he sent for them to *Constantinople*, and threw such as wou'd not recant into Prison, where many of them dy'd in want and misery. He did not spare his Courtiers, nor the great Officers of the Crown. *Justin* and *Justinian* his Nephew, Famous at home and abroad for their Merit, and the Offices they held in the Empire were miraculously preserv'd. *Anastasius* intended to condemn them to death for a sham Plot against his Person. But *Zonaras* reports a Man with a grim Aspect, appear'd to him in a Dream, and forbid him to hurt them, for each of them was set apart to serve God in his turn. The Citizens of *Constantinople* being no longer able to endure his Tyranny, once more took Arms to put an end to the Violence of the Persecution, and to revenge the Banishment of their former Bishop. Many Persons of the highest Quality ran the hazard of their Lives in this Sedition. Many Noble Edifices were burnt, and the whole City was in Confusion and Uproar. *Anastasius* to appease them, appear'd in the *Circus* without his Imperial Robes or Crown, and order'd his Heralds to Proclaim, That he was ready to lay down the Sovereign Power to him, that they thought was most worthy of it. But since all who aspir'd to that Dignity cou'd not obtain it, they ought first to resolve among themselves who shou'd be the Man. The People mov'd by the Fears and Submissions of the Aged Emperor on a sudden chang'd their inclinations towards him. They earnestly entreated him to reassume his Crown, and promis'd him to behave themselves more Peaceably and Dutifully for the future. As soon as the danger was over, he return'd to his former Cruelties : No Voice from Heaven or Earth, cou'd deter him from his Inveterate Practices against the Orthodox Christians. Tho' the Almighty by most dreadful Earthquakes seem'd to denounce his heavy wrath, and to warn him not to provoke him further by the Blood of his Saints, yet he continu'd



A.D. 517. *Justin'd to put all that were well affected to the Catholick Faith to death, if they wou'd not dissemble with God and him, and were in Stations considerable enough to do the Church a Service. At last he was smitten by an Invisible Hand, and found dead in his Chamber the 11th of July, in the Year of our Lord 518. Magnus and Florentius being Consuls in the twenty eighth Year of his Reign, and the eightieth of his Age. Historians relate several strange Passages, as Omens of the Emperor's Death. 'Tis reported that he saw another Vision of an old Man with a terrible Aspect, who shew'd him a Book wherein the number of Years of every Persons Life then living was written: The Vision looking on him with an angry countenance said, dashing out part of his Complement; Thus, for the Perverseness of thy Faith, I cut off 14 Years of thy Life. Next Morning he told Amantius his Chamberlain his Dream; who reply'd, that he had dreamt the very same Night that a Boar devour'd him as he stood by the Emperor. They both told the Famous Mathematician and Philosopher Proclus what they had dreamt, and desir'd him to interpret it, Proclus declar'd, that they shou'd both of 'em dye in a short time. Others write that Anastasius consulting the Oracle about his Fate was answer'd, He shou'd perish by Fire. To evade the Prediction he got Proclus to turn Artichect, and contrive him a Lodging where no Fire cou'd reach him, yet he is said to have perish'd, as it was foretold he wou'd, being struck dead by Thunder and Lightning. On his Death, his Memory was so odious to the Orthodox Christians for his Barbarities towards their Brethren, that his Name was struck out of the Dypticks as an Heretick. The beginning of his Reign like that of other Tyrants, as Nero, Domitian, Commodus, &c. was good, but he soon deviated from the Righteous course he began to take, and the Vertues that he at first affected to Exercise, such as Piety, Generosity and Mercy, turn'd into the opposite Vices, Cruelty, Covetousness and Irreligion. He set such an Example to his Successors for the Sale of Offices that the Practice cou'd never be suppressed, and Places became by this means Hereditary, to the weakning of the Monarchy, and setting up an Aristocracy. As ill as he was, we must not believe all the bad things the Ecclesiastical Writers have said of him, whose Pique against him is chiefly for his disobedience to the Apostolick*

518.  
Anastasius  
found dead  
in his  
Chamber.

Apostolick *Vicar*, and opposing the Tyranny of the Bishop A.D. 518. of *Rome*, the only good thing that he did not repent of.

## Justin.

AFTER the Death of *Anastasius*, *Amantius* the Emperor's chief Eunuch and Favourite brought *Justin*, who was then *Præfectus Prætorio*, an immense Summ of Money, and desir'd him to distribute it among the Officers and Soldiers of the Prætorian Band, to engage their Voices for his Intimate Friend *Theocritus*, a Tribune in the Army, whom he intended to put in his late Master's place. *Justin*, says *Evagrius*, took the Money, and instead of Purchasing their Votes for *Theocritus*, engag'd them for himself and was saluted *Augustus*. *Baronius* in Justin his Annals contradicts the account giv'n of his advancement by *Evagrius*, and tells us, that in the Letter Justin chosen Em- wrote to Pope *Hormisdas* to notify his accession to the Throne, he writes he was created Emperor by the Nobles, the Senate and Army: But as the Cardinal gives what turn he pleases to all events as they make for his purpose; So in this he on very little ground varies from the Ancient Historians, to shew the respect *Justin* had for the Bishop of *Rome*. Those that know least of the Methods us'd in the Election of Emperors since the Prætorian Soldiers usurp'd that Priviledge, could have told him, that 'twas common for the Army to Name a Person whom the Senate almost always accepted of for their Sovereign; and no Man can believe that *Justin* wrote to the Bishop of *Rome* before that Assembly had confirm'd his Election by the Prætorian Band. His saying in his Letters he was promoted against his will, might be such another Ceremony as those very Popes make use of who have mounted the Chair of *St. Peter*, over the dead Bodies of their murder'd Competitors, and yet cry, *Noli Episcopare*.

*Amantius* and *Theocritus* too late saw their error in trusting their Money with a Man who had better pretensions of his own to the Purple than either of them. They endeavour'd with as much secrecy as was consistent with the affair to oppose his Election. And being discover'd, the Eunuch *Amantius* was beheaded, and *Theocritus* ston'd to Death and flung into the Sea. By the Death of these two Persons, *Justin* secur'd himself in possession of the Throne, and ingratiated himself with the People who mortally hated them, for being the chief Instruments

A.D. 518. ments of *Anastasi*'s Cruelty and Oppression. As Authors differ in the account of his attaining the Empire, so they vary as to his Birth and Quality, before he rose to the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio*; some write he was the Son of a Shepherd, others that he was descended of the Noble Family of the *Anicii*, one of the Richest and most Honourable Houses in *Rome*. Neither can they agree in the place of his Birth; the Chronicle of *Alexandria* informs us, that he was Born in *Illyricum*, and most of the other Authors that speak of his Birth say he was a *Thracian*. The difficulties that arise in deciding the controversy are a demonstrative Proof of the meanness of his Extraction, for had he been of the Race of the *Anicii*, 'twou'd easily have been known where he was born. 'Tis certain his Education was so bad that he cou'd not write his Name; and that for his Courage and his Zeal for the Orthodox Religion, he rose from a Private Soldier to be Colonel of the Guards, and from thence to be Emperor. His Wife *Lupicina* was Crown'd with him, having chang'd her Name to *Euphemia* for the grace of the sound. He apply'd himself immediately on his advancement to reform the abuses in Church and State, and became very acceptable to the Citizens of *Constantinople*, and indeed to the whole Empire. *Timotheus* the Heretical Bishop of *Constantinople* dy'd, in whose place *John* Sirnam'd the *Cappadocian*, a Pious Catholick Orthodox Prelate was unanimously chosen. *John* Summon'd a Synod of the Bishops of his Diocess, and 40 Prelates met four Days after his Election. This Synod restor'd the depos'd Bishops to their Sees, condemn'd *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and other Schismaticks, and Establish'd sound Doctrine, and good Discipline in the Church to the great Joy of all the Eastern Christians. The Emperor wrote to Pope *Hormisdas*, conjuring him to find out some means to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches: And tho' the Bishop of *Rome*, like the rest of his Predecessors, continu'd for some time obstinate and inflexible, yet *Justin* set him such a good example by his concern for the Peace of the Church, that out of meer shame to be outdone in Charity by a Laick, the Pope agreed to accommodate matters very advantageous to his See, tho' not so Extravagant as he requir'd.

For the following Year *Vitalianus* and *Rusticus* were A.D. 520 Consuls, the former was a *Scythian* by Birth, and so ambitious that nothing less than the Purple wou'd content him. He was himself an *Arian*, yet he put on the Mask of the true Religion; in the Reign of *Anastasius* he espous'd the Catholick cause for the advancing his sinister designs. His seeming Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, had procur'd him a Powerful Interest in *Thrace*; and *Justin* knowing him to be a Man in good esteem with the Soldiers, of a restless aspiring Temper, contriv'd how he might rid himself of such a dangerous Person. Force he thought wou'd be ineffectual, otherwise he had good reason to proceed against him; for now that the Emperor was Orthodox, he sided with the *Euticeans*, and put himself at the Head of the disaffected Party. *Justin* therefore resolv'd to dissemble as he had done, invited him to Court, made him Captain of the Guards and Consul. *Vitalianus* assuming too much on the favours he receiv'd, which he knew were bestow'd on him, more out of fear than affection, himself and his Friends *Clarianus* and *Paulus*, *Vitalianus* were set upon the Imperial Pallace, and murder'd in the eighth Month of his consulate. The next Year was famous for the Consulship of *Justinian* the Emperors Nephew in the East, and *Valerius* in the West. The former by the Magnificence of the Shows he Exhibited, and the largeness of his Donatives reviv'd the Ancient splendor of his high Office, and put the *Romans* in mind of those Days when the Kings of the Earth bow'd their Knees to a Consul of *Rome*. The Year following was also remarkable for nothing more than the Consuls *Symmachus* and *Boetius* the third time. *Cabades* King of *Persia*, resolving to disinherit his Eldest Son, and his second, and to leave the Crown to his third Son, sent Embassadors to the Emperor *Justin*, that for continuing the Peace between them and their Successors, he desir'd he wou'd be pleas'd to adopt *Chosroes* for his Son. Both the Emperor and his Nephew *Justinian* gave into the *Persians* Fraud, till *Proclus*, *Justin's* Treasurer dissuaded them from it by representing to them, that what was pretended to be askt with a design to preserve the Peace between the two Empires, wou'd certainly break it. For *Cabades* intended by it either to engage the *Romans*, to assist his Son *Chosroes* to maintain his disputed Title, or to give him another by Vertue of his adoption to the *Roman* Empire. *Justinian* was



A.D. 523. was soon convinc'd of their Mistake, in encouraging the Embassadors in their Request, by the weight of *Proclus's* last Argument. Upon this the *Persians* were sent home with an unsatisfactory Answer, which made ill Blood between the two Monarchs; and other Accidents intervening, it broke out into a War. *Justin* to save his own Subjects in the *Persian* War, hir'd *Zeliobes*, King of the *Hunns*, to assist him with an Army of Mercenaries. *Cabades* bidding more Money than *Justin* offer'd, the *Barbarians* joyn'd the *Persians*; which so exasperated the Emperor, that he inform'd the King of *Persia* of the Treaty that was on foot between him and *Zeliobes*, bidding him beware how he trusted him. *Cabades* inquir'd into the truth of the matter, and finding the *Hunn* had really bargain'd with *Justin*, to side with him, he commanded that all the *Hunns* in his Army, together with their King, should be put to the Sword. *Gurgenes*, King of the *Iberians*, at this time revolted to the Emperor, occasion'd by a threatening Message sent him by *Cabades*, whose Tributary he was; That himself and his Subjects, who were Christians, Should do in all things, as the *Persians* did, and not bury their Dead, but throw their Bodies to the Dogs, and the Fowls of the Air. *Justin* aided *Gurgenes* with part of his Forces, which not being sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, the King with his Family was forc'd to fly into *Lazica*, where we must leave him, till the Emperor is better inclin'd to assist him.

524.

*Justin* had all along been very kind to the Orthodox, without offering any Violence to the *Arians*; but in the year following, he by an Edict, depriv'd them of their Churches throughout their Dominions. He had forbore them so long, out of Complaisance to *Theodoric*; and had not now proceeded to this Extremity, if by their Insolence, they had not render'd themselves unworthy Toleration. The *Arians* were further allarm'd by the Conversion of *Elderice*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, who had renounc'd their Heresy, embrac'd the Catholick Faith, and contracted a close Friendship with *Justinian*, who manag'd all things under the Emperor his Uncle.

*Pope John* *Theodoric* taking the declining Cause of *Arianism* to first inter-Heart, sent *John* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, *Theodorus* Impor-ceeds for-tunus, and *Agapetus*, Men of Consular Dignity, to *Justinian*, to desire he would revoke the Edicts against the *A-*  
rians,

*rians*, or otherwise to threaten him, that he would deal A.D. 524.  
 as severely by the Catholicks in his Dominions. We shall  
 see hereafter, how the Pope succeeded in this memorable  
 Embassy. The Popish Authors excuse the Bishops going  
 on such an unwarrantable Errand, as to procure a tolerati-  
 on for Heresy, by affirming boldly, that *Theodoric* threat-  
 en'd to abolish the Catholick Religion, if he refus'd to  
 tolerate *Arianism*; though we cannot find any grounds  
 for their saying, he was compell'd to it. Be it as it  
 will, we are sure the Apostolick Vicar was not at all  
 dispos'd to be either Martyr or Confessor; for in such  
 case, he would have preferr'd the Fire or a Prison, to  
 the shameful and wicked Office of mediating for Here-  
 ticks. The Embassadors had farther Instructions to re-  
 monstrate to the Emperor, that the *Roman* Senate being  
 accus'd of High Treason; some of the Principal Sena-  
 tors confess, they had been corrupted by him, with whom  
 they held Intelligence, contrary to the League between  
 the two Potentates. *Boetius*, who was so emi-  
 nent for his Wisdom, Learning, Eloquence and Quality,  
 had lately falln into the King's Displeasure, who was an-  
 gry with him for his forwardness to Plead in all Cau-  
 ses, which were opposite to the interests of the Crown.  
*Theodoric*, as most Persons of his Age are, was grown *Boetius*  
 Peevish and Covetous, and began to love Money im- *his Trou-*  
 moderately, which put him upon the usual shifts of fil- *bles.*  
 ling the Treasury, to incourage Informers; and by form  
 of Law, to get the Estates of the Principal Magistrates  
 to be declar'd forfeited for Misdemeanors or Male-  
 Administration, in the execution of their Offices. *Pauli-*  
*nus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Albinus*, both Persons of  
 Consular Dignity, were charg'd with High Treason by  
 the King himself. *Boetius*, by the force of his Reason  
 and Eloquence, protected them against the King's Au-  
 thority, and oblig'd him to agree, that they should be  
 try'd by the Senate of *Verona*, their proper Judges; by  
 whom they were acquitted. The King and his Cour-  
 tiers found, there was no filling their Pockets that  
 way, while *Boetius* was so hearty an assertor of Liberty  
 and Property. There was no buying him off by a  
 Place, he was too Noble and too Rich, to be tempted  
 by a Bribe, to hold his Tongue, and be a tame Specta-  
 tor of the ruin of his Fellow-Citizens. He had the  
 Law on his side, and Learning, good Sense and good  
 Lar-

A.D. 524. Language to explain it; and compel the Passions, and even Interests of the Judges to submit to the Power of Truth; unless they could remove him out of the way, the Informers might Starve, and the Courtiers be oblig'd to live on their Pensions without Presents or Grants. There were three Persons of the Senatorian Order, that ill deserv'd the Rank they held in the World, one of them *Basilus*, was dismiss'd the Kings Service; the other two, *Opilio* and *Gaudentius*, lay under his Displeasure, and had no other way to save themselves from the same fate, but to joyn with *Basilus*, and accuse *Boetius* of Treason. Let us see whether the Charge in the worst Sense that the words will bear, was unworthy a Roman. They said, *He had endeavour'd to enlarge the Power and Interest of the Senate, to the prejudice of the Authority Royal. That he had hinder'd the bringing in an Information of Treason against the Fathers*: Letters were also forg'd to prove his Intentions, and aims to be for the recovery of the Roman Liberty. *Theodoric*, either privy to the Conspiracy to destroy him, or giving credit to the Evidence of these false Witnesses, condemn'd the innocent *Boetius*, confiscated his Estate, and banish'd him to *Pavia*, where in his Confinement, he wrote that excellent Treatise, *de Consolatione*. The King's Mercy had hitherto spar'd his Life, and his Father-in-Law *Symmachus's*, who was charg'd with the same Crimes; but some Months after his Exile, he commanded them both to be Beheaded.

And Death.

We are asham'd to report what some Authors write, That he spoke after his Head was off; and like the French *St. Denis*, and our English *St. Alban*, took it up in his Hands, walkt with it to a Neighbouring Church, receiv'd the Sacrament, and then expir'd: Yet this is not the least incredible Miracle, which the gross ignorance of the People in these dark Ages, tempted the Priests to impose on them for Sacred Truths; and out of this store the Legend of the *Romish* Saints, is become so full of Miraculous Events, which are a thousand times more shocking to Sense, than the awful Mysteries of our Redemption; and more wonderful than the History of our Saviour's Life and Ministry, or that of his Disciples. We are told, that when Bishop *John* arriv'd at *Corinth* in his way to *Constantinople*, he was tir'd with the fatigues of the Journey, and wanted a Pacer to travel at his ease, which a Gentleman of the City furnish'd him with. The Beast belong'd to his Lady;

dy ; and after *John* had travell'd with it as far as he in- A.D. 524.  
tended, he return'd him. The Lady, when she had oc-  
casion to mount him, found the Horse strangely alter'd,  
and as if he had been infected by the Popes Pride, he  
would suffer no body to come upon his Back, after he  
had carry'd the Successor of *St. Peter* : Upon which, the  
Gentleman was forc'd to send him to the Bishop, who  
was only worthy of so Orthodox a Beast. When the  
Pope and his Companions arriv'd at *Constantinople*, the  
Emperor receiv'd them with extraordinary Honours and  
Respect ; and notwithstanding the Behaviour of Bishop  
*John* was so provd and arrogant, that all good Chri-  
stians were scandaliz'd by it ; yet *Justin* could not deny  
him his Request, to restore the Hereticks to their Church-  
es, supposing the Apostolick Vicar knew better than a  
Soldier, whether he might do it lawfully or not.

In the year 525, the Emperor was Crown'd by Pope 525-  
*John* : He had receiv'd the Imperial Crown before,  
from the Hands of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* ; but  
the Insolent Pope would not be contented, unless he  
would let him put it on his Head again ; insinuating,  
that 'twas his Right only, to dispose of Empires and  
Kingdoms. His Successors have spoken out plainly in  
the latter Ages, though the remains of Humane Mo-  
desty, that were left in the Papacy, would not suffer  
the Bishops even in the Sixth Century, to pretend to  
such a Priviledge.

The next year, *John* and his fellow Embassadors re- 526-  
turn'd to *Italy*, where the Bishop met with a cold Re-  
ception. The King did not at all like his meddling with  
things that had no relation to his Commission, and par-  
ticularly, his presuming to Crown the Emperor, with-  
out consulting his Pleasure, on so nice an Affair. It  
must be for some particular Offences of *John*, that he  
was disgrac'd : His Companions were not question'd.  
The *Arians* had their Churches ; and yet as soon as the  
Pope came home, he was thrown into Prison, where he  
dy'd in *June* : The See was vacant two Months. *Theodo-*  
*ric* had observ'd, that the Elections of former Popes,  
had been often stain'd with Blood ; that the Candidates  
were generally Persons rather chosen for their Pride and  
Arrogance, to support the usurpt Dignity of the Chair,  
than Men of Meekness and Charity ; the most Rare, but  
the most shining of all Christian Vertues. He there-  
fore



A.D. 526. fore resolv'd to appoint a Successor himself, and accordingly he made *Felix* the Fourth, Bishop of *Rome*, by virtue of his Royal Supremacy; and this Pope of the King's making, is one of the best that had govern'd the *Roman Church*, since the Corruption of the Papacy in the third Century. He was, say the Popish Writers, *Simple* and *Humble*; For Humility in a Pope, was long agoe reckon'd a Weakness; and indeed, 'tis very seldom, that any such Bishops are advanc'd to that Honour.

Since the Death of *Boetius* and *Symmachus*, *Theodoric*, whose Conscience was not proof against the Guilt of so foul a Crime, was never at rest. He always reflected with Horrour on an action, which blasted the glory of a thirty years Reign. The Memory of those two innocent Persons, was perpetually in his Mind; and not long after they were executed, the Head of a large Fish was serv'd up to his Table, when he was at Supper: *Theodoric* fancy'd, the Head was *Symmachus's*, upbraiding him with a ghastly Countenance for his Cruelty. The Terrors of his Conscience, threw him into a cold Sweat; he was immediately remov'd to his Bed, and his Physitian sent for, to whom he confess'd what an effect his Imagination had on his Health. The Distemper being in his Mind, no Art could cure it: The cold Fit turn'd to a hot one, and the Fever carry'd him to his Grave, on the second of *September*, in the 34th year of his Reign, and the 79th of his Age. As the Death of those two Noble Senators, was the only blemish of his Glorious Reign; so his Repentance, and the end it brought him to, ought to wipe off that Blot from so fair a Reputation. To use the words of *Procopius*, *Italy never enjoy'd more serene and happy Days; never more Splendor in the highest pitch of her Greatness; never more solid and lasting Peace, with Ease, Pleasure and Security, than under his Government: Few that obtain'd a Kingdom by Force and Violence, preserv'd themselves and it by such Calmness and Sweetness of Councils and Actions; and few so belov'd by their Subjects, were so terrible to their Enemies.*

*Amalasunta* Re-  
gent of  
*Italy*.

*Athalaric*, the Son of *Eutheric*, by his Wife *Amalasunta*, Succeeded his Grandfather *Theodoric* in the Throne. His Mother, a Princess every way qualify'd for so sublime a Station, undertook the Regency of the King and

and Kingdom, during her Son's Minority; who tho' A.D. 526. scarce eight years had giv'n reason to fear, he would be very far from imitating his Mother's Vertues, and his Grandfather's Actions. He is said to be debauch'd already, and grew daily worse and worse, till he became Intollerable; and had not *Amalasunta* restrain'd him, by the Authority of a Parent and a Governor, he would have wasted his Treasures, and ruin'd his Subjects by promoting and delighting in those Vices, that he was not old enough to commit. His Mother's prudent Administration, made the *Italians* dread the King's approaching Majority, which however he never liv'd to reach. She Confirm'd her Father's Alliances with the Neighbouring Powers; she restor'd the Children of *Boetius* and *Symmachus*, to the Inheritance of their Fathers; and demean'd her self in all things, like the Daughter of the great and good King *Theodoric*.

We are now come to the last year of the Emperor 527. *Justin's* Reign, the Consulate of *Mavortius*, in which Justinian the Emperor's Nephew *Justinian*, was declar'd *Augustus*. He was born at *Taufesum*, and Educated at *Bede- Augustus*. *rin*, in Upper Hungary. His Father's Name was *Sabatinus*, and his Mother's *Bigleniza*, *Justin's* Sister: He was about 45 years of Age, when by the advice of the Senate, *Justin* made him his Colleague in the Imperial Dignity; himself put the Crown on his Head, in the presence of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the great Officers of the Court. His Wife *Theodora*, was proclaim'd *Augusta*; and *Justinian* began his Reign in the Life-time of his Uncle, who did not long Survive the Honour he had done his Nephew.

Three or four years backward, we mention'd the Rupture between the Emperor and the King of *Persia*. The War had continu'd ever since, but was not carry'd on with much Vigour by either side. *Justin* sent an Army under the Command of *Iranicus*, into *Lazica*, whither *Gurgenes* King of *Iberia*, who had desir'd the Emperor to protect him from the *Persian* King, was fled out of his Dominions. Another Party of the Imperial Army, under the command of *Sittas* and *Belisarius*, two very young Officers, enter'd the *Persian* Territories, and return'd with good Booty, and many Prisoners.

*Belisarius*  
employ'd in  
the Army.

A D. 527. This embolden'd the *Romans* to march into that part of *Armenia*, Subject to the *Persians*. Here they were met and overthrown by *Narses*, *Cabades's* General in that Kingdom, who afterwards Revolted to *Justinian*. *Licelarius* made another Inroad into *Persia*, with a Body of *Romans*; but Retreated on the News of the *Persians* advancing to oppose him: His Cowardice was the cause of his Disgrace, and the Command of his Forces, was giv'n to *Belisarius*. This War was prosecuted more vigorously in the next Reign; all that came of it now, was the Conversion of the *Lazi*, who by conversing with the *Romans*, were instructed in their Religion; and *Zathus* their King, came to *Constantinople*, where he was Baptiz'd by the Patriarch, presented with a Royal Crown, and Marry'd to a Lady of one of the best Families in the Empire. The King of *Persia*, to whom the *Lazi* were Tributary, complain'd, that they were Rebels, and ought not be treated with. The Emperor Answer'd, that he ought not to continue the Breach with him on that account; for his Transactions with them, related only to their Spiritual Warfare. That he was oblig'd by the Duty of his High Station, to encourage and assist them in their Conversion, on which the Salvation of their Souls depended. *Cabades* had nothing to object to this Reason, and both himself and *Justin*, were not very fond of pushing on the War with more obstinacy, than it had been already manag'd; which made it seem, as if they wanted both to have Peace, and neither side would ask for't. After *Justin's* Death, his Nephew soon shew'd he was in earnest, and carry'd on the War with greater Violence. The Superstition of the times made the People imagine, that every thing which happen'd extraordinary in the *Phænomena* of Nature, were Presages of the Emperor's approaching Death, or of Wars in the Empire. Those Revolutions or Accidents, to which natural causes might be assign'd, were lookt on as Judgments; and the Deception had been useful, if it had produc'd any good effect in the change of Mens Manners. As we ought not to doubt, but that the Almighty has shewn his Anger, by the terrible Destruction his Hand has sometimes made on the Works of Nature: So on the contrary, we ought not to search into the ways of Providence, nor resolve those things into Miracle, which might arise from a natural cause.

This

This year the Cities *Dyrrachium*, *Corinth*, *Anaxarbo* A.D. 527. in *Cilicia*, and *Edeffa*, were almost destroy'd by Earthquakes. The fair and spacious City of *Antioch*, was laid in Ruins, and 4870 Persons kill'd by an Earthquake, and a dreadful Fire. The old Emperor, as soon as he heard of the deplorable state of *Antioch*, pull'd off his Imperial Robes, and endeavour'd to appease the Divine Wrath, by Acts of Humiliation and Repentance.

About this time, the *Lombards*, who as we have said, had possess'd themselves of the Country of the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, broke up from their new Dwellings, and follow'd their Neighbours towards *Italy*. In their way they fell upon the *Ostrogoths* in *Pannonia*, expell'd them the Province, and settled themselves in it, where they staid about forty years. The Kingdom of *Italy* being in a flourishing Condition, during the Regency of *Amalasunta*, they durst not attack it, but we shall find them there in the course of our History.

On the first of *August*, the Emperor *Justin* either Justin worn out with Age, or spent with the loss of Blood, dies. which issu'd from an old Wound that he receiv'd by an Arrow, and now bled afresh, departed this Life, after he had Reign'd nine Years, eight Months. He was a Just, Pious, Prudent Prince; and had his Genius for Government been Cultivated by the knowledge of the Arts, he would have been a perfect Pattern for those Princes, who succeeded him in the Imperial Throne, to imitate: He had many good Qualities, and few or no bad ones; but the Glory of the next Reign shines so bright, it takes off from the Lustre of the last; and so much Praise is due to the Nephew, we have the less to spare to the Uncle.



## C H A P. VII.

*From the advancement of Justinian the Great to his Death.*

*Containing the Space of 38 Years.*

§ 27. SINCE the Reign of *Theodosius* the Great, tho' we have met with two or three good Emperors, yet they were either too old for Action, or Men of Peaceable dispositions, who were contented with what they had got, and had no Ambition to enlarge the Dominions of the *Roman* Empire, or to recover what she had lost. But now we are to write of a Prince who is as jealous of her Rights and her Authority as were the old *Romans*. When he saw himself sole Monarch of the East, and at liberty to act as he thought fit for the advantage of the Common-wealth, he form'd vast designs, and prepar'd to put them in Execution. His first care was of the Church; and to provide for the Purity of its Doctrine and Worship, he immediately Publish'd several severe Edicts against Hereticks; he repair'd those Churches that had been ruin'd by the fury of the *Arians* and other Hereticks. He declar'd himself to be the Protector of the Catholick Faith, and then he turn'd his thoughts to advance the Honour of his Crown, and restore the *Roman* Majesty to her Ancient Splendor and Power. He had the *African* War in view, but he was unwilling to take too much Work upon his Hands at once. And fearing the *Persians* might break in upon him in the East if he drew his Forces from the Borders, he order'd *Belisarius* to build a Fort at *Mindon* on the Frontiers of *Persia*. The *Persians* march'd their Army towards the Borders to hinder the building the Fort, and *Justinian* order'd *Cutzes* and *Buces*, Governors of two of the Eastern Provinces, to support *Belisarius* in carrying on his Works. These Officers were young and rash; and engaging unadvisedly with the Enemy,

my, were routed. *Belisarius* after their defeat cou'd not go on with his Fortification, so the *Persians* came and demolish'd what he had done. The Emperor was however so well satisfy'd with *Belisarius's* Conduct, that he made him General of all his Forces in *Asia*, and order'd *Hermogenes* Captain of his Guard to joyn him with a Body of Troops under his Command. From the beginning of this War, the *Romans* and *Persians* had never driv'n the dispute to such Extremities but there was room for a Treaty, and the Breach might easily have been made up if either of the Parties wou'd have propos'd an Accommodation. *Justinian* to prevent the mischiefs that a further Rupture with so Powerful an Enemy might occasion, dispatch'd away *Ruffinus* his Embassador to *Cabades* to propose a Treaty. In the mean time *Belisarius* enter'd the *Persian* Territories, and engag'd *Perozes*, *Cabades's* General near *Daras* in *Carmania*. The *Persians* doubled the Number of the *Romans*, of which they put the Left Wing into disorder, and were likely to have defeated the whole Army had not a Body of reserve of the *Heruli* sustain'd the shock, and giv'n the *Romans* time to rally; they renew'd the Combat so resolutely that the *Persians* were put to flight, 5000 of them fell in the Battle and the Pursuit, and many more might have been cut off if *Belisarius* had not warily founded a retreat, fearing to venture too far in an Enemies Country, and to have the Victory he had obtain'd snatch'd out of his Hands. As this defeat dishearten'd the *Persians*, so it encourag'd the *Romans* by raising the reputation of their Arms: They had not for a long while got any such advantage over the *Persians*, and they hop'd this wou'd be an earnest of future Victories. Nor were they disappointed; for in the same Year 528. *Citax* overthrew *Mermes*, another of *Cabades's* Generals in *Perfarmenia*, pillag'd his Camp and took *Bolus* and *Pharangium*, two Forts that commanded the Royal Mines in that Province. The former was betray'd by *Isaac Narses's* younger Brother, who hearing his two Elder Brothers *Narses* and *Aratius*, were revolted to the Emperor, admitted the *Romans* by a Postern into the Fort, and deliver'd it up to them.

The War with *Persia* continuing with the same fury, *Ruffinus* endeavour'd to perswade *Cabades* to a Peace; but he insisted on having his Charges defray'd, and a vast Summ to be paid him besides, which *Justinian* did not

A D. 529. think himself either oblig'd or under any necessity to pay. Upon which both Nations prepar'd for War. The Persian engag'd *Alamanduras* King of the *Saracens* in his Quarrel; the latter was an old Soldier, and by an Experience of fifty Years enmity with the *Romans* knew where they were to be attack'd with most advantage. He diverted the *Persians* from falling upon *Mesopotamia*, where the *Romans* expected them according to their Practice in former Wars. He told *Cabades* that if he wou'd succeed in his Enterprize, he shou'd order his Troops to enter the *Roman* Territories by the Province of *Comogena*, and invade *Syria*, which lay more expos'd, and cou'd make the least resistance. *Cabades* was mightily pleas'd with *Alamanduras's* project; Hoping that the Riches of *Antioch*, the Treasury of the Eastern Empire wou'd fall into his Hands, before the *Roman* Army in *Mesopotamia* cou'd arrive to relieve the City. He order'd *Azarethes* with 17000 *Persian* Horse to joyn the *Saracens*, to pass the *Euphrates* and invade *Syria*. The next Year early in the Spring, the *Persian* Army began their march towards the *Euphrates*. Before they reach'd the Borders of the Empire *Belisarius* had Posted himself on the Frontiers to dispute their Passage. The *Roman* General had Intelligence by his Spies which way the *Persians* intended to move; on which Information he plac'd strong Garrisons in the Cities of *Mesopotamia*, and turning to the Right with the rest of his Army, he left the Banks of the *Tygris* and encamp'd near the *Euphrates*. He Summon'd the Militia of *Isauria* and *Lycania* to joyn him, and *Arethas* a Petty Prince of the *Saracens*, to whom *Justinian* had giv'n the Title of King in opposition to *Alamanduras*, came into him with all his Forces. The *Persians* were surpriz'd to find *Belisarius* ready to receive them. Despairing to do any thing considerable on that side, they retreated, and *Belisarius* persud'd them, watching an opportunity to fall on their Rear. The *Persians* march'd in good order, and the General of the *Romans* was for letting them go, thinking it imprudent to provoke an Enemy stronger than himself. His Soldiers who took their Retreat for a Flight, were for attacking them, and upbraided him with Cowardice, which was a reflection he cou'd not bear; so to prove that 'twas unjust, he consented to their desires and gave Battle, the *Persians* facing upon him when they found he prest hard

hard on their Rear. The Fight lasted many hours with A.D. 530.  
 great obstinacy and equal Success; neither side gave  
 ground, tho' the *Roman* Arrows did more Execution than  
 the *Persians*, which some of the most resolute of the  
*Barbarians* perceiving they charg'd the Right Wing of  
 the *Roman* Army, where *Arctas* and his *Saracens* were  
 Posted, and they out of Fear or Treachery flying at  
 the first onset, the *Roman* Cavalry were broken, and  
 the Infantry consisting mostly of new rais'd Men, betook  
 themselves to their Heels. *Belisarius* and a few brave *The Ro-*  
 Soldiers that were asham'd to leave him, made good their mans  
 ground against the *Persian* Horse till Night came on, *overthrown*  
 and then the Enemy contented with the advantage they *by the Per-*  
 had already got, retir'd to their Camp. 'Tis true, they *sians.*  
 were Victorious, but it had cost 'em so dear that they  
 might say like *Cesar*, another such Victory wou'd ruin  
 them. And when *Azarethes* return'd home, *Cabades* taking  
 a review of his Forces and finding so many missing, took  
 away their General's Commission, and never afterwards  
 employ'd him.

For the two following Years there were no Consuls  
 either in the *East* or *West*; Indeed, the Office had been  
 a long time a meer piece of Formality without Power or  
 Profit, which made few Persons fond of the Honour.  
 And in a few Years more, *Justinian* put an end to the  
 consular Dignity. The Emperor, tho' he had not lost  
 much by the defeat of his Army near the *Euphrates*, sent  
*Hormogenes*, *Ruffinus* and other Persons of Quality, in an  
 Embassy to *Cabades* to treat of a Peace. At the same  
 time he enter'd into an Alliance with the *Aethiopians* and  
*Homerites*, two Christian Nations on the Red Sea, to  
 assist him against the *Persians*. These New Allies pro-  
 mis'd much, but perform'd little; neither did the Em-  
 bassy into *Persia* come to any thing this Year. How-  
 ever, *Justinian* resolv'd to recall *Belisarius*, and send him  
 against *Gilimir* King of the *Vandals*, who had depos'd  
 and Imprison'd his Friend *Hilderick*, Son of *Hunmeric*,  
 and *Eudoxia* Daughter to *Valentinian* the Third. *Beli-*  
*sarius* was no sooner gone than the *Persians* enter'd *Me-*  
*sopotamia*, and *Sittas*, *Belisarius's* Successor in the *East*  
 was not strong enough to oppose them. They met no  
 resistance till they lay down before *Martyropolis* on the  
 River *Nymphus*; The Inhabitants made a brave defence,  
 and *Cabades* hapning to die during the Siege, the  
 Commanders



A.D. 530. Commanders in chief of the *Persian* Army apprehending there might be some disturbances at home about the Succession to the Crown, consented to *Sittas's* Proposal for a Cessation of Arms, which was follow'd by a Treaty of Peace, concluded between *Chosroes*, *Cabades's* third Son, to whom he left his Crown, whom he lov'd best, and best deserv'd the Sovereignty of all his Sons. He was Learn'd, Generous and Valiant, and by his future Actions acquir'd the Sirname of Great. This Treaty was not quite brought to Perfection, when in the beginning of the Year 532, there happen'd a most dangerous Insurrection at *Constantinople*, in which *Justinian* was expos'd to so much Peril of his Life and Dignity that he was preparing to Embark, and abandon his Imperial Seat to the rage of the Rebels. The Citizens of *Constantinople* like those of *Old Rome*, were divided into Parties in favour of their Charioteers, some were for the *Green*, some for the *Russet*, others for the *Blew*, and another Party for the *White*. The Liveries of the several Bands of Charioteers, the *Veneti* and *Prasini*, the *Blew* and the *Green* were the most Powerful Factions, the Persons of the highest Quality, even the Emperors themselves were always on one side or the other, and the very Women as their Passions guided them engag'd in the Quarrel, and often wasted their substance to support the Cause. It happen'd that some of these Charioteers were condemn'd to Death, and led forth to Execution by the Officers of Justice. The People of all the four Factions united in a Body to rescue their Racers, and meeting with more opposition than was expected, they grew more furious, and from one unwarrantable act of Violence proceeded to another, as Riot very often ends in Rebellion. They broke up the Prison Doors, and grown Insolent by their Numbers, struck these of their Fellow Citizens that were not engag'd with them into so great a Consternation that they fled from their Houses, and the Rabble became Masters of the City: The Emperor shut himself up in the Palace, and thither most of the Principal Senators fled. Among the rest, *John* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Trebonian* the Treasurer. These two Officers were most Obnoxious to the Peoples resentment, who accus'd them of several irregularities in the discharge of their Trusts. *Justinian* thinking to appease them by complying with their desires, turn'd them out of their Places. As 'tis usual in such cases, the more

532.  
A dangerous  
Tumult at  
Constantinople.

he granted them, the more they requir'd, till their Arrogance was so insupportable as to demand an alteration in the Government as well as the Ministry. *Hypatius* and *Pompeius*, whom we have had occasion to speak of in the Reign of *Anastasius*, were shut up in the Palace with the Emperor, who commanded them to be gone. They pray'd him to permit them to stay, and gave for a reason that they were afraid the People wou'd force them to assume the Purple. They beg'd him to suffer them to continue where they were in his Presence to prevent it, assuring him they wou'd, tho' at the hazard of their lives defend his Person. *Justinian*, who was jealous of *Hypatius's* Fidelity on account of his relation to *Anastasius*, wou'd not be perswaded to let them remain in the Palace: Out he drove them, and as they foretold him the Multitude the next Morning, compell'd *Hypatius* to go with them to the *Forum*, where they Proclaim'd him Emperor, and all the Senators that were not with *Justinian* sided with the Rebels. *Hypatius's* Wife hung upon her Husband, and wou'd not let him be led away by the Rabble, saying they were leading him to destruction. The People were forc'd to tear her from him, and by Violence seat him in the Imperial Throne. The News of his Usurpation tho' constrain'd, threw the Emperor forc'd to on desperate Councils, and he had certainly fled, if *Theodora* the Empress had not animated him by her Example, to stand out against the Storm, saying, *How brave a Sepulcher is a Kingdom.* The Populace had burnt and plunder'd as they pleas'd for four Days, and on the fifth they intended to Assault the Palace, when in a happy hour *Belisarius* arriv'd with his Troops out of *Asia*, and *Mundus*, who commanded in *Illyricum* with a Party of the *Heruli* that were also intended for the *African War*. These two Generals fell upon the Mutineers, who were terrify'd at the sight of Horses and Armour, and kill'd thirty thousand of them. *Hypatius* and *Pompeius* were taken and carry'd to the Emperor who commanded them to Prison, and the next Day the Soldiers cut 'em in pieces. *Justinian* Confiscated their Estates, the greatest part of which he afterwards restor'd to their Children, and *John* and *Trebonian* return'd to the Exercise of their Offices. The Mutineers gave *Nika*, or Conquer for their word, and from thence the Insurrection is so call'd in History. The Church of *Sta Sophia*, with others

A.D. 532. others of the most Famous Edifices in the City were consum'd to Ashes, and the Providence of God in an especial manner interpos'd, or the remaining part of the *New Rome* had fall'n by the rage of the Rabble.

Before the Tumult happen'd, or the Peace was concluded with *Chosroes*, *Justinian* sent Embassadors to *Gelimer*, to remonstrate, That he ought to wait with Patience for a Crown, which wou'd in a few Years Legally descend to him; and it wou'd be much more Glorious to Reign over the Kingdom as a Lawful Prince than as an Usurper. *Gelimir* gave the Embassadors a very cold reception, and dismiss them without a satisfactory Answer. After they were departed, he us'd *Hilderick* worse than ever, which occasion'd another Embassy from *Justinian* to demand, that *Hilderick* and his Brothers shou'd be sent to Constantinople, otherwise he wou'd treat him as his Enemy. *Gelimer* reply'd, that the Vandals had depos'd *Hilderick* for his ill designs against the House of *Genferic*; that he claim'd the Crown as his right in descent from an Elder Branch of the Royal Family, and wou'd to the utmost defend it, if breaking the Oath *Zeno* took, he presum'd to invade his Territories. The Vandal making this daring Reply to his Embassadors, and the Emperor having ratify'd a Peace with the Persians for 110 Years, he order'd 10000 Foot and 5000 Horse aboard 500 Transport Ships to Sail for Africa, under the command of *Belisarius*. *Epiphanius* Patriarch of Constantinople blest the Fleet, and about the middle of June in the following Year, *Justinian Augustus* the third time being Consul, they weigh'd Anchor and persu'd their Voyage to Africa. *Belisarius's* Wife, *Antonina* accompany'd him in this Expedition; she took with her *Theodosius* a young Gentleman, who had lately been baptiz'd. The General and his Lady stood God-Father and God-Mother to him, we shall in the sequel of our History see how well he deserv'd their Friendship.

When the Fleet arriv'd at *Methone*, they were becalm'd, and the General Landed his whole Army. While he lay Wind-bound in this Port, five hundred of his Men dy'd of a Distemper, contracted by their eating Bread half Bak'd. *John*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, out of Avarice, would not be at the charge of baking it twice. By that time they were come to *Methone*, the Bread grew Mouldy, Corrupt and Masty; and *Belisari-*

u, was forc'd to buy Bread of the Country People, or A.D. 532.  
 most of his Army might have dy'd of the Sickness. He  
 complain'd of *John* to the Emperor, yet *Justinian* had  
 not yet such an ill Opinion of him, as to give him o-  
 ver to the hands of Justice. From *Methone* they sail'd to  
*Zante*, and from thence to *Sicily*. Here he set *Proco-*  
*pius*, his Assessor, the same that wrote the History which  
 we have frequently had occasion to make use of, ashoar  
 at *Syracuse*, to get Intelligence. *Procopius* was inform'd  
 by an old Friend of his, that the *Vandals* were not at  
 all prepar'd to receive the *Romans*; that their best Troops  
 were employ'd in *Sardinia*, to reduce *Godes*, Governor  
 of the Island, who had Revolted from *Gilemer*, and as-  
 sum'd the Title and Authority of King. That *Gilemer*  
 himself kept his Court at *Hermione*, near *Byzacine*, four  
 days Journey from any Sea-port. That most of the  
 Cities of *Assyria*, were defenceless, *Genferic* having de-  
 molish'd the Fortifications, to prevent Insurrections in  
 the great Towns, which were by this means expos'd  
 to the Mercy of Invaders; and the Policy that secur'd  
 him in his Throne, ruin'd his Posterity. *Belisarius* on  
 the account given him by *Procopius*, weigh'd Anchor  
 with a good heart from *Sicily*, and sail'd to *Caputuada*,  
 about the same days Journey from *Carthage*, as *Hermi-*  
*one* was from the Coast of *Tunis*. Here he call'd a *Belisarius*  
 Council of War, where 'twas resolv'd to Land, and *Lands in*  
 not proceed nearer to *Carthage*, because the *Romans* Africa.  
 abhorr'd a Sea-fight; and if they had gone forward, it  
 must have come to an Engagement. The General left  
 eight Archers in every Ship, and posted the light Gal-  
 lies around them, for the security of the Fleet. He  
 then order'd all his Men ashoar, and encamp't in a bar-  
 ren sandy Soil; yet as the Soldiers were digging a  
 Trench round their Camp, they discover'd a Spring,  
 which prov'd a seasonable relief, and supply'd 'em  
 with fresh Water for Man and Beast, a thing so very  
 scarce, 'twas hardly ever heard of before in the Pro-  
 vince of *Byzacine*. His Servants took one of *Gilemer's*  
 Couriers, whom *Belisarius* would not suffer to be in-  
 jur'd; but gave him a large Sum of Money, to deliver  
 the Emperor's Declaration to the Governours of the  
 Provinces and Cities. It contain'd, *That Justinian did*  
*not intend to make War upon the Vandals, nor break the*  
*Treaty between Genferic, and his Predecessors; but to free*  
*them*



A.D. 532. *them from an Usurper, who kept his lawful King in Prison: He exhorted them to joyn with him, and in such case he swore to preserve the Peace Inviolable. The Man took the Money and the Papers, but durst not shew them to any Body; so that Design came to nothing. Gilemer on the report of Belisarius's Invasion, put Hilderick to Death, and others of the Royal Family that were in his Power. And levying an Army, march'd to Decimum, a Town situate about eight Miles from Carthage, where he intended to wait the coming of the Romans: He had left part of his Forces with Amatas his Brother, at Carthage, whom he order'd to attack the Romans in Front. Gibamund with 2000 Men more were to charge them in Flank, and himself intended to let the Romans pass by him towards the City, and then fall upon their Rear. The General broke up from his Camp at Caputuada, in the beginning of September, and march'd in so good Order, and with such exact Discipline, that the Enemy could take no Advantage of him: The Africans furnish'd his Army plentifully, with all sorts of Necessaries. John, Controuler of his Household, commanded his Forlorn, consisting of several Troops of Targeteers: These met with Amatas, fought, and defeated his Party, kill'd their Commander, and pursu'd the Vandals to the Gates of Carthage. Gibamund fell in with the Mesageretes, who march'd on the left of the Roman Army: These Mercenaries, cut off Gibamund and his two thousand Men, nor a Man of them escaping. Belisarius himself led the main Body of the Roman Forces, which Gelimer attack'd in the Rear, as had been resolv'd upon. The Romans were at first put into Disorder; but on news of the Death of his Brother Gelimer, was so Dispirited, that he could not prosecute the Victory; which Belisarius perceiving, rally'd his flying Romans, renew'd his Combat, made a terrible slaughter of the Enemy, and forc'd them to fly every where before him. The Vandal King with the few Troops that were left unbroken, fled to the Plains of Bule, in the Road to Numidia. Belisarius lodg'd his Men in the Fields near Decimum, to refresh themselves after the Fight, and then proceeded towards Carthage, where he enter'd without any Opposition. The African Catholics on the 25th of September, the Vigil of the Feast of St. Cyprian, joyn'd with John, who commanded the Forlorn of Belisarius's Army, attack'd the Vandals in the*

great

*Defeats  
Gelimer,  
King of the  
Vandals.*

great Church, drove them out of it; and the next day A.D. 532. celebrated the Feast of St. Cyprian, who was Bishop of Carthage, with unusual Joy and Magnificence. *Belisarius* march'd directly to the Palace, and his Soldiers behav'd themselves so civilly, that there was no alteration either in Court or City. The Inhabitants kept open their Shops, and follow'd their Trades: And the Courtiers who the day before waited on *Gelimer*, now attended on *Belisarius*: The Dinner that was provided for the *Vandal* King, was serv'd up to the *Roman* General's Table, who sat down in *Gelimer's* Throne, and order'd the Servants of his Household to do their Duty, as if their late Master had been present, in which he was willingly obey'd. The same day the *Roman* Fleet arriv'd in the Bay, *Belisarius* commanded the Men ashore, who were welcom to the Citizens, paying honestly for what they had, as in times of profound Peace. *Tripolis* had been sometime before betray'd to the Emperor by *Prudentius* a *Goth*, Governor of the Town. *Godas*, Usurper of *Sardinia*, protected him in his Revolt; and *Justinian* in his return, sent *Cyril* to the assistance of *Godas*. The Forces he carry'd with him came too late; for *Trazon*, *Gelimer's* Brother, had recover'd the Island, and kill'd the Usurper: Upon which *Cyril* made over to *Carthage*, where he found *Belisarius* and his Army Victorious. *Trazon*, after he had reduc'd *Sardinia*, receiv'd Orders from his Brother, to joyn him with his Forces, which he obey'd, and came to him at his Camp in the Plains of *Eule*: When the first Transports of their grief were over, they consulted what course they should take to recruit their broken Forces; and resolv'd, with what Army they had together, consisting of *Vandals*, *Moors*, and *Jews*, to march directly for *Carthage*. *Gelimer* on his approach near the City, cut off the *Aqueduct*, a curious piece of Workmanship, and thought to hinder the Citizens being supply'd with Water. He expected the Inhabitants at the appearance of his Army, would have deliver'd the City into his Hands; but finding they neither open'd their Gates to him, nor the Enemy fall'd to engage, he quarter'd his Forces in the Neighbouring Towns, and practis'd with the *Romans* that were *Arians*, and the *Massagetes*, who never heartily affected the Emperor's Service, to desert to him, which the Mercenaries readily promis'd to do, when *Belisarius* led them

A.D. 532. to fight against him. The General got Intelligence of the *Messagetes* Corresponding with *Gelimer*, and *Laurus* a *Carthaginian*, being convicted of Treason by due course of Law, was condemn'd and Crucify'd. The *Messagetes* own'd, that they had hearken'd to some Proposals made them on the part of *Gelimer*, to which they were induc'd for two Reasons. They were apprehensive, that when *Africa* was conquer'd, they should not be permitted to return home; or if they were dismiss'd, that their Booty would be taken from them. *Belisarius* assur'd them, they had nothing to fear on that account: He gave them all possible security in the matter, and they swore to assist him chearfully and diligently; They resolv'd however to carry themselves so cunningly towards both Parties, that whoever were Victorious might look on them as their Friends. *Belisarius* in a Pathetick Martial Speech animated his Men to go on as they had begun, and not lose a Conquest which their Valour might easily secure to them. He then commanded *John* his Controuler to advance towards the Enemy with all the Horse, except 500 that he kept near his Person, and the next Day he follow'd with the Foot. The Romans came up with the Vandals at *Tricamar*, 17 Miles from *Carthage*, and encamp'd at a little distance from them: Some of *Belisarius's* Men were mightily concern'd at a Prodigy they saw about midnight; Fire seem'd to fasten on their Spears, the Points appearing red and glowing hot; the few that saw it were amaz'd, and cou'd not tell whether they shou'd take it for a good Omen or a bad one. The Success of their Arms in *Africa* made them afterwards take the same Prodigy in *Italy* for Propitious, and a certain sign of Victory.

The next Day *Gelimir* plac'd his Vandals Wives and Children in the middle of his Camp, and calling his Soldiers about him, spoke to them to behave themselves like Men in the defence of their Country and those Dear Relations. About Noon he march'd towards the Romans who were drawn up ready for an Engagement; both Armies fac'd each other for some time. There was a Rivulet between them, *Belisarius* commanded *John* to pass it with a select Party of Horse, and charge the main Body of the Vandals. *Trazon* receiv'd him so warmly that he was forc'd to retire, and the Vandals persw'd him

to the Rivulet. *John* rally'd his Men and return'd to the Charge, but with no better Success than at the first onset: However he ventur'd the third time, and *Tzazon* falling in the Action his Men were discourag'd and many of them slain. *Belisarius* to improve the disorder the *Barbarians* were in, order'd all the *Roman Cavalry* to pass the Brook and support *John*. The *Vandals* unable to resist the fury of such Numbers of fresh Men were soon put to the Rout, which the *Messageres* observing, they were as nimble in the Pursuit as those that had contributed most to it. The *Vandals* retreated to their Camp and resolv'd to defend it, till *Belisarius* approach'd with the main Body of Foot: *Gelimer* took with him some of his Friends and Domesticks, and without saying a word whither he was going, or what he wou'd have his Men do, fled to *Numidia*. The flight of the King was follow'd by that of his Army, every Man endeavour'd to shift for himself. The Women and Children ran up and down houlung and crying, while their Husbands and Fathers were Persu'd by the Conquerors, who put most of them to the Sword; their Camp was Plunder'd, and their Wives and Children made Slaves. The Booty that the *Romans* found in the *Vandals* Camp was inestimable. Having no Place of safety to Lodge their Treasure, they carry'd it all with them, and in one Day lost what they had been scraping together for almost a hundred Years. Thus were the *Romans* once more Masters of *Africa*, and they were so intoxicated with their good Fortune, that had the *Vandals* rally'd upon them in the confusion they were in for Joy of their Victory and Spoils, they might have lost their Conquests more easily than they got them. The General with much difficulty brought them to their Senses, and prevail'd with 'em to be more cautious and orderly. He then detach'd *John* with a strong Party of Horse to pursue *Gelimer*. *John* follow'd him so closely that in five Days time he got up very near to him, and was likely to have taken him, had not one of his own Men shooting at a Bird in a Tree mist his mark and shot his Captain in the Neck, of which he dy'd soon after. *Gelimer* by this means escap'd to the Mountains near *Hippo Regia*, a City on the Coasts of *Numidia*, whither *Belisarius* in Person persu'd him. *Gelimer* from thence fled to *Madenos* one of the strongest Cities on the Mountain

*Gelimer*  
again de-  
feated.



A.D. 532. tain *Pappua*, Inhabited by *Moors*, his Friends and Confederates. The General having driv'n him to a Corner left *Pharas*, a brave Experienc'd Officer with a sufficient Body of Troops to besiege him, while himself return'd to *Carthage*: Here *Boniface*, whom *Gelimer* had order'd to fly with his Treasures into *Spain*, intending to follow him as soon as he cou'd make his escape, deliver'd up his charge to *Belisarius*. The General sent out detach'd Parties to take in the remaining Cities of *Mauritania*, that had not as yet made their submission to him. He also seiz'd the Islands of *Minorca* and *Mujorco*, and dispatch'd *Cyril* to *Sardinia*, who shewing the Soldiers and Inhabitants the head of *Trazon* procur'd them to yield, and then subjected the Island of *Corfica* to the Dominion of the *Roman* Emperors.

Thus in four Months time before the end of *December* were the *Vandals* entirely defeated, and *Africa* once more made a Branch of the *Roman* Empire.

533.

We must for a while leave *Gelimer* besieg'd in *Madenos* by *Pharas* to look into the West, where *Amalasunta* has now Reign'd eight Years over *Italy* in the Name of her Son, who in his seventeenth Year dy'd of a Consumption. In his Place she advanc'd *Theodatus* her Cousin *German*, *Theodoric's* Sisters Son, who ungratefully confin'd her to a Castle in *Tuscany*, where soon after he caus'd her to be murder'd. *Agapetus* Bishop of *Rome*, this Year undertook a Journey to *Constantinople*, where *Anthimus* an *Eutichean* Heretick had got into the Patriarchal Chair, by the favour and Interest of the Empress *Theodora*, who had been a Player, and her Morals were as Scandalous as her Profession: But for her Wit and Beauty, *Justinian*, tho' she was a Widow or worse and had a Child, marry'd her before Fortune had been so kind to him, and since he was so fond of her that he gave too much encouragement to the *Euticheans* on her account. The Empress however knowing her Husband was Orthodox in his Principles, had represented *Anthimus* to him as a Man of very sound Faith, and *Agapetus* having some other business at *Constantinople* went to undeceive him. *Justinian* was more willing to believe his Wife than the Pope. *Agapetus* desir'd him to put *Anthimus* on making a confession of his Faith, and the Heretick boggling about the two Natures in Christ, his divine and humane, the Emperor consented that he should

shou'd be depos'd, and *Menas* an Orthodox Prelate was A.D. 513. put in his Place. The two immediate Predecessors of this Pope *Agapetus*, *Boniface* and *John* the Second, simoniously bought their Papacy. The Queen Regent being an *Arian* made no scruple to take the Catholicks Money, if they had no more Religion than to give it her. We must not omit observing that this Year *Justinian* publish'd his Digests and Institutes; his Code came out four Years before. These Laws were not long in Vogue in the *West*, where they recover'd their Reputation in the 12th Century.

434.

In the beginning of the following Year *Pharas* in *Africa* had brought *Gelimer* into such streights, that he thought it advisable to make use of the Commission, *Belisarius* had giv'n him to treat, and wrote to him to consider whether it wou'd not be more Prudent for him to submit on condition, that he shou'd have the Dignity of a Patrician bestow'd on him, and Revenues sufficient to maintain it, rather than live so miserably as he knew he did. *Gelimer* wept when he read the Letter, to see how he was fallen from the Happiness in which he Reign'd a few Months since, to the lowest State of Misery, to be pity'd by his Enemy: He answer'd, That he had never giv'n the Emperor any occasion to labour for his ruin; and of *Pharas* he beg'd Loaf, a Sponge, and a Harp. *Pharas* cou'd not tell what he meant by such an odd request, till the Messenger interpreted it to him thus. The King long'd to see a Loaf of bak'd Bread, because he had not seen such a sight since he came to the Mountains; he wanted a Sponge to dry his Tears, and a Harp to sweeten his Melancholy. *Pharas* was sensibly touch'd with the relation of the King's condition, reflecting on the uncertainty of Worldly Riches and Grandeur. *Gelimer* that six Months ago liv'd Luxuriously in his Palace at *Carthage*, his Court the most gay and wanton of any in the World, abounding in all things either for Use or Pleasure, now with a wretched Train to be shut up among barren Rocks, to want a Morfel of Bread or an hours rest: He must have been more than barbarous that cou'd have deny'd the poor request of a Mighty King. What he desir'd were sent him, and to hasten his yielding up his Person, and putting an end to the War, he blockt him up closer; upon which *Gelimer* surrender'd himself on such terms as *Belisarius*, by his mediation cou'd procure for him from the Romans.

A.D. 534. the Emperor. *Pharas* Conducted him to *Carthage*, where the *Roman* General receiv'd him very favourably. When *Gelimer* saw him sitting in State with his Officers and Servants around him, he burst out into a fit of Laughter, which the *Romans* took for an effect of his Madness occasion'd by the change of his Fortune. Those that were acquainted with his Temper guest 'twas in contempt of that Grandeur, of whose vicissitude he was himself such a lively instance. Having a quick apprehension from his own Misfortunes, he might be allow'd to make what reflections he pleas'd on the folly of humane Greatness. *Belisarius* notify'd to the Emperor that *Gelimer* was in his Custody, and desir'd leave to bring him to *Constantinople*. The Courtiers amaz'd at the General's Victories and Success, envy'd his Glory and did him ill Offices with *Justinian*. They represented him as a dangerous Man, who had unlawful designs in his Head, and no doubt intended to make use of his Power to the prejudice of his Master's. Princes Ears are always too open to such Insinuations; however *Justinian* thought it most Prudent for him to dissemble his Jealousie, and wrote to *Belisarius* that he might either come home or remain in his new Government at his own choice.

The General had some information of the Courtiers misrepresenting his Services, and to prevent their gaining further Credit with the Emperor, he hasten'd to Court, where he was receiv'd as a Man who had recover'd several Rich and Spacious Provinces out of the Hands of the *Barbarians*: Yet the Joy of the Ministers and the Officers of the Crown seem'd constrain'd, and there wanted something in the Emperor's demeanour, tho' very favourable and obliging to render it satisfactory. *Belisarius* knew he had deserv'd a great deal, and he cou'd not be content if the returns that were made him fell short of his deserts. The *Moors* in *Numidia* broke out into Hostilities as soon as he was a Ship-board: He was loath to go back himself thinking he shou'd lose time, and that another might suppress the *Barbarians* as well as himself. He appointed *Salomon* Governour of *Africa*, and when he arriv'd at *Constantinople*, he procur'd Assistance to be sent him under the Command of *Theodorus* and *Ildiger*, who had marry'd a Daughter of *Antonina* his Wife. On his arrival at Court he was allow'd the Honour of a Triumph, a Ceremony which had been discontinu'd

discontinu'd 600 Years, except when *Titus, Trajan*, or A.D. 534. other of the *Roman* Emperors led their Armies in Person, and had Conquer'd some barbarous Nations. The Procession differ'd in the form of the Ancient Triumphs.

The Conqueror was wont to appear in an open Chariot; but *Belisarius* march'd on foot from his House to the *Circus*, and thence from his Tent to the Emperor's Throne, leading the Prisoners and Spoils through the City: Among the rest, were some *Jewish* Vessels taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, and remov'd from *Rome* to *Africa* by *Genserich*. These *Justinian* sent to the Christian Churches in *Jerusalem*, a *Jew* having said, *They could not continue long in any place, but in that where Solomon first put them.* *Gelimer* appear'd among the Captives, Conspicuous for his Stature and Beauty, being the most comely and tall of all his Kindred or Subjects. He was Drest in a Purple Robe, and like *Cæsar*, being grown Wise by his Captivity and Troubles, he shew'd no Dejection of Spirit. On the contrary, When he approach'd near the Imperial Throne, and saw the Emperor surrounded by his Courtiers in glorious Apparel, he often repeated those words of the Preacher, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*: He was divested of his Purple, and made to fall on his Face, and adore the Emperor. *Belisarius* did the same to interceed for his Captive, pursuant to the Articles between him and *Pharas*. *Justinian* would have created him a Patritian, if he would have quitted his *Arian* Heresy; but though he deny'd him that Honour, unless he turn'd Orthodox, yet he assign'd him Lands and Revenues in *Galatia*, and settled large Possessions on *Hilderick's* Children, as descendants from *Valentinian*.

For the next year *Belisarius* was Consul: Upon his entrance on that Office, he was carry'd on the Shoulders of Captives, and drawn in a Chariot; from whence he threw the Riches he had taken from the *Vandals*, among the People, who were equally pleas'd with the Treasure they had got, and the Sight they beheld, which put them in mind of their Father's Fame, and gave 'em a tast of their former Glory.

*Justinian* being now entirely Master of all the Provinces, which were under the Dominion of the *Romans* in *Africa*, he provided for their Settlement, and Civil Government: He made *Archelaus*, *Præfectus Præ-*



A.D. 535. *torio* of *Africk*, and plac'd Governours over the Provinces ; but in a short time, *Belisarius* was forc'd to return thither, the *Moors* threatening to ravish his Conquest from him. On the News of his first Expedition, they consulted their Prophetesses about the Fate of their Country. The old Women foretold, that an Army from the Waters should destroy both *Vandals* and *Moors*, and that the *Romans* should again have Dominion over *Africk*, when they were led by a General without a Beard. The *Moors* conjecturing from the words of their Prophetesses, that now was the time when they should be subject to the *Romans*, renounc'd all Friendship with the *Vandals*, and enter'd into a League with *Belisarius*. By their conversing with their Allies, they saw that none of the *Roman* Generals, as they expected to find them, were Beardless ; and from thence they concluded, the old Womens Prophecies did not concern them ; yet they durst not break the League, while *Belisarius* was with the Army. But when they heard he was gon home, and the Legionary Soldiers disperst up and down in the Garrisons, they fell on the *Africans*, kill'd the Men, Plunder'd, Burnt, and wasted their Houses and Fields, and led the Women and Children into Slavery ; they surpriz'd the *Roman* Garrison in *Byzacium*, and rov'd about the Country at Pleasure. The first that made Head against them were *Aigan* a *Hunni*, one of the General's Life-guard, and *Rufinus* his Standard-bearer : They with 10 Troops of Horse charg'd the *Barbarians* at a Pass, cut off many of them ; but not long after they fell into an Ambuscade, and both themselves and their followers were defeated and slain. *Salomon* try'd to convince the *Moors* of their folly by Letters, and endeavour'd to persuade them to lay down their Arms : Which not answering his Design, he march'd against them, and fought them in *Mamma*, in the Province of *Byzacina*. The *Romans* were at the Onset put into some Disorder by the Enemies Camels. *Salomon* perceiving the Danger they were in, leapt from his Horse, put himself at the Head of 500 Men, and commanded them to kill the Camels, which they did, and 200 of them fell. The Enemy ran away immediately after their Camels were destroy'd, and fled to the Mountains : The *Romans* slew 10000 of them, pillag'd their Camp, and carry'd their Wives Prisoners with them to *Carthage*. *Salomon* was scarce arriv'd

The Moors  
Rebel.

at the City, before the *Barbarians* broke in again from all quarters on the Province of *Byzacina*, committed all manner of Cruelty and Wast, over-run the Country, and then retir'd with their Booty to the Mountain *Burgaon*. *Salomon* hasten'd thither with the *Roman Army*, and try'd all ways he could think of to draw the *Barbarians* down into the Plain. The *Moors* keeping still close in the Mountains, he order'd *Theodorus* to ascend it in the Night with 1000 Foot, at a Place where 'twas most difficult to Pass; and for that reason, the Enemy had left it unguarded. When he had reach'd the top of the Hill, he commanded him to give him a Signal; and while he charg'd the *Barbarians* in the Rear, he would attack them in Front. The *Moors* seeing themselves engag'd on both sides in a right took their Heels, and not daing to fly either to the top or bottom of the Hill, they ran headlong into a Woody Valley, between two Rocks, where in the Tumult they trod one another to Death, and the rest were kill'd by the *Romans*, who lost not a Man, though 'tis said 50000 *Moors* perish'd in this Defeat. They began now to believe the old Womens Prophecies related to themselves; and *Salomon* after this remain'd quiet in his Government, till the Discontents of his own Soldiers once more endanger'd the loss of this new Conquest.

A.D. 535.  
Defeated.

Again overthrown.

They submit.

We must now take a view of the Affairs in the *West*, where we shall find the *Roman Empire* to recover some of her lost Ground; and *Rome* her self after 60 years Slavery to the *Goths*, return to the Obedience of her Natural Lord.

We have already hinted how *Theodotus* was promoted by *Amalasunta*, to the Throne of *Italy*, after the Death of her Son *Athalaric*, and his Ingratitude to her for her preferring him to the Royalty, which it seems was not so much an act of Choice, as Necessity. The *Goths* in the Life-time of her Son were disgusted, that she bred him to Learning, and the knowledge of the Polite Sciences. Books they thought were good for nothing, but to make him a Coward; and they would often bid the Regent remember his Grandfather, who did such great things, scarce knew his Letters: They desir'd her to dismiss his Pedagogues, and let him have some bold Spirits about him to Instill into him Principles of War and Glory, by which they meant Rapine and Cruelty. The Boy, whose Disposition was as Barba-

A.D. 535. rous as the worst of his Ancestors, was pleas'd to hear the *Goths* take his part ; and one day when the Queen struck him, he wept, and complain'd to them of her usage. The Regent took no notice of their dislike of his Breeding, she went on in her own way ; and the Faction getting the Boy into their own Hands, put him on banishing his Mother from Court. *Amalasunta* Stemm'd the Torrent with an undaunted Courage, and under pretence of defending the Frontiers, sent three of the chief of the Male-Contents to the farthest parts of *Italy*. Yet by the Correspondence they held with the Faction, they made her Life so uneasy, that she wrote to *Justinian*, to desire that she might retire to *Constantinople*. *Theodatus*, Son of *Amalasfrida*, *Theodoric's* Sister, Lord of several Towns in *Tuscany*, a good Scholar and Philosopher, but a Stranger to War or Politics, oppress'd his Vassals by his Avarice and Exactions. The Regent endeavour'd to curb his Rapacious Humour, which he did not like, and resenting, that she should trouble her self about his Concerns, sided with the Malecontents. Such was the posture of Affairs in *Italy*, when *Athalaric* through his Intemperance fell into a Consumption, and dy'd. The Regent apprehensive that 'twould not be safe for her to stay longer among her Enemies, treated with some of the Emperor's Agents, to deliver *Italy* into his Hands, as *Theodatus* had done on the part of the Malecontents. In the mean time the Faction prest close upon her to fill the vacant Throne, and she had no way to prevent their forcing her to accept of a King of their choosing, but by offering the Crown to *Theodatus*, on certain Conditions, which he readily swore to perform, though he never intended it. He was no sooner advanc'd to the Sovereignty, than he shew'd his ill Disposition towards her ; he banish'd her to a strong Castle in the Lake of *Vulsinus*, and dispatch'd away his Embassadors to *Constantinople*, to excuse his Conduct to *Justinian*. *Peter*, the Emperor's Agent, who was on his way to *Rome*, to finish the Treaty with the Queen, on the part of *Justinian*, met these Embassadors, by whom he learnt what Revolutions had happen'd in *Italy* : He continu'd his Journey, waiting for farther Orders from his Master ; and before he arriv'd at *Ravenna*, *Amalasunta* was murder'd, by the advice of the Faction. *Peter* protested against

*Bolsena in the Duchy of Castro. Amalasunta banish'd and Imprison'd.*

*Murder'd.*

gainst her Death, and in the Emperor's Name, de- A.D. 535.  
 nounc'd War about the latter end of the last year.  
 In the beginning of this, *Mundus* Governor of *Illyri-*  
*cum*, was commanded to Invade *Dalmatia*, and attempt  
*Salona*, subject to the *Goths*. *Belisarius* with 4000 Legi- *Belisarius*  
 onary Soldiers, 3000 *Isaurians*, 200 Auxiliary *Hunns*, sent into  
 and 300 *Moors*, besides his Life-guard, embarkt aboard Italy.  
 a Fleet prepar'd for that purpose, and had Instructions  
 to try his Fortune in *Sicily*; where if he found a Con-  
 quest more difficult than 'twas expected, he should not  
 stay long, but give out, that he only took it in his way  
 to *Carthage*. *Justinian* courted the *Franks* to enter into  
 an Alliance against the *Goths*, urging their Heresy as a  
 just Provocation for the *Catholicks* to make War upon  
 them. *Mundus* without much trouble reduc'd *Salona*, and  
*Belisarius* as easily Master'd all *Sicily*, except *Panormus*, *Palermo*.  
 which was thought Impregnable; but the General know- *Balisarius*  
 ing its strength by Land attack'd it by Sea, and had it *Conquers*  
 surrender'd to him on Articles. *Peter*, *Justinian's* Envoy *Sicily*.  
 at *Ravenna* improv'd the terror *Theodatus* was in on  
 News of the loss of *Dalmatia* and *Sicily*, to bring him  
 to Terms with his Master. And the *Goths* agreed to  
 quit all his Pretensions to *Sicily*, to Pay the Emperor a  
 Yearly Tribute of a Crown of Gold, weighing 300 Pound  
 weight, and assist him with 3000 Men whenever he pleas'd  
 to demand them. That he shou'd put no Priest or Senator  
 to Death without the Emperor's consent, nor Create a Patri-  
 tian or Senator, unless he Petition'd for leave to do it. That  
*Justinian's* Name shou'd be first mention'd in the Acclama-  
 tions of the People, and where *Theodatus's* Statue was  
 Erected, the Emperor shou'd have another on the Right  
 Hand. So base and abject was this Barbarian's Spirit,  
 that fearing he had not granted enough, he sent for the  
 Embassadors, who were on their way to *Constantinople*  
 with this Treaty back to *Ravenna*, and agreed to resign  
 the Kingdom into the Emperor's Hands for a Pension,  
 to be settled upon him out of the Demesnes of the  
 Crown, obliging *Peter* by Oath not to reveal this se- To resign  
 cond Agreement. He wrote to *Justinian* that he was the Crown.  
 estrang'd from the noise of Battels by his Love of Philoso-  
 phy, and prefer'd his Studies before a Kingdom. *Peter* en-  
 gag'd, not to deliver the last Letters and Terms, except  
 the Emperor rejected the first. *Justinian* wou'd not hear  
 of any thing less than an absolute Demission, and was  
 over-



A.D. 535: overjoy'd to find *Peter* had such Instructions to make it from *Theodatus*. He answer'd his Pedantical Epistle in a Stile proper to the Subject, flattering his Philosophical Vanity, extolling his high Wisdom, and assuring him that not only the Pension he requir'd, but the chief Honours a *Roman* Subject was capable of shou'd be confer'd upon him. One *Alexander* was joyn'd in Commis- sion with *Peter*, to perfect the Agreement; and *Belisarius* was order'd to pass over from *Sicily* into *Italy*, and take possession of the Country. During this Negotiati- on, the *Goths* in *Dalmatia* surpriz'd *Mauritius*, the Son of *Mundus*, who had come too near them, to take a view of their Army, kill'd him, and defeated his Party; which so enrag'd *Mundus*, that marching against the E- nemy with more Fury than Order, he expos'd his Men to imminent danger of an Overthrow: However, his rage animated him to such a degree, that he routed the *Goths*; and eager to revenge the Death of his Son, per- su'd the Enemy so carelessly, that one of 'em turning upon him, and finding him alone, his Men not being able to follow him, attack'd, and slew him. The Ro- mans having lost their General, abandon'd *Salonæ*, and retir'd into *Illyricum*. *Theodatus*, (as 'tis common for base Men's Souls to be,) was as Insolent on good Fer- tune, as dejected on bad: He now refus'd to execute the Treaty, slighted the Emperor's Embassadors, and to prevent their dealing with the *Goths*, put Guards upon them. Most of these Passages fell out in the following year, for which there was no Consul, neither in the *East* or *West*. And where as we find an omission in distinguish- ing the years by the Consuls, we meet with the great- est confusion in Chronology. We are now to return to *Africa*, where *Salomon* is involv'd in new Troubles, and such as *Belisarius* himself cannot put an end to. The Emperor by a publick Edict, had Confiscated the Estates of the Conquer'd *Vandals*; which the Soldiers who were permitted to marry their Wives and Daugh- ters, claim'd as their right, and having no redress, grew Faction and Mutinous.

Another Provocation which the Soldiers receiv'd, was the Emperor's forbidding Hereticks the use of Sacra- ments or Churches, by which 1000 *Arians* that were in his Army, were disgusted. The *Heruli* were not suf- fer'd to Baptize their Children at *Easter*, nor to celebrate that

The Ro-  
mans ha-  
ving lost  
their Gene-  
ral aban-  
don'd Sa-  
lonæ, and  
retir'd in-  
to Illyri-  
cum.  
Theoda-  
tus  
Previri-  
cates with  
the Empe-  
ror.

536.

that Feast; and the Auxiliaries of that Nation, were not the worst Troops in the *Roman Army*. What yet farther contributed to the future Commotions, was the Revolt of five Troops of Horse made out of the *Vandals*, that were brought by *Belisarius* to *Constantinople*: These *Justinian* order'd to be transported into the *East*, to spend their lives in Garrison on the Frontiers of *Persia*. When they were under Sail near the Coast of *Lesbos*, they forc'd the Mariners to put into *Peloponnesus*, from whence they made over to *Africk*; and landing in a Desert place, march'd directly to the Mountain *Aurafium*, in *Mauritania*: The Mutineers encourag'd by their Desertion, resolv'd to joyn with them. The *Arians* engaging to Assassinate *Salomon* at Church on *Easter Day*, many of his Domesticks were in the Conspiracy, on account of the forfeited Estates. At the time appointed they made signs to one another, to fall on; but were so aw'd by the Reverence due to the Place, or the Governor's Aspect, that they dar'd not to draw their Swords. They had a second meeting for the same purpose; yet the over-ruling Providence of God prevented their perpetrating their Design, each of 'em accusing his fellow of Cowardice. Believing 'twas impossible for a Conspiracy push'd on so far, to escape being discover'd, they withdrew out of the City, fell upon the *Africans*, and rifled and wasted the Country. *Salomon* by fair words endeavour'd to keep the rest to their Duty, but Prayers and Promises were thrown away upon 'em. The Success of their Companions, made them eager to follow their example. They disown'd his Authority, and chose *Theodorus* the *Cappadocian* their General; who having more Honour than they imagin'd, protected *Salomon* from the rage of the Rebels, put him privately aboard a Ship with *Procopius* the Historian, and five of his Retinue, and permitted him to sail to *Sicily*; here they apply'd themselves to *Belisarius*, just about the time that he receiv'd Orders to sail to *Italy*; where the Scene was chang'd, and *Theodatus* not in so good a humour to make him welcome, as some Months before. *Theodorus* after *Salomon* was withdrawn, watch'd his opportunity when the Soldiers had for the present done plundering the City, and were gone out to their Companions in the Country, seiz'd *Carthage*, and shut the Gates on the Mutineers. Upon this they chose *Stotzas*, one of the Guard for

A.D. 536.

*A Conspi-*  
*racy a-*  
*gainst the*  
*Romans*  
*in Africk.*

*Salomon*  
*the Gover-*  
*nour*  
*driv'n out*  
*of Africa.*

*Theodo-*  
*rus refuses*  
*to head the*  
*Rebels,*  
*Stotzas*  
*chosen*

A.D. 536. for their General, who Muster'd 9000 Men in the Plains of Bule, and march'd with them to take Carthage. *Stotzas* summon'd the Place, *Theodorus* reply'd, he held it for the Emperor; yet the Mutineers carry'd on their attacks so vigorously, that the Defendants were thinking to yield, when *Belisarius* accompany'd only by *Salomon*, *Procopius* and 100 of his Guards in one Ship, arriv'd in the Harbour. The Besiegers did not doubt of

Belisarius and Salomon arriv'd at Carthage. entring the Town the next day; but hearing *Belisarius* was there in Person, they rais'd the Siege, and march'd off. The General reduc'd 2000 of them by good words, and persud'd the rest as far as *Mombrissa*, where they forc'd upon him, and stood their Ground, trusting to

Belisarius routs the Rebels. their Numbers. In the beginning of the Fight a strong Wind blew directly in the faces of the Rebels, who wheel'd about to recover that Disadvantage, thinking the Enemy would do the same. In wheeling they broke their Ranks, and *Belisarius* perceiving they were in some Disorder, charg'd 'em before they were prepar'd to receive him, and put them to Flight. The General did not think fit to follow them very far, his Army being small; he gave the Plunder of their Camp to his Soldiers, and then return'd to Carthage, taking with him the Vandal Women, who had been the occasion of the War, and were found with their Treasure in the Mutineers Camp. He after this provided as well as he could for the Peace

Returns to Sicily.

of Africk, and then sail'd back to Sicily, where his Presence was wanted to suppress a Mutiny in his Army there. *Ildiger* and *Theodorus* were left Governours in Carthage: *Marcellus* commanded in Numidia. The latter hearing *Stotzas* was flying that way, muster'd his Forces, and march'd to surprize him. At *Gazophila*, *Stotzas* finding his case was desperate, boldly ventur'd to go amongst *Marcellus's* Men, and expostulated with them for opposing him, who fought in defence of their Rights and Liberties. He told them how they were poorly paid, and cheated even of what they got by their Blood and Labour: If he had not reason on his side, he desir'd them to kill him; otherwise to fight for him in their own Quarrel. His Speech had such an effect on the Soldiers; that they all went over to him, and their Officers fled into a Neighbouring Church, where *Stotzas* besieg'd 'em, and promis'd 'em their Lives, if they would surrender themselves. The Officers confiding in his promises, came forth,

The Romans desert to the Rebels.

forth, and were perfidiously murder'd by command of A.D. 536. the Traytor *Stotzas*. 'Twas time for the Emperor to *Germanus*, provide for the safety of *Africk*; he sent thither *Germanus* a Patrician, his Kinsman, *Symmachus* and *Dominicus*, an, sent to Senators both: The former with the Title of *Magister Africa.* *Militum*, and Pay-Master of the Army: The latter to command the Legions in the room of *John*, Controulor of the Household to the General. *Germanus* arriving at *Carthage*, on a Muster he found two thirds of the Army revolted: He saw there was no fighting with them, and therefore set himself to perswade the Mutineers to return to their Obedience. He gave 'em fair words, and paid 'em their full Arrears, even for the time they were in Rebellion: By this method he got over so many to his Party, that he became a match for the Rebels. *Stotzas* finding his Army diminish'd, as the Enemies encreas'd, was as desirous to bring it to a Battel, as *Germanus* was to fight him: To encourage his Men, he told 'em, their Companions would certainly come over to them again, as soon as he approach'd near the Walls of *Carthage*. He march'd his Forces within four Miles of the City, to allure those that had Deserted him, to come out of the Town: But *Germanus* had so well manag'd the matter, that the Soldiers in the place were all firm and faithful, and eager to decide the business by a Combat. The Mutineers grew more dispirited at their disappointment, and drew off into *Numidia*. The Imperialists follow'd them, forc'd them to an Engagement, in which at first the Rebels had the Advantage, till *Germanus* drawing his Sword, led his own Guards against the Victorious Wing of the Mutineers, drove them back, routed them, and then joyn'd his Men that were fighting it out with *Stotzas*, who was forc'd to fly, and afterwards to quit the Field: Many were slain on both sides in the confusion of the Chace; for both Friends and Enemies using the same Language, the same Arms, the same Livery, neither Party could distinguish the one from the other, till the Roman General commanded his Men to spare none, without they gave the Word. The Mutineers Camp was taken and plunder'd; upon which *Stotzas* made his escape into *Mauritania*, where he marry'd a Daughter of a Prince of the Country, and dwelt among the *Moors*.

*Germanus  
defeats the  
African  
Mutineers.*

This



A.D. 536. This Insurrection was scarce suppress'd, when *Maximus*, one of the General's Guard, endeavour'd to raise a new Mutiny, in favour of his intended Usurpation. *Germanus* had intelligence of the Traiterous Correspondence he held with some of the chief Mutineers in the late Revolt; yet he did not think fit to drive him to despair: He sent for him, advis'd him to beware how he broke his Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor; made him swear again to be faithful to him; and for his encouragement, advanc'd him in the Army: However, finding that he had Prevaricated afterwards, and that some Soldiers who were of his Conspiracy, rose in a Sedition's manner, to assist him to assume the Purple, he caus'd him to be Crucify'd under the Walls of *Carthage*, which put an end to the Plot. He settled the Provinces by his Wisdom and Moderation; he banish'd the remains of the *Vandals* Men and Women, and prepar'd the way for *Salomon* to restore Peace entirely to the *Africans*. *Germanus* being recall'd to Court, *Salomon* was once more made Governour of *Africa*, where he soon finish'd the work *Germanus* had happily begun; and by his prudent Administration, brought the *African*

Maximus  
another  
Conspira-  
tor Crucify'd.  
The Vandals banish'd.

Salomon again made Governor of Africk.

The Leucathians revolt.  
Salomon slain.

Provinces into a State of Prosperity. To continue the thread of this History unbroken, we shall omit the Wars in *Italy*, till we are got over those in *Africk*; where for four years, *Salomon* govern'd the Subjects of the Empire with great Prudence, and met with no Disturbance to interrupt the repose, that the *Africans* all that time enjoy'd: But at the end of four years Peace, *Salomon* found himself engag'd in a War with *Antalas* a Moor, who in discontent that the Governor had stop'd a Pension which *Justinian* allow'd him, perswaded the *Leucathians* to Revolt, whom *Salomon* fought with unequal Numbers, was defeated and slain. His Nephew *Sergius* was made Governor in his room, which disgusted many of the old Commanders. *Sergius* was vain and insolent, valu'd himself on his Riches and Authority, treated the inferior Officers more like his Slaves, than his Fellow-Soldiers; and by his Vices and Avarice, gave general discontent to the *Africans*. *Antalas* made his advantage of *Sergius's* Male-Administration; he perswaded many to Revolt, and wrote to the Emperor, that except *Sergius* was remov'd, and his Pension paid, he would continue the War, to do himself and the People

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ple Justice : He sent for *Stotzas* out of *Mauritania*, and together they Invaded, Plunder'd and Destroy'd the Provinces with such Cruelty, that the Inhabitants were forc'd to fly, some to *Sicily* and *Italy*, others to *Constantinople*. The Emperor out of respect to the Memory of *Salomon*, would not remove *Sergius* at first, but dispatch'd away *Arcobindus*, to command in the Province of *Byzacina*, and order'd *Sergius* to make War in *Numidia* : Yet at last he comply'd with the necessity of his Affairs, remov'd the latter to *Italy*, and made *Arcobindus* sole Governor. He was a Person of Senatorian Dignity, honest and zealous for his Master's Service ; but being very ignorant in the business of War, *Gontharis* who commanded under *Sergius* in *Numidia*, was tempted to set up for himself, and take on him the Sovereign Power. He betray'd all the Governor's Councils for the suppressing the *Moors* to the *Barbarians*, and persuaded them to march against *Carthage*. *Stotzas* had been kill'd in a late Skirmish, and in his place the Rebels had chosen one *John* for their General. With this Man and *Antalas*, *Gontharis* secretly Corresponded, and discover'd all the measures that were taken to reduce them. *Arcobindus* was inform'd of *Gontharis's* Traiterous Practices, and designs : However, to prevent the mischiefs of a new Revolt, he would not take any publick notice of his Rebellion, till he had it confirm'd by his own Confession. He sent to him, to inquire concerning the reports that were spread of his deserting his Sovereign. *Gontharis* was so far from denying it, that he openly declar'd, he own'd no Power Superior to his own. *Arcobindus* upon this muster'd his Forces, and march'd against him, taking with him *Artabanes*, an *Armenian*, of the Race of the *Arfacides*, who had enter'd into the Emperor's Service, with some Troops of his Countrymen. *Gontharis* gave out, that *Arcobindus* intended to cheat the Soldiers of their Pay ; that he was a Coward, and not fit to command such brave Men : However, four of his Troops Revolted ; and had *Arcobindus* done his Duty, *Gontharis's* Rebellion might easily have been suppress'd. As soon as the Governor saw the two Parties were fighting, and Men dropt near him, he fled as if he had lost his Senses, and shut himself up in a Monastery, within the Walls of *Carthage*. His Men disheartned by the Cowardice of their General, were overthrown

A.D. 536.

and *Stotzas* join  
against  
*Sergius*  
the new  
Governour.

*Sergius*  
turn'd out  
of his Go-  
vernment,  
*Arcobin-*  
*dus* put in  
his place.  
*Gontha-*  
*ris* usurps,  
*Stotzas*  
kill'd *John*  
heads the  
Mutineers.

*Arcobin-*  
*dus's* Cow-  
ardice.

A.D. 536. thrown by the Rebels, who made themselves Masters of the City, the Palace and the Port. *Reparatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, perswaded *Areobindus* to treat personally with *Gontharis*. The former appearing before the Tyrant, behav'd himself like a Coward as he was, much below the Dignity of his Character ; out of his slavish fear submitting to all the hard terms *Gontharis* impos'd upon him : Yet the Rebel order'd him to be murder'd the night following, and sent his Head to *Antalas* ; who having more Generosity than the Usurper, was aham'd of his Perjury and Treason, which render'd him unworthy the Friendship or Assistance of any Man that had any Sense of Honour : He therefore made his Peace with the Emperor, and march'd home with his *Leucathians* ; and *John* with the Mutineers that would not follow the Example of the *Moors*, joyn'd *Gontharis*.

Gontharis orders  
Areobindus's Head  
to be cut off.

For which  
he is de-  
serted by  
Antalas  
and the  
Leucathi-  
ans.

*Artabanes* on assurance of Safety, came to *Carthage* with his *Armenians* : He promis'd to be obedient and faithful to the Usurper ; yet he had his Treachery and Cruelty in Abhorrence, resolving to dissemble with a Dissembler, and by that means destroy him. He affect'd to appear more than ordinarily forward to serve him ; he advis'd him to march without delay against *Antalas*, whose Desertion brought his Authority into danger. *Gontharis*, pursuant to his Advice, prepar'd to reduce the *Leucathians*. He left a numerous Garrison in *Carthage*, under the command of *Pasiphilus* his chief Minister, and order'd him to destroy all the *Greeks* in his absence. The Night before he intended to depart, he invited all his Friends to Supper ; and *Artabanes* consulted with those of his Countrymen, whom he could trust, to make use of that opportunity, and execute their Design. The principal Conspirators were himself, *Gregorius* his Nephew, and *Artasiris*, one of his Guards : The two latter were to bring some of the stoutest of the *Armenian* Guards into the Palace, at the time of the Feast, when there would be no notice taken of it. The Soldiers waiting on their General at his Meals, *Artasiris* was to give the blow, when he saw a convenient time ; and he desir'd *Artabanes* to kill him, if he mist killing the Usurper, lest he should be put to the Rack, and forc'd to discover who set him upon it, which would be the ruin of his General. At the hour appointed, *Gregorius* and *Artasiris* stood behind *Artabanes*, who sat by the Tyrant

at Supper : The rest of the *Armenian* Guards waited A.D. 536. without, and were to fall on *Gontharis* at a Signal giv'n from within. *Artasiris* would have assaulted the Usurper in the beginning of the Feast, if *Gregorius* had not bid him forbear in the *Armenian* Language, till he had drunk more freely. When the Wine began to work, and put him in a merry humour, he gave some Dishes of Meat to the Guards, who went forth to eat it, and left only *Ulisheus* and two Servants with *Gontharis*. *Artasiris* thought that was the Minute which Fortune presented for him, to execute his General's Command ; and fearing he might be perceiv'd, if he drew his Scimiter in the Room, he went out with the Guards, and return'd with it drawn, hid under his Robe. As he drew near the Tyrant, one of the Persons that were in waiting, saw him pull out his Scimiter, push'd him away, and cry'd out. The Usurper turning about to see what was the matter, *Artasiris* struck at him, and cut off part of his Skull. *Gontharis* endeavouring to rise, *Artabanes* stab'd him into the Side, and he fell down dead : *Ulisheus* made some opposition, but he and the two Servants were presently dispatch'd by *Artabanes*, *Gregorius* and *Artasiris*. The *Armenians* without attack'd and slew the *Vandals*, and then rush'd in on those of the Usurper's Friends, who were feasting in other parts of the Palace. The Guards had most of them serv'd under *Areobindus*, and joyn'd with the *Armenians* : *Pasiphilus* and other principal Mutineers, were kill'd in their Lodgings : *John* fled to Sanctuary, was taken out on promise of Life, and sent to *Constantinople*. *Artabanes* was made Governour of the Province, which was almost entirely ruin'd by the Wars ; and though it enjoy'd an happy repose during the Reign of *Justinian*, yet 'twas so impoverish'd, and depopulated, that it became an easie Prey to the *Saracens*, in the Reign of *Constantine Pogonatus*, one hundred and thirty years after *Justinian* the Great had recover'd it from the *Barbarians*, and restor'd it to the *Roman* Empire.

We left off relating the War in *Italy* with the death of *Mundus*, and the securing the Persons of the Imperial Embassadors. The Emperor on News of *Theodatus*'s Treachery, order'd *Constantianus*, General of his Horse,

A Conspiracy against Gontharis by Artabanes the Armenian.

The Armenians kill the usurper.

Artabanes made Governour.

Peace restored.



A.D. 537. to raise forces in *Illyricum*, and drive the *Goths* out of *Dalmatia*, which he perform'd. *Belisarius* having visited *Africk*, past over from *Sicily* into *Italy*, and besieg'd *Naples* in the year 537. All the Towns of *Abruzzo* and *Lucania* were surrender'd to him: *Ebremudas*, *Theodatus's* General, deserted him; though to oblige him to be faithful, he had given him his Daughter in Marriage. *Ebremudas* was sent to *Justinian*, to whom he betray'd all *Theodatus's* Councils, and was prefer'd to the Dignity of a Patrician; An Honour too great for a Traytor. But the Emperor was willing to make him an Example to the *Goths* of his Clemency and Bounty. *Naples* was defended by a strong Garrison, and held out against *Belisarius's* Courage and Policy so long, that he was preparing to raise the Siege, when an *Isaurian* viewing the Aquæduct which supply'd the City with Water, observ'd, that if the Passage which was cut thro' for the Water, was enlarg'd, a Party of Soldiers might without difficulty pass the same way and surprize the Place. The General approv'd of the Project, and the *Isaurians* undertook to enlarge the Passage by filing the Rock; for Hatchet and Axes wou'd have made a Noise, and giv'n the *Goths* a suspicion of the design. When the way was widen'd *Belisarius* Summon'd the Governour once more to surrender, telling him his Engines were ready, and he cou'd not fail of forcing the City. The Citizens wou'd not hearken to him, and the General finding there was no Conquering them by fair means, provided his scaling Ladders, and commanded *Maguns* a Captain of Horse, and *Ennes*, who led the *Isaurians* in the dead of Night to enter the Vault with 600 Men, taking Lights and Trumpets with them to affright the Enemy, and give notice to the General when they were enter'd: These Men got into the Town, kill'd the Guards, and open'd the Gates for the rest of the Army to follow them. The *Messagetes* put all they met with to the Sword, till *Belisarius* rode up and down among them and restrain'd their fury: The Soldiers in Garrison were taken into the Emperor's Service, and the General is much applauded by *Procopius* for his Humanity to the Vanquish'd.

*Belisarius*  
takes *Naples*  
by  
Surprize.

After

After *Naples* was reduc'd, most of the Cities of *Campania* open'd their Gates to the Conqueror. The *Goths* impatient to behold the Stupidity of their King, which they suspected, proceeded rather from Fraud than Negligence, and fearing he intended to deliver up his Kingdom to *Justinian*, met at *Regeta* 35 Miles from *Rome*, The *Goths* and chose *Vitiges* for their Sovereign. He was a Man of <sup>d pose</sup> no great Quality, and by his Valour only, had rais'd *Theodatus* : Presently after he was Chosen, he hasten'd to *Rome* with 4000 <sup>choose Vi-</sup> Men, and oblig'd the Citizens, as well Pope as Senate, <sup>tiges for</sup> Clergy as Laity, to take an Oath of Allegiance to him. <sup>their King.</sup> To please the *Goths* he divorc'd his first Wife, marry'd *Vitiges* <sup>marries</sup> *Mattasunta* the Fair Daughter of Queen *Amalasunta*, *Mattasunta*, <sup>ta, Ama-</sup> and seiz'd the Treasure of his Predecessors. *Theodatus* <sup>lasuntha's</sup> as soon as he heard of this Revolution fled from *Rome*, a <sup>Daughter.</sup> few Days before *Vitiges* came to that City, and from thence Posted to *Ravenna*, where both himself and his Son *Theodegisile* were slain by order of the new King, <sup>Theoda-</sup> who perceiving he was not strong enough to stand <sup>rus slain at</sup> his ground in *Rome*, wrote Circular Letters to all the <sup>Ravenna</sup> *Goths* to behave themselves like Men in the defence of <sup>by Viti-</sup> their Country, and remov'd to *Ravenna* to reinforce his <sup>ges's or-</sup> Army by the addition of Troops from all Parts of *Italy*, <sup>der.</sup> whom he commanded to rendezvous there. He Carry'd several Senators out of *Rome* with him as Hostages for the fidelity of their Brethren, yet that Precaution was ineffectual. He by a vast Summ of Money prevail'd with the *Franks* not to assist the Emperor, tho' they had enter'd into an Alliance with them. The Kings of the *Franks* in the Infancy of their Monarchy shew'd their Successors a way to evade all Treaties ; and as the Monarch now Reigning pretended to keep to the Letter of the Treaty of Partition, tho' he acted quite contrary to the intent of it, in setting the Duke of *Anjou* on the Throne of *Spain* ; so now the Princes of *France* wou'd <sup>The Treat-</sup> not suffer any of their Subjects, the *Franks*, to serve in <sup>chery of</sup> *Vitiges's* Army, but in consideration that he had bought <sup>the Franks.</sup> their Friendship by paying a Prodigious Summ of Money, and delivering up to them all that part of *Gaul*, which still remain'd subject to the King of *Italy*, they lent him some Troops rais'd among the Nations tributary to them.

A D. 537. *Belisarius* after he had plac'd good Garrisons in most of the Towns in *Campania* advanc'd towards *Rome*. The Senate and Citizens forgetting their Oath to their new King invited him thither, hearing he was marching to the City. The *Goths* whom *Vitiges* had left for the defence of the Place had just time to sally out at one Gate, *Porta Flaminia*, as *Belisarius* enter'd at another, *Porta Asinaria*, and took possession of it in the Name of the *Roman* Emperor, about sixty Years after *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* became Master of it, and 34 from its Captivity by the *Goths*. He sent the Keys of the City to *Justinian* together with *Leuderis*, Governour of the City for *Vitiges*, who would not march out with his Garrison. He then apply'd himself with commendable Industry to repair the Fortifications, and lay up Magazines of Corn and Provisions, preparing for a Siege, which did not at all please the Citizens. They wonder'd that he shou'd think of making a place defensible, that was neither strong by Situation nor Art, being built in an open Champain Country without the convenience of a Sea Port, or Walls that cou'd be defended, they were so old and so many Miles round. They murmur'd at his intending to make *Rome* the Seat of the War, to whom they had not deliver'd the City but with a design to avoid the dangers and losses of a Siege. In the Year following Pope *Sylverius*, *Agapetus's* Successor, was depos'd by command of the Empress *Theodora*, a Violent *Eutichean*, who wrote to *Belisarius* to put *Vigilius* whom *Agapetus* had sent to *Constantinople*, about some Affairs of the *Roman* Church, in his Chair: She did it in revenge of *Agapetus's* opposing *Anthimus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Vigilius* the late Pope's Deacon promis'd her if by her favour he rose to the Pontificate, he would revoke the Decrees of the Synod of *Constantinople*, that had Anathematiz'd *Anthimus* and his Disciples. *Vigilius* coming to *Rome* with recommendatory Letters from the Empress, *Belisarius* sent for Pope *Sylverius* and charg'd him with holding correspondence with the *Goths*: However knowing the accusation to be false, he try'd to perswade him to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the only way to keep in his See. The Pope desir'd time to consider of it, and consult his Advocates what was proper for him

*Belisarius enters Rome.*

*Prepares for a Siege.*

538.

*Pope Sylverius turn'd out of the Papacy by Belisarius, by the Empress's command.*

to do. As soon as he was got out of the Place, he fled to a Church for Sanctuary; from whence *Belisarius* prevail'd A.D. 538.

on him to come to Court, promising upon Oath he should have his liberty. His Friends advis'd him not to venture, yet he would go; and to render him the more secure, after a long conference he was permitted to return to his Church. *Belisarius* thinking he had fulfill'd his promise by suffering him to escape once, sent for him again, order'd him to be convey'd into an Inner-Apartment, had him divested of his *Pontificalia*, thav'd for a Monk and banish'd him to *Patara* a City of *Lycia*.

*Vigil* by the Authority of the Imperial Governour was chosen Pope by the Clergy of *Rome*. And when *Sylve-* chosen Pope  
*rius* arriv'd at *Patara*, the Bishop of the place asham'd by *Belisa-*  
to see the Apostolick *Vicar* expell'd his Diocess and *rius's*  
driv'n into Exile, went to the Emperor and so zealously *Authority.*  
represented the Injury done the Pope and the Church,  
that *Justinian* commanded *Belisarius* to see that *Sylverius*  
was readmitted into his See: Tho' *Theodora* try'd the  
utmost force of her Beauty and her Wit to hinder his  
return, yet the Emperor was unalterable, and *Sylverius*  
came back to *Rome*. *Vigilius* had agreed to pay *Belisa-* *Sylverius*  
*rius* 200 marks of Gold for his assistance to procure him *restor'd.*

the Papacy; and either loath to pay such a Summ, or  
repenting of the Simony he had deser'd it till now. He  
told the General that unless he deliver'd up *Sylverius*  
into his Hands, he cou'd not pay him the Money, which  
*Belisarius* was as unwilling to lose as to offend the Em-  
press, by suffering an Orthodox Prelate to govern the *Vigil*  
Western Churches. He resign'd him into the Hands of *causes him*  
his Competitor, who order'd him to be confin'd to the *to be ba.*  
Island of *Palms* in the *Ligurian* Sea, where the Bishops *nish'd.*

of *Fundi*, of *Terracina*, *Minturnum* and other Diocesses  
in *Italy* Visiting him, he held a little Synod, and pro-  
nounc'd Sentence of Excommunication against *Vigilius*  
for usurping the Apostolick See. *Vigilius* was so offended

at his proceeding to Ecclesiastical Censures, that he or- *He Excom-*  
der'd him to be shut up close Prisoner, and a Year after- *municates*  
wards he dy'd of Hunger and hard Usage. *Vigilius* *Vigil.*  
wrote to the Principal *Euticheans* that he was of the *Vigil*  
same Faith with them; yet when he was rid of his *slaves*  
Rival, he voluntarily resign'd the Episcopal Dignity, *him.*

was legally chosen as the Papists pretend, and became as  
remarkable



A.D. 538. remarkable for his Courage, his Zeal, and the soundness of his Doctrine, as he had been for Violence, Avarice and Cruelty, before this second Orthodox Election: *Baronius* makes mention of this new choice, because he was loath that the Infallibility of the Papacy shou'd hang in suspence so long as *Vigilius* Reign'd, which was near 16 Years from the Death of his Predecessor; and had he held the Pontificate by no better right than his Military Election by *Belisarius's* Interest, he wou'd have been a very improper Person to pretend to be infallible, whose Title to his Office was owing wholly to the Sword and the Money he paid for it.

*Vitiges  
marches  
against  
Rome  
with an  
Army of  
150000  
Men.*

*Narny.*

While these disturbances happen'd in the Church, *Belisarius* continu'd enlarging his Master's Dominions in *Italy*. *Calabria* and *Apulia* were receiv'd into his Protection at the request of the Inhabitants, and he had secur'd all the Cities on the Coasts. *Vitiges* on his side was not idle, he got together an Army of 150000 Men and march'd towards *Rome*. *Belisarius* allarm'd at the report of such a Numerous Army advancing against him, drew as many Men as cou'd be spar'd out of his Garrisons in *Campania*, *Calabria* and *Apulia*, ordering *Constantianus* and *Bessas*, who commanded in *Tuscany* to do the same, and to joyn him in *Rome*. *Bessas* was a *Goth* by Nation, yet he had from the beginning of the War sided with the *Romans*, and had lately done them an Important Service in taking *Narnia*, a City standing on a Hill near the River *Narus*, 40 Miles from *Rome*. He stay'd in the place some time to provide for its security, by which means he fell in with a Party of the Enemies advanc'd Guards, whom he attack'd, defeated and kill'd a great Number of them; but being over Power'd he retir'd into *Narnia*, and having strengthen'd the Garrison, Posted to *Rome* to inform the General of the Enemies approach. The *Goths* were unwilling to lose time in besieging any of the Towns in *Tuscany*, as well because they knew they were prepar'd to resist them, as fearing *Belisarius* wou'd escape. *Vitiges* was glad to hear he resolv'd to expect him in *Rome*, believing 'twas Impracticable to defend the City against an Army, or to endure a long Siege where there were so many Mouths to be fed. *Belisarius* built two Forts about a Mile from the City,

on a Bridge over the *Tyber*: He Posted there a good Body of Troops to dispute the Pass with the Enemy: But on the approach of the *Goths*, the terror of their Numbers was so great, that tho' they were in a Condition to have giv'n a Check to the Enemy, yet they basely abandon'd the Bridge, and had like to have been the cause of the Death of the General and the loss of his Conquests. For *Belisarius* thinking the Guards were still at the Bridge, sall'y'd out with 1000 Horse to view the Ground and Post more Men at the Pass. He was surpriz'd to find *Vitiges's* Troops had past the Bridge, and imagining that his Guards were cut off, he was Transported beyond his usual temper, which was always cool in the heat of Battel, and to recover the lost Ground, ventur'd farther among the Enemy than was either safe or necessary on that occasion: He was known by some Deserters in *Vitiges's* Army, upon which the *Goths* neglected all others and directed their whole Force against him: The more eager the Enemy was to destroy him, the more earnest his own Men were to save him, and they fought with such fury, that the *Goths* were routed and driven back to their Camp, where being supported by fresh Troops, they fac'd upon the *Romans* and drove them in their turn to the Gates of the City. The Guards having been inform'd that *Belisarius* was kill'd in the skirmish, refus'd to open the Gates and let them in, lest the Enemy might in the confusion enter with them and become Masters of the City, before they had try'd whether they cou'd hold it out against them, or made terms for delivering it up. The General call'd out himself to them to open the Gates; but his Face was so discolour'd with Blood and Dust that they cou'd not discern him, and Night coming on, they kept themselves close and wou'd admit no body. The *Goths* had as in a Chase driy'n their Game to a Bay, and like a Stag that is thus prest by the Dogs, *Belisarius* grew the more furious, turn'd on the Pursuers, who were in great disorder, charg'd them with fresh Vigour; and the Enemy imagining they were encourag'd by assistance from the Town, fled back towards their Camp at the first onset; *Belisarius* knowing his own weakness, would not suffer his Men to follow them very far. He was glad that he had time giv'n him to make himself known to

*Belisarius*  
skirmish-  
ing with  
the *Goths*  
is in dan-  
ger.

A.D. 538. the Guards, and get into the City, where he was receiv'd by his Soldiers with as much Joy, as if he had risen from the dead for their Deliverance : His Horse and Armour were cover'd with Arrows, yet not one of 'em touch'd his Flesh ; which considering the peril he was in, was esteem'd little less than a Miracle. A day or two after the City was half encompass'd by the Enemy, who lying on both sides of the *Milvian* Bridge, had the command of the River, and directed his Attacks towards what quarter he pleas'd. The *Aqueducts*, fourteen in number, built of Brick so deep and broad, that a Man might easily enter them on Horseback, *Vitiges* order'd to be broken and rent in pieces : But the General, whose Vigilance was extraordinary to defend the City from the Enemies Arts, as his Courage was to secure it from his Force, found out other means of conveying Water into the City : All the useles Mouths he sent out of the Town, list'd the poor Mechanicks ; and lest any of the Citizens should have a design to betray the Place, he often broke the Keys, chang'd the Guards every Night. Himself and his Officers walkt the Rounds, and employ'd *Moors* to lie with Dogs about the Ditch, to discover if any one approach'd near the Walls. He also fortify'd the *Aquæducts*, where they open'd into the City : And by his great care to put it into a posture of Defence to hold out till Supplies came from the *East*, to enable him to take the Field, the Citizens perceiv'd the Siege would be lengthen'd out a long while ; and not us'd to Want and Fatigue, they impatiently bore the restraint of their Liberty ; Assembling in a tumultuous manner, they rail'd at the General ; which *Vitiges* understanding, to exasperate them the more, he sent Messengers into the Town, to upbraid *Belisarius* of Rashness and Presumption, in endeavouring to defend a place that was not Defensible, to extol their Master's Goodness and Power, and offer him and his Army, a safe Retreat for themselves and their Goods. The General's Presence kept the Inhabitants in awe, and *Vitiges* finding he was not to be perswaded or frighted out of the City, prepar'd like an experienc'd Soldier to push forward the Siege. He carry'd on his Attacks with great Skill and Courage ; yet he got little ground, *Belisarius* had so well provided for his Reception on all

*Belisarius's good Conduct and Care in the defence of Rome.*

*fides*

sides. He never suffer'd the Besiegers to rest, sallying out upon them, and at several times destroy'd forty thousand of them. *Vitiges* enrag'd to find such Resistance, suspecting that the Senators whom he had taken as Hostages with him to *Ravenna*, Corresponded with their Brethren within the City, commanded them to be put to Death; two of them, *Gerbentius* and *Reparatus* made their escape into *Liguria*, the rest were murder'd.

A.D. 538  
He at several times  
destroy'd by  
Sallies  
40000  
Goths.

The *Romans* elevated with their Prosperity, and having receiv'd a Supply of 1600 Horse, scorn'd to be pent up within the Walls of *Rome*, but demanded to be led into the Field, and give the Besiegers Battel. *Belisarius* disapprov'd of their Temerity; yet being importun'd perpetually by both Citizens and Soldiers, he consented to the Combat, intending to try his fortune first by Excursions and light Skirmishes, which he did without Success: So he resolv'd to fight openly, and the *Goths* who heard by Deserters, that he determin'd to decide the Controversie by a Battel, rejoyc'd, that they should have no more to do with him behind his Walls, where he was too politick for them. The General made a Speech to his Soldiers, exhorting them to demean themselves like *Romans*, and divided his Army into two Bodies, with which he fell upon the *Goths* from two quarters of the City. The *Romans* at the onset had the advantage of the *Goths*, but were born down by the Multitude of the Enemy, and experienc'd to their Cost, that it had been wiser in them to have trusted to the prudence of their General, than to their own Valour.

The *Barbarian* Horse perceiving the *Romans* began to grow weary of the Combat, charg'd them with their Lances, drove them to their Foot; and the latter not being able to endure the Shock, ran away towards the City, which they enter'd with great Difficulty, leaving the Honour of a Victory to *Vitiges*; who however had no reason to boast, having lost many good Soldiers, which render'd it Impracticable for him to continue the Siege. The *Romans* were now content to be govern'd entirely by their General's Conduct, and renew'd their old way of annoying the Besiegers, by Sallies, which tir'd them at last; and *Belisarius* by a Stratagem, having found

*Belisarius at the Im-  
portunity  
of the Ci-  
tizens and  
Soldiers  
fights Vi-  
tiges and  
is worsted.*



A.D. 538. found means to get a large Convoy of Money to pay his Army safe into the City, the Besieg'd began to despair of Conquering it. Not long after, by another Device, he procur'd a new Supply of Men and Provisions; to pass by the Enemy into the Town. The Besiegers having Intelligence of more Forces being expected from *Constantinople*, and that some were already arriv'd, they held a Council of War, and consulted how they might retreat with most Safety and Honour. They deputed three Commissioners, and dispatch'd them into the City, with Instructions to insist on the Violence and Force, which *Justinian* by this Invasion had put upon them. Since *Zeno* had granted Italy to *Theodoric*, when he sent him to make War on *Odoacer*, King of the *Heruli*, The Deputies boasted, that the *Goths* had maintain'd the Constitution of the Common Wealth with as much care, as any of the Roman Emperors had done. That they had not taken away from the *Italians*, their Liberty of Conscience, nor violated the Privileges and Immunities of the Roman Church, not a Goth being advanc'd to any place of Note; and the Eastern Emperors conferring yearly the Consulship on Romans in the West. *Belisarius* deny'd, that *Zeno* had made a grant of the Dominion of Italy to *Theodoric*: He accus'd that Prince of Ingratitude, who seiz'd that Country to his own use, which he promis'd to recover for the Emperor, the true and undoubted Lord of Italy. He bad the Deputies never to think, he could give away his Master's Provinces. Then they offer'd to quit *Sicily*, which they said, lay very convenient to serve as a check upon *Africk*: He answer'd, the Emperor had quitted *Britain* to them, an Island of much greater extent than *Sicily*. They propos'd to part with *Campania* and *Naples*, and pay an Annual Tribute. To this he reply'd, He had no power to do any thing, but repossess the Emperor of what was his own. They at last desir'd time to send to *Justinian*, and know his Pleasure in the matter; to which he consented, and a Truce for three Months was agreed to.

A three  
Months  
Truce con-  
cluded.

During this Negotiation, the Romans had Time and Opportunity to receive the Supplies they were in expectation of from the East. They continu'd Masters of the Sea, and by this means streighten'd the Besiegers

ers in their Provisions. *Vitiges*, though the Truce was A.D. 539. not expir'd, let some Soldiers down into one of the Aqueducts, to see if a Passage might that way be made into the Town. This Stratagem was prevented by the early caution of the General, to dam up the Vault in the beginning of the Siege. The several Reinforcements *Belisarius* had receiv'd, enabled him to spare a Party of his Men to form a Flying Camp in the Country, and cut off the Enemies Convoys. These Troops mightily distress'd *Vitiges's* Camp, wast'd all *Picenum*, kill'd *Ulitheus*, the King's Uncle, took *Rimini*, and threaten'd *Ravenna*. On this News, *Vitiges* call'd a Council, who advis'd him to raise the Siege, especially considering their own Streights, and the Plenty in the Town. Thus after they had lain above a year before *Rome*, the *Goths* broke up, and directed their march towards *Rimini*, to retake it from the Romans. *Belisarius* sally'd out, charg'd their Rear, and did great execution on the Barbarians. He also detach'd *Ildeger* and *Martinus*, two of his Officers, to throw themselves into *Rimini*, which they perform'd, having drawn the Garrison out of *Ancona*, to reinforce that of *Rimini*. *John*, one of *Belisarius's* Principal Commanders, was already in the Town, which himself had taken; him *Belisarius* order'd to march out with the Cavalry, thinking he might be more Serviceable abroad with his Horse scouring the Country, than if he were shut up within the Walls of the City. *John* being loath to lose his Conquest, would not leave the place; at which the General was highly displeas'd, and this was one of the occasions of the future Rupture between him and *Narses*. As soon as *Vitiges* arriv'd before *Rimini*, he play'd his battering Rams, and other Engines of War; but *John* was prepar'd against such Attacks. The *Goths* found in a few days, *Vitiges* that they must not pretend to take the place by Storm, *besieges* so they resolv'd to Starve it, knowing the Garrison were *Rimini*. in want of Provisions, and in no likelihood of Relief: However, they held out longer than either the Romans or the Barbarians expected. We must not omit relating an Adventure, which happen'd in the time of the Siege of *Rome*, which reflects very much on the General's Moderation. *Constantianus*, who had done good Service in *Dalmatia*, and other places, had taken from

The Romans take the Field, annoy the Enemy. And take Rimini. 539. The Goths march off from before Rome.

A.D. 539. a Gothic Deserter two Swords, the Scabbards finely set with Diamonds. The Goth complain'd to *Belisarius*, who rally'd *Constantianus* for it, bidding him wash his Hands of so foul a Business. *Constantianus* neglecting the General's Orders, the Goth meeting the latter, as he rode through the Forum, took his Horse by the Bridle, stop'd him, and ask'd, whether the Laws of the Empire would suffer a poor Suppliant flying for Refuge to Rome from Barbarians, to be Robb'd? He would not let go his hold, till the General promis'd the Sword should be restor'd. The next day *Belisarius* sent for *Constantianus*, and other Officers, and commanded him before them, to give the Man his Swords. *Constantianus* reply'd, He would rather throw them into the Tyber. The General demanded, If he did not think 'twas his Duty to obey his Orders? Yes, *Constantianus* reply'd, in other things, but not in this. *Belisarius* calling in his Guards, *Constantianus* askt, if it was to kill him? The General said no; but 'twas to compel the Man that had taken the Swords from the Goth, by his Authority to restore them. *Constantianus* imagining the Guards were sent for to dispatch him, resolv'd to sell his Life as dearly as he could, drew his Sword, and made several Passes at the General, who step'd behind one of his Officers; and two others held *Constantianus*, till the Guards enter'd and disarm'd him. They did not offer to hurt him in the Presence of *Belisarius*; but by his Command, they carry'd him into another room, and kill'd him.

A Quarrel  
between Be-  
lisarius  
and Con-  
stantianus.

Constan-  
tianus  
draws his  
Sword on  
the Gene-  
ral.

Is kill'd by  
the Guard. The Author of the Secret History of *Justinian's* Reign, said to be written by *Procopius*, tells us, that *Antonina*, being accus'd of Adultery with *Theodosius*, the young Man to whom she stood Godmother before the Expedition to Africa, she prevail'd with her Husband to clear *Theodosius*, and give up her Accusers to be punish'd by her. *Antonina* cut out their Tongues, caus'd them to be put up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea. *Constantianus* dropping some Expressions, which might be Interpreted, as if he believ'd *Antonina* was guilty; for this reason she instigated her Husband to make him away, as we have related: Be it by her Means, or his own Provocation, the Death of this Man highly offended the Emperor and the Nobility. Nor did it a little

le contribute to the satisfaction that the People shew'd A.D. 540.  
in *Belisarius's* Misfortunes afterwards.

While *Vitiges* lay before *Rimini*, *Mundilas* was de- *Mundilas*  
tach'd with another party of *Romans* to reduce *Milan*. with a  
He took the City, and subdu'd all *Liguria*. *Vitiges* Party of  
was extreamly mortify'd, on the news of the loss of *Romans*  
*Milan*, and dispatch'd away his Nephew *Uraiah*, to re- takes *Mi-*  
cover the Town and the Country. *Uraiah* receiv'd a lan.  
Reinforcement of 10000 *Burgundians*, with which he  
soon brought the City into the last extremity. *Mundilas* Is besieg'd  
having weaken'd his own Garrison in *Milan*, to strength- by *Uraiah*,  
en those of other Towns in *Liguria*, we must leave *Vitiges's*  
him in this Distress, to see what measures *Belisarius* Nephew.  
takes to relieve him.

The next year the General march'd out of *Rome*, 540.  
took *Tudera* and *Clusium*; and hearing *Narses* was ad- Todi, Chi-  
vancing towards *Italy* with 5000 Men, he met him usi.  
at *Firmium*, a Town situate on the *Adriatic* Sea, where Fermo.  
they immediately call'd a Council of War, and consulted *Narses*  
whether they should march to the relief of *John* in *Ri- joyns* *Belis-*  
*imini*, or attack *Auximum*, a strong Town, wherein *arius with*  
there was a numerous Garrison, who by their Excur- 5000  
sions mightily harraßt the Country about it, which was *Men.*  
subject to the *Romans*. *Belisarius* was unwilling that *Ofino.*  
the Garrison of *Rimini* should be suffer'd to Perish;  
yet *John's* disobeying his Orders, made him incline to  
reduce *Auximum* first, and then proceed towards *Rimi-*  
*ni*. *Narses*, *John's* particular Friend, earnestly prest to  
march directly to his Assistance; the rather, because  
the Governor of *Rimini* in his last Letters declar'd,  
That he could not keep the place above seven Days longer,  
without Relief in that time. Wherefore to provide a-  
gainst both Inconveniencies, the General order'd a Par-  
ty of 1000 Men under the Command of one *Aratius*,  
to observe the Garison of *Auximum*: He embark'd some  
Forces aboard his Fleet, with Orders to Sail to *Rimi-*  
*ni*, and Land near the Troops which he sent by Land.  
When they approach'd towards the Enemy, he comman-  
ded them to make many Fires, to amuse and terrifie  
the *Goths* with a false apprehension of their Numbers.  
Himself and *Narses* with the main Body of the Army,  
march'd



A.D. 543. march'd at a distance from the Sea by the Mountains, to avoid coming to a Battel with an Enemy, Superior in Number, and grown desperate by their Misfortunes. The dividing his Forces, had the effect intended. The *Gothick* Scouts falling in upon a Party of his Men, and seeing others appear on the Mountains, reported that he was at hand with an innumerable Army. On this News, *Vitiges* prepar'd for Battel, apprehending no danger, but from the Party his Scouts met; and those they saw upon the Mountains. When Night came on, he observ'd the Fires kindled by the Forces that were to march along the Shoar, and joyn those that came by Sea; which made him conclude, he should be surrounded by the *Romans*, especially, when at Sun-rising he saw their Fleet appear, bearing down directly towards him. This struck him into such a Consternation, that in his Despair, he grew incapable of Council; and his Soldiers seeing their King, gave the Cause over for lost, packt up every Man his Baggage, and fled to *Ravenna*. In the Confusion they were in, had the Besieg'd known their Condition, they might easily have cut them in pieces, and put an end to the War. After the Siege of *Rimini* was rais'd, the jealousies that appear'd before between the two Generals, *Belisarius* and *Narses*, began to break out into an open Rupture. *Narses's* Flatterers extolling his Wisdom and Authority, as *Comes Largitionum*, or Lord Treasurer of the Empire, perswaded him 'twas below him to be commanded by any one. *Belisarius* to divert him by Action, from permitting his Imperious Humour to grow upon him, in a Council of War, where *Narses* was present, made a Discourse of the Security and Insolence that ever attended good Fortune. He represented to them the strength of the Enemy; that *Vitiges* was in *Ravenna* with a powerful Army. *Uraiah* closely besieg'd *Milan*. That a numerous Garison remain'd in *Auximum*. That *Urbiventum*, not far from *Rome*, was still in the Enemies Hands, each of which Cities was strong enough to resist the Emperor's whole Power. That the *Goths* had been defeated more by Policy than Arms: He advis'd, That part of the Army should be sent to *Liguria* and *Milan*, and the rest towards *Auximum*. *Narses* objected against his Opinion, that in such case the

They march  
against *Vi-*  
*tiges* be-  
fore *Ri-*  
*mini*.

The *Goths*  
raise the  
Siege.

*Belisarius*  
and *Narses*  
disagree.

*Orvietto*.

*Goths*

Goths from *Ravenna* would fall upon them ; and being attack'd both in Front and Rear, they must all perish by the Sword or Famine. His Sentiments were, To send a Party to scour the Country about *Auximum*, and with the rest to invade *Æmilia*, since call'd *Lombardy*, a Province which reach'd from *Ast* in *Savoy*, to *Parma*. He offer'd himself to lead the Party that should act in *Æmilia*, and doubted not to give a good account of the Enterprize, which would facilitate the General's Attempt on *Auximum*. *Belisarius* dreading nothing more than the Division of the Army, produc'd the Emperor's Letters, containing, That he had not sent *Narses* into Italy to command his Forces, it being his Pleasure, that all Officers should obey *Belisarius* in all things, for the advantage of his Service, and the good of the State. *Narses* took hold of the last words, affirming, what the General advis'd now, was not for the good of the Commonwealth, and therefore they were not oblig'd to follow his Directions. *Belisarius* sent a Detachment under *Perurbinius*, to besiege *Urbiventum* ; and himself with another Party attack'd *Urbinum*, situate on a round steep Hill : *Narses* and *John* follow'd him, and Encamp'd severally at the foot of the Hill. *John* had before in vain attempted the City, and believing 'twas Impregnable, gave out, that the General's rashness wou'd be fatal to the Emperor's Affairs, and in the Night they march'd away, whatever *Belisarius* cou'd say to the contrary. However the General resolv'd to carry on the Siege, and the Fountain within the Town hapning to dry up of it self, the besieg'd were forc'd to drink Water and Mud together. On the approach of the besiegers they surrender'd on Terms, the Romans flattering themselves that the terror of their Arms had gain'd 'em this conquest, which indeed was entirely owing to an accident. *Narses* was amaz'd at *Belisarius*'s Success, to retrieve the Honour he lost by deserting him just before his Victory : He order'd *John* to attack *Corfina*, which finding too strong for him to attempt, he surpriz'd *Forum Cornelia* an old Town, *Imola*. and subdu'd all *Emilia*, the Goths avoiding to come to an Engagement. *Belisarius* hearing *Mundilas* was reduc'd to a miserable condition in *Milan*, the Enemy raging without the Walls and the Famine within, sent *Martinus* and *Uliaris* to relieve the City : They

*Narses*  
marches  
away with  
part of the  
Army from  
the General.

A.D. 540. They march'd with what Forces the General cou'd spare as far as the *Po*, there they encamp'd, and tho' solicited by the besieg'd to come forward yet they loiter'd away their time, pretending that the *Goths* and *Burgundians* were too strong for them. *Belisarius* order'd *John* and *Justinus*, both *Narses's* Friends to joyn *Martinus*, which they refus'd till they had Orders from *Narses*, who perceiving that 'twou'd endanger the loss of *Milan* and *Liguria*, if *Mundilas* was not speedily reliev'd, wrote them to do what the General desir'd. During these delays, the besieg'd having liv'd some time on Dogs, Rats, Mice and other Vermin, hearkning to the Proposals made them by *Uraiah*, that they shou'd have liberty to retire where they pleas'd, surrender'd the Town. The *Goths* contrary to the Treaty made them all Prisoners of War, demolish'd the City which was then so Populous, that 300000 Citizens were put to the Sword, the Men only were kill'd, the Women were giv'n to the *Burgundians* to be their Slaves. *Reparatus* a Præfect was cut to pieces, *Dacius* the Bishop and *Bergantinus* a Senator made their escape to *Constantinople*: Of the former there are so many Miracles reported, that if we cou'd believe he had wrought half of them, we shou'd blame him for not saving so many thousand Citizens, which he might have done with more ease than he perform'd the wonderful things the *Monks* relate of him. *Belisarius* banish'd *Uliaris* from his presence. He gave the Emperor an impartial account of the loss of *Milan* and the Country of *Liguria*, which soon follow'd the fate of *Milan* and was recover'd by the *Goths*. *Justinian's* Hands were so full that he had work enough for all his Generals, wherefore he did not care to fall out with any of them: However to prevent the ill consequence of the differences between *Belisarius* and *Narses*, he recall'd the latter, giving the sole command of his Armies in *Italy* to *Belisarius*.

*Vitiges* was extreamly disappointed by *Justinian's* prudent Conduct; he hop'd to reap the Fruits of the divisions in the *Roman* Councils: And now having nothing to expect from the animosity between the Generals,

The misunderstanding between the Roman Officers fatal to their Affairs.

Milan surrender'd to Uraiah, 300000 Citizens put to the Sword.

T  
messia  
heark  
reuni  
formi  
prere  
reason  
swer,  
King

nerals, he began to tremble at the Prospect of the A.D. 540.  
future War. The Romans were Masters of above  
three quarter parts of Italy. Belisarius prepar'd to  
besiege him in Ravenna, and he knew the Enemy  
were grown bold on their repeated Victories, which  
had a contrary effect on the Goths. For this reason  
he endeavour'd to fortify his Interest by Foreign Al-  
liances, and by making a diversion in the Emperor's  
Dominions oblige him to leave his own.

He first try'd how he cou'd prevail with *Varis* King of  
the Lombards, who refusing to break his League with  
*Justinian*, he sent Embassadors to *Chosroes* King of Persia  
to represent to him, That if he continu'd Neuter and suf-  
fer'd the Emperor to destroy the Goths, he wou'd unavoid-  
ably be ruin'd himself. The Persian King had long since  
repented of the Peace he had made with *Justinian*, find-  
ing he had improv'd it so much to his advantage as to  
add the Provinces in *Africk* to his Empire: He wanted a  
good occasion to begin a War, and half in Jest and half  
in Earnest, sent Embassadors to him on the finishing the  
*African War*, to demand his share of the Vandals Treas-  
ure, in consideration that he had contributed to his Suc-  
cess by the Peace. *Justinian* was forc'd to give him a  
Friendly answer, and a round Summ of Money to keep  
him in a good humour. The rather because *John* Go-  
vernour of *Daras* on the Frontiers of Persia had Usurp'd,  
whose Usurpation might have been very prejudicial to  
the Emperor's Affairs, if the Persian King had supported  
the Usurper. *Justinian's* Ministers in the Court of Per-  
sia negociated so well with *Chosroes* on this occasion that  
he abandon'd the Rebel, who for want of his assistance  
was in a few Days suppress'd and slain.

*A Ridiculous de-  
mand made  
by the King  
of Persia's  
Embassa-  
dors at  
Constanti-  
nople.  
John Go-  
vernour of  
Daras in  
Asia  
Usurps.  
He is sup-  
press'd and  
slain.*

The King of Persia listen'd more earnestly to the  
message *Vitiges's* Embassadors brought him, than he had  
hearken'd to *Daras's* Agents. He consider'd if Italy was  
reunited to the Empire, the Emperor wou'd become  
formidable by such an acquisition, and might in time  
pretend again to the Universal Monarchy. He for this  
reason dismiss'd *Vitiges's* Embassadors with a satisfactory an-  
swer, and began a War which had the effect the  
King intended: It oblig'd *Justinian* to send for *Belisa-  
rius* *Vitiges's*



A.D. 540. *rius* out of *Italy* to oppose *Chosroes*, and we shall see in the course of our History the same *Vitiges*, who instigated the *Persian* King to break the Peace with *Justinian*, commanding the Emperor's Forces against *Chosroes* in the same War.

La Mar-  
cha di An-  
cona.

The Franks  
Invade  
Italy with  
an Army of  
100000  
Men.

Their Treachery.

The *Roman* General in the mean time sat down before *Auximum* with an Army of 11000 Men, and detach'd *Cyprian* with another Body of his Troops to take in *Fesule* in the same Province, *Picenum*; both these Cities open'd a Passage to *Ravenna*, and *Belisarius* resolv'd to follow *Vitiges* thither as soon as he was Master of these two Places. While he lay before *Auximum*, the *Franks* believing both Armies were so weaken'd, they might with little difficulty be subdu'd, invaded *Italy* with an Army of 100000 Men. *Theodobert* their King by Oath had lately confirm'd his Alliance with the Emperor. But 'tis remarkable the very Foundations of the *French* Monarchy were laid in Treason and Violence. The *Goths* who little thought the *Franks* were coming to seize the fair Prize, for which they and the *Romans* were contending, rejoic'd when they heard they were crossing the *Alps* and advancing towards *Liguria*, imagining they were marching to their Assistance. The *Franks* when they arriv'd, to amule them, committed no Acts of Hostility while they staid in that Province, which was entirely subject to the *Goths*. They spar'd it as well to render them secure, that they might not hearken to any Councils against their Interest, as to facilitate their passing the *Po*; for had the *Goths* taken any Umbrage at their proceedings, they might have disputed their passing that River. They were no sooner on the other side of the *Po*, than they seiz'd the *Gothick* Women and Children; at which the *Goths* were so terrify'd that they fled from their Houses into the City of *Pavia*, and the *Franks* past on to their Camp, where they were at first kindly receiv'd, till laying about with their Axes they soon convinc'd the *Goths*, that they were no more their Friends than the *Romans*. Upon which they took to their Heels and fled by the *Roman* Camp into *Ravenna*. The *Romans* thinking *Belisarius* had routed them, join'd with those that persu'd

su'd them; but finding to their cost that they were A.D. 540.  
 mistaken, and that there was no way to recover their  
 Camp, they fled into *Tuscany*, and inform'd their Ge-  
 neral of what had happen'd to them. The *Franks* by  
 this means became Masters as well of the *Roman* as *They become*  
 the *Gothick* Camp. In which they found Provisions *Masters of*  
 sufficient for their present supply. Not considering *the Ro-*  
 that the farther they march'd, the Country which had *man and*  
 been the Seat of six Years War, and was so Impo- *Gothick*  
 verish'd that 'tis said 50000 Persons dy'd of the Fa- *Camps.*  
 mine in one Year in the *Picentin*, must of conse-  
 quence be desolate and exhausted: They proceeded  
 towards *Tuscany*, and were forc'd to feed on Beef,  
 without Corn or Wine: The Food digesting ill with  
 Water, their only drink, threw them into a *Difentery*,  
 which carry'd off above 30000 Men: Those that re-  
 main'd were so crazy they were unfit for Action.  
 When the *Roman* General heard of the accident that  
 befel *John* and *Martinus* in their Camp in *Emilia*,  
 he wrote to *Theodobert*, reproach'd him with breaking  
 the League with his Master, and contrary to his Oath  
 to assist him, that he attack'd and routed his Troops,  
 threatening him that the Emperor was still able to  
 call him to an account for his Treachery. Whether  
 this Letter frighted him, or he was touch'd with  
 the reproaches of his Subjects, who murmur'd at *Reduc'd to*  
 him for leading them into a Country destitute of all *great*  
 things necessary for them, where they dy'd like Dogs, *streights*  
*Theodobert* rose up with all his *Franks* and return'd *are for*  
 home, leaving behind him dreadful instances of his *want of*  
 cruelty, and giving occasion to *Procopius* to brand *Provisions.*  
 his Nation with the Character of the most Faithless *Forc'd to*  
 of Men, which their Successors the *French* have so *retreat.*  
 well maintain'd, that there has not been an Age, of six- *Procopi-*  
 teen that have since past over, but has afforded many *us's Cha-*  
 examples of the Fraud and Violence of their Poste- *riaster of*  
 rity, and none more than that we live in. *the Franks*  
*Cyprian*  
 in the mean while took *Fesula*, and *Belisarius* or-  
 der'd him to bring the Inhabitants before *Auximum*.  
 The General shew'd them to the besieg'd as an in-  
 stance of *Vitiges's* inability to relieve them, and that  
 they must expect the same Fate with their Neigh-  
 bours. The Garrison and Townsmen weaken'd by  
 \* Y 2                      Famine,

A.D. 540. Famine, and other Calamities of a Siege offer'd to deliver up the Town on terms of Life, and Protection in Body and Goods. The General was willing enough to grant them the Conditions they requir'd, but his Soldiers wou'd not agree to it, saying, *The Wealth of the City was a just reward of their Wounds and Labours.* At last 'twas concluded that the Spoil shou'd be equally divided between the besiegers and the besieg'd. *Belisarius* enter'd the City, took an Oath of Allegiance to the Emperor of the Citizens and Soldiers, left a considerable Garrison in the Town and then march'd to *Ravenna*. *Theodobert* hearing he was before that City where *Vitiges* was already reduc'd to great streights, offer'd the *Gothick* King to lead an Army of 50000 Men to his Assistance, provided he wou'd agree that the *Franks* shou'd share the Country with the *Goths*. *Belisarius* had notice of this Embassy, and sent Messengers also to *Vitiges* who answer'd all the Arguments of the *Franks*, and perswaded the *Goths* rather to reconcile themselves to *Justinian* than to League with *Theodobert*. About the same time two Senators came from *Justinian* with Instructions to offer *Vitiges* half the Revenue of *Italy*, with the Dominion of the Country on this side the *Po*, which terms *Belisarius* afterwards refus'd to ratify, when he saw the *Goths* cou'd not resist much longer, he had brought them into such streights. They were apprehensive if they surrender'd at discretion, *Belisarius* wou'd Transport them to *Constantinople*, and force them to settle in *Thrace*. The General refusing to comply with the terms the Emperor had order'd the two Senators to give *Vitiges*, and which the King was willing to accept, some of his Officers resenting that the *Goths* shou'd have any reason to charge their Master with a fraudulent Treaty, Tax'd him with designing to oppose the Emperor's Service, and lengthen out the War. He was heartily vex'd to hear them talk thus of him; he call'd a Council of War, declaring he wou'd stand by their determinations, who still affirming that the Emperor's Instructions were best, and that they were not able to subdue the Enemy by force, he made them

*Belisarius*  
takes  
Auxi-  
mum.

Besieges  
Ravenna.

The Empe-  
ror Justi-  
nian offers  
*Vitiges*  
terms,  
which *Be-  
lisarius*  
refuses to  
ratify.

them Sign a Writing to that purpose, lest they might go from their Opinion afterwards. He had no pre-<sup>A.D. 540.</sup>ference now to refuse granting *Justinian's* terms to the *Goths*: The besieg'd knowing their condition was not mended, and they had no reason now to expect those terms, the only way that was left them to deliver them-<sup>The Goths</sup>selves out of their present misery, was to tempt *Be-*tempt him  
*lisarius* to assume the Imperial Dignity, offering to <sup>to assume</sup>stand by him if he wou'd agree to govern them ac-<sup>the Impe-</sup>cording to their own Laws. They privately sent <sup>rial Dig-</sup>Agents to propose it to him. When they had deli-<sup>nity.</sup>ver'd their Message, he gave them a satisfactory an-  
swer and dismiss them. The General however had <sup>He seems to</sup>no design to break an Oath formerly made to <sup>Fu-</sup>comply  
*Justinian*, that he wou'd never during his Life attempt <sup>with them:</sup>any alteration in the Government, but he disssembled  
with the *Gothick* Nobility, that he might the more  
easily make himself Master of *Ravenna*. To satisfy  
his own Officers who knew nothing of the private  
Treaty, and were discontented that the publick one  
did not go forward; He told them, *He wou'd soon*  
*make Vitiges and all his Goths, the Emperor's Captives,*  
*share their Wealth and recover Italy for the Romans.*  
The *Goths* sorely prest by Famine, sent other Em-  
bassadors to take the General's Oath, that they  
shou'd enjoy the same Priviledges and Immunities as  
the *Romans* themselves. He swore what they wou'd  
have him as to that point, but prevaricated with re-  
grets Ra-  
lation to his accepting the Empire of the *West*, say-  
ing he wou'd swear to *Vitiges* himself. All things be-  
ing agreed on, his Officers were surpriz'd to hear he  
was marching into *Ravenna*, and that the Gates were  
open to receive him. He enter'd in Triumph at the  
Head of his Army, which appear'd so inconsiderable  
both in Number and Figure, that the *Gothick* Wo-  
men who expected to see a Powerful Army of Tall  
Lusty Fellows, were much disappointed to find they  
were a meer handful of Men, no more proper or  
stout than their Neighbours. This vex'd them so  
much that spitting in their Husbands Faces, they re-  
proach'd them with Cowardice, for yielding to those  
that were no better Men than themselves, and nor  
half



A.D. 540. half their Number. *Belisarius* as he had stipulated, wou'd not suffer his Soldiers to meddle with any thing that belong'd to the *Goths* without their consent. He seiz'd *Vitiges's* Person, his Queen and the Treasures of the Palace, intending to carry them to *Constantinople*, whither he was recall'd to command the *Roman* Army in the *East*. Tho' there is reason to believe that the Emperor, hearing how Imperiously he behav'd himself with reference to the terms, he order'd the two Senators to offer *Vitiges*, and how the *Goths* wou'd have made him a Present of the Imperial Crown, might be loath to leave him any longer in a Country where his Fame and his Interest were so great. When he arriv'd at *Constantinople*, he was receiv'd by the Court and City with the respect due to a Man that had restor'd to the Empire her Ancient Patrimony, *Rome* and the Province of *Italy*, and giv'n them the satisfaction a second time to behold a King that was their Enemy, their Captive. The Emperor shew'd so little distrust of him, that he seem'd to be more favourable to him than ever. *Vitiges* was treated as became his Rank and Dignity; he had the Honour of a *Patritian* confer'd on him, and the command of a Body of the Imperial Troops on the Frontiers of *Persia*.

'Twas about the beginning of the following Year that *Belisarius* departed for the *East*. *Basilus* is mention'd to be Consul this Year, in which *Justinian* abolish'd that Office by the advice of *Trebonian*, who 'tis thought gave it him out of envy to an Honour, he cou'd never acquire: It had been continu'd 1051 Years, and tho' *Justinian* wou'd have reviv'd it afterward, yet being useless and burthensome, it dy'd and came to nothing.

*Vitiges*  
commands  
a Roman  
Army in  
the East  
against  
Chosroes  
King of  
Persia.

The *Goths* finding *Belisarius* had forsaken them, and avoided Executing that part of the Treaty which oblig'd him to take on him the Government, they thought 'twas time to look to themselves, and since he had carry'd away their old King, to choose a new one, that the Kingdom might not return to the

the Dominion of the Romans. They pitch'd upon A.D. 540.  
*Uraiah, Vitiges's Nephew*, who either out of re-Justinian  
 spect to his Uncle or fear of the same Fate, refus'd *abolish*  
 to accept of the Sovereignty: However, he approv'd *the O ice*  
 of their generous resolution to assert their liberty, *of Con-*  
 and recommended *Ildebald* to them as a fit Person to *suls.*  
 Reign over them. The latter was Governour of *The Goths*  
*Verona*, and Nephew to *Theuda King* of the *Visigoths*, *chose*  
 Famous for his Valour and his Experience in Mili-  
 tary Affairs. Him the *Gothick Nobility* chose for *Uraiah*  
 their King, and immediately after he was invested *to be their*  
 with the Purple, he advis'd that Embassadors shou'd *King.*  
 be sent to *Belisarius*, to invite him to fulfil his Pro-  
 mise, and not basely prefer Servitude to Sovereignty, *He refuses*  
 in case he wou'd perform the Articles of the Treaty *the Crown.*  
 relating to his assuming the Empire of the *West Ilde-*  
*bald* wou'd willingly lay the Purple at his Feet, and *them.*  
 salute him Emperor of the *Goths and Italians*. The  
 Embassadors found *Belisarius* on his Journey to *Con-*  
*stantinople*: He flatly refus'd the Title, protesting he *They send*  
 wou'd not meddle with it while *Justinian* liv'd, and *to Belis-*  
 with this answer dismiss them. The Emperor sent *rius to*  
 one *Alexander* whose Money only procur'd him fa- *come and*  
 vour, into *Italy*, to serve the Soldiers there as he had *Reign over*  
 done elsewhere. He created a Court of Inquisition *them.*  
 at *Ravenna*, to try those Soldiers that had embezled *He rejects*  
 the publick Treasure. By this means he had brought *their Pro-*  
 great Summs into the Treasury for Fines and For- *posal.*  
 feitures, but the Soldiers ill resent'd such severe Dis-  
 cipline in a time of War and Service: His Com-  
 mission was very prejudicial to the Emperor's Affairs,  
 for both the Army and the *Italians* were extreemly  
 oppress'd by his avarice. *Bessas, John and Vitalis*, were  
 the chief Commanders of the Forces in *Italy* after  
 the General's departure. The two former disgust'd  
 that *Alexander* shou'd be sent on such an ungrateful  
 errand, concern'd themselves little in the defence of the  
 Country. *Ildebald* when he sat up for himself, had no  
 more than one Town in the *Picentin*. However in a  
 little while he recover'd all *Liguria and Venetia*, hav-  
 ing defeated *Vitalis* at *Tarvisium*. His Success got *Treviso.*  
 the new King a reputation among his Subjects which  
 he

A.D. 540. he soon lost. For falling out with *Uraiah* he treacherously kill'd him, by which he incur'd the displeasure of the whole Nation. Not long after he took a Soldier's Mistress from him, his Name was

*A Tartar.* *Vilas*, by Birth a *Gepida*, who observing that the King was become the hatred of the *Goths*, for the Murder of *Uraiah*, to revenge himself and them, he struck off his Head at one blow at a Feast he made for his Nobility. In his Place they Elected *Erarick* a *Rugian*, which *Totilas* *Ildebald's* Nephew hearing, in discontent that himself was not prefer'd, he sent to *Constantine* Governour of *Ravenna*, offering to deliver *Tarvisium* and the Garrison therein, under his command to the *Romans* on assurance of Indemnity. *Erarick's* Government was not at all pleasing to the *Goths*, and a few Days before *Totilas* was to have deliver'd *Tarvisium* to *Constantine*, Deputies came from the *Gothick* Nobility to desire him to be their King. *Totilas* told them plainly what agreement he had made with the *Romans*, and that if by the Day appointed for the delivery of the Town, they did not kill *Erarick*, he wou'd perform it; if they did, he wou'd comply with their desires.

*The Goths*  
*kill him,*  
*and choose*  
*Totilas*  
*for their*  
*King.*

While these transactions past among the *Goths*, the *Romans* were grown secure, and were at no pains to suppress an Enemy whom they despis'd. *Erarick* was as fearful of them as they were negligent of him. And propos'd to his Nobility to accept of the terms formerly offer'd *Viriges* by the two *Roman* Senators. Embassadors were Nam'd for that purpose to go to *Constantinople*, to whom he gave private Instructions to assure the Emperor that for a good Summ of Money and the Dignity of a Patritian, he wou'd deliver up the whole Kingdom and divest himself of the Royal Title and Ornaments. During these Negotiations the *Goths* persu'd other Councils, kill'd *Erarick* after he had Reign'd five Months, and Proclaim'd *Totilas* King, whose Valour soon chang'd the Scene of their Affairs: His example encourag'd his Subjects, and as their Spirits reviv'd, their Fortune mended.

The Years being no more distinguish'd by Consuls, A.D. 541. we are often at a Loss to place the Events of our History in their proper Time. Henceforward the Years were computed by the First, Second &c. after the Consulate of *Basilus* the last Consul; and Confounded one with another till the *Era* was alter'd to the Years of the Emperor's Reign. Chronologers saw the great benefit the distinguishing the Years by the Consulship was, when they miss'd that help to their Labours. We shall be as exact in our future Dates as we can, and mingle one Year with another as little as possible.

We are now to look after the *Persian War*, which was just breaking out, when we mention'd it last. 'Twas preceded by an amazing Comet, and an Irruption of the *Hunns*, who past the *Ister*, wasted *Thrace* and *Illyria*, <sup>The Hunns</sup> *Invade the* *ricum*, and return'd Home with 130000 Captives, besides other Spoil to an Immense Value. *Chosroes* <sup>Empire,</sup> invaded *Syria* and *Cilicia* with a Numerous Army. *Bucyrus* <sup>carry off</sup> *z*, Governor of the East flying before him, abandon'd 130000 the Provinces to his Mercy, who took *Ber-bea*, *Hierapolis*, and the fair City of *Antioch*, which was scarcely *Chosroes* more renown'd for its Wealth and Beauty then for her *Enters* Plagues and Sufferings: Tho' neither Fire, Pestilence *Syria and* or Earthquakes had ever dealt so severely by her as the *Cilicia*. *Persians* did at this time. The King gave the Plunder of the City to his Soldiers, who spar'd neither Age nor *He takes* Sex. Those Citizens that surviv'd their Fury were *Antioch* made Slaves. And the Inhabitants so heavily Punish'd for their Pride, Luxury, Stubbornness and Rebellion, that they are to all Ages a dreadful Example of Divine Wrath on the Children of Disobedience.

*Justinian* complain'd aloud of the Injustice and Barbarity of this Invasion. *Chosroes* endeavour'd to vindicate it, but his Arms were more powerful than his Arguments; and Reason being notoriously against him, he was content to March home for a valuable Consideration in Gold, promising to change the 110 Years Truce into a lasting Peace. In his March homeward he Plunder'd *Mesopotamia*, and was very desirous to make himself Master of *Edessa*, the capital City of *Osroena*. He was hinder'd, as 'tis said, by an Opinion of the Sanctity of the Place, the Citizens pretending to have a Letter written by our Saviour to *Agbarus*, Governor of



A.D. 541. King of the Place in those Days, assuring him it should never be Subject to Barbarians. 'Tis more probable that the Contributions they paid were their Security, as well as other Towns in those Provinces. The *Antiochian* Captives were to be redeem'd on Ransom. *Chosroes* however committed so many Acts of Hostility and Barbarity in his Retreat, that the Emperor having time to recover himself out of the Surprize he was in on his first unexpected Invasion, protested the Peace was broken, and refus'd to ratifie the late Treaty. Upon which the Captives of *Antioch* were order'd to inhabit a City a Days Journey from *Ctesiphon*, where they were maintain'd at the publick Charge: The Town was call'd the *Antioch of Chosroes*, and was exempted from the Jurisdiction of all Magistrates. He built them Baths, a Circus, provided Charioteers and Musicians for their Sports, and endeavour'd by his Magnificence and Bounty to make them forget their Slavery.

Justinian  
revives the  
Persian  
War.

Belisarius  
sent against  
the Per-  
sians.

Chosroes  
Marches  
towards  
Jerusalem.  
542.

Comage-  
na.

The Emperor resolving to prosecute the War in the East, gave the Command of his Armies in those Parts to *Belisarius*, with whom went all the *Gothick* Prisoners that came with him to *Constantinople* to Serve in the *Persian* War. The General march'd directly thro' *Lazica*, that had lately revolted to the King of *Persia*, into the Enemies Country. and fac'd *Nisibis*; took *Sisibranum*, and plunder'd and wasted *Affyria*, while *Chosroes* was busy'd in *Lazica*, where he made himself Master of *Petra*, a *Roman* Fort, and had Homage paid him by the King, *Belisarius's* Army were so incommoded by the Heats, that above, a third part of them lay Sick of a Fever, which oblig'd him to hasten his Retreat: *Chosroes* did the same, and thus the Campaign ended with very little done on either side. *Belisarius* spent the Winter at Court, and early in the following Spring, *Chosroes* a third time invaded the *Roman* Territories with a great Army. He Imprison'd *Candidus*, Bishop of *Sergiopolis* on the *Euphrates*, and put him to the Torture for breaking his Word with him. He did little Damage in his March thro' *Euphratesia*, intending to stop no where till he came to *Jerusalem*, where he heard there was a vast Treasure. As he did not Attack the *Romans*, so they were as Civil to him, and were glad enough that he suffer'd them to be Quiet in their Gar-

Garrisons. On the News of his Motions on the Frontiers of *Syria*, *Belisarius* rode Post to *Comagena*, and with extream Diligence arriv'd at *Europus*, a Town situate on the Borders of the *Euphrates*, where he mustered his Army. *Chosroes* hearing he was got thither soon after he had past that River, was in a terrible Surprise, fearing the *Romans* wou'd either come upon the Back of him, or enter his Dominions: And apprehending alike both the one and the other, he resolv'd to Retreat, and prevent both. *Belisarius* knowing he was too Numerous for him to pretend to stop his Passage; was well enough pleas'd to get rid of him at any Rate.

*Belisarius  
hastens to  
Oppose him.*

*Obliges him  
to retire.*

He sent to *Belisarius*, that he had gratify'd the *Romans* by retiring out of their Territories, and expected Ambassadors to Treat of a Peace according to the last Agreement between their Commissioners and his.

The General's speedy and unexpected coming to *Comagena*, had this happy Influence on the Affairs of the Empire, it clear'd those Provinces which were defenceless, of a Potent Enemy, and he was not at the Trouble to draw his Sword for it. His obliging *Chosroes* to quit his Master's Dominions, was justly esteem'd an Action more Glorious and Advantagious than his Triumphs over *Vitiges* and *Gelimer*.

Thus far Fortune has been Propitious to him, but now the Fate of the *Roman* Empire began to be too hard for him, and the Barbarians once more possess'd themselves of the fairest and richest Part of *Italy*, whither *Totilas's* Prosperity call'd him again to preserve a Conquest which was entirely owing to his Policy and Valour.

*Totilas  
succeeds in  
Italy.*

Before we pass into the West, we must take a Survey of the Ruins which the immediate Hand of God at this time made among the Sons of Men. Idolatry, Superstition and Pride, with all the provoking Vices of the East, Luxury, Wantonness, Riot and Profusion were now at the height, and Heaven by a most astonishing Pestilence, swept the World of her Inhabitants, as of old the Deluge, destroy'd them when they were ripe for Destruction. Cou'd we believe the Description of it in *Evagrius*, who was one of the few Persons that surviv'd it, or *Procopius* another Historian Con-temporary with

it,

A.D. 542. it, we shou'd reasonably imagine, tho' more were Sav'd, *A dreadful* yet as many Perish'd as at the Flood. It began at *Pestilence*. *sum* in *Egypt*, and spread its self from thence to *Alexandria* and *Palestine*, sparing no Town nor City, no Country nor Climate, Age nor Sex. The Frozen Regions of the North, as well as the Burning Nations in the East, alike felt the Effects of its Fury. The Poysonous Infection incorporated with the Air, and Death enter'd with every Breath of Wind. It seiz'd the Sea Coasts, and thence flew into the Inland Provinces, making Havock of all; 'twas attended by a Train of Apparitions and Spectres. The Persons that were infected fancy'd they saw Visions, and felt the Blows of those they saw, which was a sure Presage of the Disease. When they met them they call'd upon God, and invoc'd the Blessed Trinity, flying in vain to Churches from an Enemy, that no Weapon cou'd touch. Others Dreamt that such Things appear'd to them, and Awoke in the Agonies of Death. The Plague of *Athens* gives us but a faint Image of this universal Pestilence, Ten Thousand dy'd in a Day in *Constantinople*. No Judgment cou'd be made of the Sick or the Well; for as one was given over this Day, and on the Morrow was Healthy and Sound; so another that was this Minute Strong and Lusty, the next Languish'd and Dy'd, or pin'd away in Pain and Misery: Some that Recover'd lost the use of their Limbs, others had half their Tongues eaten out by it. And as it was Violent in its Course, so 'twas no less lasting, *Evagrius* affirming that it continu'd Travelling up and down the World two and Fifty Years, till it had render'd the Kingdoms and Empires of the Earth desolate and depopulated, by the Destruction of above the half of Mankind. *Justinian* was extreemly concern'd for the Sufferings of his People, he appointed *Theodorus*, one of his Secretaries to Distribute the Imperial Alms among the Poor, and Provide for their Necessities: Tho' the Judgment was so tremendous and devouring, yet no sooner was one Nation free, but the Inhabitants, who, while the Divine Rod was held over them, abstain'd from their evil Ways, return'd to their wicked Courses, as if they had defy'd the Sword to destroy what the Pestilence had left.

*Justinian's  
Piety.*

Let us now return to *Italy*, where *Totilas* is at the Head of the *Goths*, driving the *Romans* out of the Cities they had Conquer'd, and extending his Dominions from the *Po* to the *Tyber*. He at first Muster'd a few Troops in *Picenum*, and the *Romans* had an Army of 12000 Victorious *Veteranes*, who wou'd soon have Expell'd the new King out of *Italy*, had not the Decisions among the Imperial Generals been the ruin of their Master's Affairs. *Marcianus*, one of the best of them, had engag'd one of the Citizens of *Verona* to betray the Place: A Watch-man was hir'd to open the Gate, and let in the *Roman* Army. The Council of War thought it more safe to send a Party before to secure the Gate, and the rest of the Army to follow without Hazard: Only *Artabanes* of eleven Officers durst undertake the Service. The Garrison was Strong, and the others were afraid the Watch man might prove a Traytor, and deliver them to the Enemy. *Artabanes* commanded a Regiment of *Persians*, whom *Belisarius* had taken Prisoners in his Expedition into that Country: The Captain was himself an *Armenian*, an experienc'd Soldier, and worthy his Master's Favour. He took with him 100 Men, and the Watch-man opening the Gate, he got into the Town; part of his Soldiers attack'd the Guards, part advanc'd into the Town; all of them were impatiently expecting the Coming of their Friends. Instead of Marching to Assist them, they spent their Time in Quarrelling about the Spoil, which they divided before they got it. The *Goths* in a Fright ran out at one Gate, while *Artabanes* enter'd at another. They retir'd to a high Rock, not far from the Walls, whence they cou'd take a View both of the Neighbouring Country, and the City they had quitted; perceiving the *Roman* Army was at a considerable distance, and that there were very few of them in the Town, they run back into it, charg'd the Enemy, drove them to the Battlements, where they did Wonders in their Defence, especially their Captain. The Officers of the Army by this time had agreed how the Booty shou'd be divided, and advanc'd to the Gates of *Verona*, which finding shut, they made off as fast as they came, notwithstanding their Companions, who were Fighting on the Walls, desir'd earnestly that they wou'd not forsake them. *Artabanes*,

A.D. 542.

Enters Verona.

Abandon'd by his fellow Officers.



A.D. 542. and those of his Men, who remain'd alive, seeing they were so basely berray'd, leap'd down from the Battlements ; Himself and those that fell on even Ground escap'd, such as hit against the Stones were dash'd in Pieces. *Artabanes*, when he reach'd the Camp, severely reproach'd the Commanders for Deserting him. His Complaints were to no purpose, they were Ten to One, and he must submit to the Majority : They all concluded to Pass the *Po*, and Encamp'd near *Faventia*. *Totilas*, whose Army was increas'd to 5000 Men, follow'd them, upon which the Roman Officers, who were so Timorous at *Verona*, are now so Daring, that *Artabanes* is forc'd to endeavour to cool their Courage, He pray'd them not to Despise an Enemy whom Despair had made Bold : He beg'd them not to wait till all their Troops were past the *Po*, but attack them while the half of them only was on this side the River : The Officers were not for letting a Man of 'em Escape, and continu'd Contradicting one another, till *Totilas* had past the River with all his Forces, having detach'd 300 choice Men to cross it a little below the Place, where he past it himself : These he order'd to Charge the Romans in the Rear, when he engag'd them in Front. The Two Armies resolving on a Battle, they both drew out to prepare for the Combat. Before the Engagements, *Valiaris*, a Stout resolute Goth advanc'd out of the Ranks, and challeng'd any Roman to a single Combat. *Artabanes*, the brave Armenian, accepted his Challenge, ran at the Goth, struck his Lance into his right Side, and gave him a mortal Wound : The Goth sunk backward, and rested upon his Lance, which kept him from falling. *Artabanes* seconded the Blow, charg'd him again, and ran him into the Belly to make sure Work with him : But in the Skirmish, the Head of *Valiaris's* Lance lighting upon his Neck, cut an Artery, whence abundance of Blood presently issu'd. The Conqueror however was so ravish'd with his Victory, that he felt no Pain, till he return'd to his Men. He left his Adversary Dead on the Place, and gallop'd back to his Friends, who were about to Engage with the Enemy. He had lost so much Blood, he was forc'd to be carry'd out of the Field, and the Surgeons not being able to stop the Wound, he dy'd three Days afterwards, much

*Artabanes*  
*Fights the*  
*Champion*  
*of the*  
*Goths.*

*Overcomes*  
*him.*

*Is himself*  
*unfortu-*  
*nately*  
*Kill'd.*

lamented for his Valour and Worth, by all that wish'd well to the *Roman* Empire, which he had faithfully and fortunately serv'd. The Two Armies, after their Champions had decided their single Combat, joyn'd Battle, and *Totilas* obtain'd a compleat Victory. The three Hundred Men that came upon the Back of the *Romans*, frighted them so effectually, that imagining their Numbers to be greater than they were, they fled in Confusion. The *Goths* follow'd close at their Heels, kill'd a great Part of them, took many Prisoners, and their Colours, which (as *Procopius* writes) had not happen'd formerly to the *Romans*. The Commanders severally rally'd a few of their Followers about them, and made to the next Towns. *Totilas*, while he was Master of the Field, detach'd a Party of his Army to Besiege *Florence*: *John* the Governor was very ill provided for a Siege, and sent to the Officers for Relief. They got together a considerable Body of Troops, which they order'd to March to the Assistance of *John*. On their Approach, the *Goths* rais'd the Siege, and retir'd towards *Mical*, a Town distant from *Florence*, about a Days Journey. The *Romans* follow'd them, and the Commanders agreed, that one of them shou'd Attack the Enemy, and the rest Retreat towards *Ravenna*. The Lot fell to *John*, who willingly undertook the Service, on Condition they spar'd him a sufficient Strength, which they refus'd. However, he engag'd them with his own Troops, and being Out-number'd, was worsted: Yet had the other Officers come in to his Assistance, the *Romans* might have recover'd the Disadvantage, and snatch'd the Victory out of the Enemies Hand. But an unhappy Report was spread, that *John* was kill'd by one of his Guards; upon which the whole Army separated, every Man shifting for himself. The *Goths* pursu'd them, and the *Romans* were seiz'd with such panick Fear, that they continu'd running, along while after the Enemy had giv'n over the Chace, never stopping to look behind them, till they were got safe behind their Stone Walls. Those of them who fell into *Totilas's* Power, were treated with so much Humanity, that they List'd in his Army. With this Action the seventh Year of the War ended, which we cannot close without observing how much the Fortune of an Army

The *Romans*  
shamefully  
routed.

Their Forces  
dispers'd.

A.D. 542. depends on the Conduct and Union of the Commanders. These very Troops that now shamefully fly before the *Goths*, and are afraid to look 'em in the Face, when the Odds is on their Side ; while *Belisarius* was at the Head of them, never minded the Numbers of the Enemy ; they were always earnest to Engage, and came off always Victorious. The Example of their General put Life into all that follow'd him : On the contrary their present Officers were the first that turn'd their Backs on the Enemy ; and as one Success usually produces another, so one Misfortune seldom comes alone ; and those Troops that have been once Beaten by the Cowardice or Negligence of their Generals, will certainly be Beaten again, till the Wisdom of the Sovereign shall provide better Commanders. The next Year *Totilas* march'd thro' *Tuscany* into *Campania* and *Samnium*, where he easily made himself Master of the strong City of *Beneventum*, which he dismantled. Himself lay down before *Naples*, and by detach'd Parties he took in *Cume*, *Bruttia*, *Lucania*, *Apulia* and *Calabria* : He behav'd himself every where with so much Moderation, that the Cities open'd their Gates as fast as he presented himself before them : He seiz'd the publick Revenues which streighten'd the *Roman* Army for want of their Pay.

*Totilas*  
Masters  
Beneven-  
tum, and  
most of the  
Cities in  
Italy.

The Emperor had contracted a vast Debt, and the *Italians* were, between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, harass'd and ruin'd : The Soldiers grew Mutinous, and in *Italy*, *Justinian's* Interest declin'd daily. Of all his Conquests there, *Ravenna*, *Rome*, *Spoletto*, *Florence*, *Perusa* and *Naples* were the only considerable Places remaining in his Possession, the latter was reduc'd to such Extremities 'twas impossible to Preserve it. The Emperor seems to deserve the Difficulties he met with, by the little Care he took to prevent them in employing those Persons whom Money or Favour recommended to him, without Examining into the Merits of the Men. Hearing in what an ill Condition his Army was in *Italy*, owing chiefly to the Unskilfulness or Cowardice of the Officers, instead of sending a Man of known Courage and Experience, he made *Maximinus*, *Præfectus Prætoris* of *Italy*, who was both Lazy and Timorous : He loiter'd away his Time on the Coast of *Epirus*, while

*Totilas*

*Totilas* was improving his in Conquering those Places A.D. 543. that stood out against him. After *Maximinus*, *Justinian* sent *Demetrius* to be his Lieutenant: The latter had serv'd as General of the Infantry under *Belisarius*; and to signalize himself farther, resolv'd to attempt the Relief of *Naples*; his Forces were too few to Fight, wherefore he had recourse to a Stratagem. He took *Sicily* in his Way, loaded several Merchants Ships with Corn, and gave out that he was coming with a powerful Fleet to assist the *Neapolitans*. Had he sail'd thither directly, the Besiegers, who expected he wou'd bring a potent Army as well as a Fleet, had certainly rais'd the Siege; but Sailing to *Rome*, to take more Soldiers Aboard, the Enemy had time to inform themselves better of his Strength. The Soldiers about *Rome* refus'd to serve against *Totilas*, by whom they had been lately Beaten; so he was compell'd either to give over his Design, or undertake it with his own Men. He was so earnest on the Expedition, that he determin'd to go forward with it. *Totilas* mann'd out several Pinnaces, and attack'd him as he lay off of *Naples*, defeated him, took all his Ships and Men, except such as escap'd in their Boats, among whom was *Demetrius* himself. *Maximinus* had at last reach'd *Syracuse*; thither *Demetrius* made, and whatever he, or *Conon*, Governor of *Naples*, or all the Roman Officers in *Italy* cou'd say or write to him, to prevail with him to come nearer with his Fleet and Forces, he wou'd not stir till 'twas too late, and then he was afraid to venture himself. The Summer was over, and the Weather Boisterous; he had slipt the season of Action, and now preposterously sent his Fleet and Army in the depth of Winter to the Assistance of the Besieg'd, which drawing near the Coast of *Naples*, met with a violent Storm, and were driv'n Ashore near the Enemies Camp. *Totilas* sunk his Ships, and slew as many Men as he pleas'd without any Resistance; few escap'd being kill'd or taken. Among the Prisoners was the Unfortunate *Demetrius*, whom *Totilas* led with a Rope about his Neck to the Town Wall, where he forc'd him to perswade the Garrison and Inhabitants to yield, by telling them *They must expect no more Succours; all their Hopes perishing with the Navy*. *Totilas* took hold of this Opportunity, to offer *Conon* honourable



A.D. 544. ble Terms, which he accepted, and the King honourably observ'd : He demolish'd the Walls of the City, as he had done in other Places, resolving to put an end to the War as fast as he cou'd by a decisive Battle. Thus ended the Eighth Year of the *Gothick* Troubles.

[544. *Totilas* was not only Moderate in Victory ; he was Just and Impartial in his Government, Complaint being made to him, that one of his Life Guard had Ravish'd the Daughter of a *Roman*, he order'd the Man to be put to Death, and his Estate to be given the Woman, tho' his Officers heartily interceded for him. On the contrary the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers committed

The Cowardice of the *Roman* Officers. all manner of Violence and Oppression, and the former were so insensible of Honour, that very plainly they wrote to the Emperor, they cou'd no longer continue the War with the *Goths* ; yet they had still as many regular Troops to bring into the Field as *Totilas*, and the Capital Cities of *Italy* were in their Possession. *Totilas* resolving next to Attempt *Rome* its self, thought first to try what Effect a Letter wou'd have on the Senate.

*Totilas* writes to the Senate. He wrote to them, *Upbraiding their Ingratitude to the Family and Nation of Theodoric and Amalasunta, and aggravating the Injuries they had receiv'd from the Eastern Emperors and their Armies.* *John*, Governor of *Rome*, forbade the Senate to return any Answer : He turn'd the *Arian* Priests and all suspected Persons out of the City. Which *Totilas* hearing, he highly resent'd the Affront offer'd to his fellow Hereticks, and mustering all the Forces he cou'd raise, bent towards *Rome*. In his way thither he took in the little City of *Tivoly* ; the Inhabitants making some Opposition, were all put to the Sword for an Example to the Citizens of *Rome*.

And *Mar-ckes* to. wards *Rome*. Such was the Posture of Affairs in *Italy*, when *Belisarius* was order'd thither, to put a Stop to the Progress of the *Gothick* King's Arms : He rais'd several Regiments in *Thrace* at his own Charge, and thro' *Illyricum* came to *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where he was inform'd that the Enemy were drawing near *Rome*, *Totilas* having taken *Tibur*, and treated the Citizens as Cruelly as those of *Tivoly*. The *Romans* cou'd Import no Provisions out of *Tuscany*, the *Goths* being Masters of the River. *Belisarius* Landed with about 5000 Men at *Ravenna*, and the first thing he did, was to endeavour to

tempt *Totilas* his Men to Desert. That Method of A.D. 545. Ruining him proving ineffectual; he sent a Detachment from his Army into *Emilia*, to Attempt some of the Cities in those Parts. The *Isaurians* at this time <sup>the</sup> Mila- left the Service, and went Home in Discontent that they <sup>had</sup> not their Pay. *Totilas* had Notice of their Deser- Savoy.

tion, and detach'd a Party to drive the *Romans* out of *Emilia*, but the *Goths* were worsted by them, and the General threw Succours into *Auximum*, besieged by the Enemy, who to compensate for their Losses, had an Advantage in another Engagement of the *Romans*, and cut off 200 of them in an Ambuscade. The *Gothick* King by his Spies had Intelligence that *Belisarius* was not strong enough to Fight him, upon which he grew Bold, and block'd up *Firmum* and *Asculum* in *Picenum*. Fermo and Ascoli. The General was extremely mortify'd after his many Victories and Triumphs over Three mighty Kings. to 546.

He sent *Artasiris* a *Persian*, and *Bessas* to defend *Rome* <sup>Totilas is too hard for</sup> in the Place of *John*, whom he dispatch'd away to *Con- Belisarius,* stantinople, making him Swear to return speedily; he was to sollicite the Emperor for a new Army, the old Soldiers being quite out of Heart for want of Pay. <sup>Who sends John to</sup>

*John* carry'd Letters from the General to *Justinian*, wherein he represented the miserable State of *Italy*, and earnestly press'd for Succours, without which he said he cou'd neither pretend to propose a Peace, nor continue the War. Either the Emperor did not believe his Circumstances were so bad as he made them, or he had no Inclination to make 'em better, for he took no Care to Assist him. *John* marry'd *Justina*, *Germanus's* Daughter, a Relation of the Emperor, and was so taken up with his Bride, that he forgot the Business he came about. *Totilas* on the contrary was very Industrious in his; and having in vain attempted *Perusa*, he drew off his Army, and laid Siege to *Rome*: He forbid his Soldiers to disturb the Farmers in their Labour, or to spoil the Corn, the Rents of private Men's Estates he put into his own Pocket, and these Revenues, together with the publick Money, enabled him to supply his Army with Necessaries, and pay them their due, while the *Romans* suffer'd as well for want of Money, as thro' scarcity of Provisions. The Citizens of *Rome* having

A.D. 546. no Communication with *Tuscany*, from whence they us'd to be furnish'd with Corn and Food, were soon brought into terrible Streights; and what added to their Misfortune, was their despair of Relief. In the first Sally they made, *Artasiris* fell into an Ambuscade, and many of his Men were Cut off, himself with Difficulty escaping. The *Goths* were Masters at Sea, as well as by Land, and their Cruisers hinder'd the Transportation of Provisions from *Africa*. All the Hopes of the *Romans* center'd in *Belisarius*, who wanted Comfort himself, as much as they did: He incessantly importun'd the Emperor for Supplies, and at last *John* return'd with a small

*John returns with Narfes, and a small Army.*

*Esclavonians, who Rout the Scavi, whom Totilas call'd to his Assistance.*

Army: *Narfes* the Eunuch also arriv'd with some Auxiliaries which he had procur'd of the Princes of the *Heruli*: These Troops in their March towards *Italy*, met with a great Body of the *Scavi*, whom *Totilas* had hir'd to assist them. These the *Heruli* Fought, put to Flight, and rescu'd the Prisoners and Booty they had taken in the *Roman* Territories. *Belisarius* hearing *Narfes* and *John's* Forces were advancing to joyn him, left *Ravenna*, and remov'd to *Dalmatia* to meet them: When they came up, he order'd *John* to March by Land thro' *Calabria*, and in his Way to drive the *Goths* out of that Country, while himself by Sea proceeded towards *Rome*: They were to Rendevouz near *Portus*, and from thence March together to relieve *Rome*, with which Enterprize they intended to open the Campaign the following Year, but the *Romans* were so grievously afflicted with Famine, that the General cou'd not have Patience to stay till *John* arriv'd. He perceiv'd *Totilas* had laid a Bridge of Planks cross the *Tiber*, 11 Miles below *Rome*; on either side he built wooden Towers, and posted some Soldiers there to hinder Boats going up the River. *Belisarius* ty'd two Boats together, upon which he rais'd a Tower of Wood higher than *Totilas's*, and mann'd 200 Pinnaces full of Port-Holes to shoot at the Enemy: He order'd Corn, and other Provision aboard the Pinnaces, and commanded several small Parties of Horse and Foot to lie on either Shoar, to observe them, lest they shou'd fall upon *Portus* in his Absence. He left *Isaac*, one of his Lieutenants, in the Town, to take the Charge of the Garrison, his Wife and Baggage: He charg'd him not to stir, tho' he heard the

547.

Ge.

General was Slain, but to keep strict Guard, that the *Romans*, in case they miscarry'd, might have a Place to Retreat to. The Day before he went on this Enterprize, he wrote to *Bessas*, to make a general Sally at the same time, and Allarm the Enemies Camp: *Bessas*, who had great Stores of Corn by him, and Sold it out at an extravagant Price, was not willing the Siege should be rais'd, so he neglected this Order, as he had done others, which would have been an Advantage to the Publick, had he obey'd them. *Belisarius* row'd up the *Tiber* against the Stream: Near the Bridge he found an Iron Chain laid a-cross the River: He easily Master'd those that were posted to Defend it; remov'd the Chain, and row'd up to the Bridge: He brought the two Barks with the Tower on them to bear on the *Goths*; and setting a Boat full of Pitch, Rosin, Brimstone, and other Combustible Matter on Fire, he fastned it to the Enemies Towers, which were quickly all in a Flame, and burnt to the Ground; in it were 200 *Goths*, and their Captain, one of their bravest Officers; who were consum'd to Ashes. The *Romans* from their Pinnaces ply'd the *Goths* that came from their Camps to the Assistance of their Fellows so warmly, that they ran away, and *Belisarius* might easily have destroy'd the Bridge, had not Providence decreed the City to the Barbarians. The News of his Success flying to *Isaac* at *Portus*, he was Impatient to share in the Glory of the Action, and forgetting the General's Commands, he sally'd out of the Town with 100 Horse, went to the other side of the River, where *Ostia* stands, and attack'd a Garrison which *Totilas* had there Commanded by *Roderick*, a brave Soldier: The Captain was wounded at the first Onset, and the *Goths* either surpriz'd by such an unexpected Assault, or feigning to be so, to draw *Isaac's* Men on beyond a Possibility of a Retreat, gave Ground, fled from their Works, which *Isaac* immediately took, and his Soldiers fell to Plundering. While they were in Disorder, Pillaging their Camp, the *Goths* rally'd upon them, kill'd many of them, took *Isaac*, and most of his Followers Prisoners: *Belisarius* hearing by some Horsemen that *Isaac* was taken, without Examining how he came by his Misfortune, imagin'd the Enemy had made themselves Masters of *Portus*, and that his Wife and Treasures

*Belisarius attempts to relieve Rome by a Stratagem.*

A.D. 547.



A.D. 547. fures were fall'n into their Hands. He had no Place to receive him and his Men, if that Town was lost; and the Consequence of such an Accident must be certain Destruction, therefore he resolv'd to return, and Charge the Enemy while they were unprepar'd, as *Roderick's* Men had dealt by *Isaac's*. When he arriv'd at *Portus*, and found he was mistaken, the Thoughts of the Opportunity he had lost by his own rash Counsels, and *Isaac's* Disobedience, so tormented him, that he fell Sick by meer vexing himself about it: His Sickness turn'd to a Fever, and had like to have carry'd him off. *Roderick* dy'd of his Wounds, and *Totilas* out of Revenge order'd *Isaac* to be put to Death.

Is prevent-  
ed by an  
unfortu-  
nate Ac-  
cident.

Falls Sick  
out of  
Grief.

*Bessas* still continu'd making his Market in *Rome* of the deplorable Necessities of the Citizens: He was so busy'd in Selling his Corn, that he neglected the Duties of his Station. The Soldiers by his Example grew Negligent; the Sentinels Slept at the Guard, None went the Rounds to Inspect into their Behaviour; the Citizens were almost Starv'd; and seeing what little Care the Governor had of their Preservation, they refus'd to keep any Watch, as if they deny'd to Defend a Man, who was so Careless in the Discharge of his Trust. Four *Isaurians*, that were of the Guard at the *Porta Asinaria*, observing the remissness of both Officers and Soldiers, were tempted to Sell the City to *Totilas*, and slipping down the Walls by Ropes, they went to his Tent, and offer'd to admit him into *Rome* on certain Conditions, which they requir'd of him: He promis'd more than they ask'd, and sent back two Soldiers with them, who found the Sentinels asleep, and all Things in Repose and Security. *Totilas* on the Report made by the Soldiers, of the Facility of the Attempt, suspected there might be some Design in it to Betray him, and fear'd to trust the *Isaurians*. They came again to him a few Days afterwards on the same Errand. He sent two other Soldiers back with them, and these giving the same Account of the Matter as the former, he resolv'd on the Enterprize: While he was Hesitating about it, the *Roman* Scouts took some *Goths* Prisoners, who being carry'd before the Governor, confess'd that *Totilas* was treating to have the City betray'd to him by the *Isaurians*. *Bessas* slighted their Infor-

mation,

mation, and the *Isaurians* hearing of it, went to *Totilas* a third time, and pray'd him to hasten the Execution of their Design. The same Night he order'd his Men to their Arms, and led them as silently as he cou'd to the *Porta Asinaria*. He appointed four Stout *Goths* to mount the Battlements with the *Isaurians*: These eight Soldiers being got into the Town, went strait to the Gate, meeting no Body to Oppose them: They cut the Posts on which the Gates hung in two with their Battleaxes, wrench'd off the Locks and Bolts, open'd the Gates, and receiv'd in the King and his Army. *Totilas*, to prevent a Surprise by Ambuscades, drew up his Men in a Body, and commanded them not to Disperse themselves up and down. The City taking the Alarm, was presently in a Tumult; most of the *Roman* Soldiers ran out at another Gate after *Bessas* their Governor and General; some of them fled to the Churches for Sanctuary. *Totilas* in the Morning went to St. Peter's Church to Prayer, his Men in their Way killing about 30 Soldiers and 60 Citizens. He was met at the Church Door by *Pelagius* the Deacon, who holding the Gospel in his Hands in a suppliant manner, cry'd out, *Oh spare, my Lord, your own People*. *Totilas* laugh'd at him at first, but the Sanctity of his Office, and his Importunity in the end prevail'd. He forbid his Soldiers to Kill any more of the Men, or offer any Violence to the Women; the Plunder of the City he gave them, reserving what was most valuable for himself. *Bessas's* Treasures were the most considerable, whose greediness to get more was the Loss of all, and was a just Judgment of God on him for his Preying on the Poor in a time of publick Calamity. The *Goths* found much Wealth in the Senators Houses, but left little enough for those that came there after them. Many Persons of the first Rank were reduc'd to such Misery by their Rapine, that they were forc'd to beg Alms at the Doors of the Conquerors; among the rest, *Rusticiana*, the Widow of *Boetius*, and Daughter of *Symmachus*, a Pious Charitable Lady was now brought so low her self as to Subsist by the Charity of others. The *Goths* wou'd have Murder'd her for Instigating the *Roman* Governor of *Rome*, to break the Statues of *Theodoric* in pieces, in Revenge of her Husband and her Father's Deaths; but the King wou'd

*Totilas*  
takes Rome  
by the Treason  
of four  
*Isaurians*.

The Citizens  
Plunder'd.

The Widow  
of Boetius  
in Danger,

A.D. 547. wou'd not suffer it. *Totilas* perceiving his Soldiers were mightily Elevated at their Success, Exhorted them not to forget their Moderation in Prosperity, shewing them how uncertain their Fortune might be, which they ought to apprehend from the various Chances good and bad that had happen'd to them. He reproach'd the Senators of Rome for their Ingratitude to their Gothick Kings, who had been so favourable to them, as to Employ them in all Offices Civil and Military, under whom they had enrich'd their Families, whereas they cou'd Boast of no Benefit from *Justinian's* Government, having been depriv'd of almost all their Offices, call'd to Account for their Arrears, and paying Taxes in times of War as well as Peace. He was so Angry with them, that he threaten'd to make them Slaves. The Senators stood trembling before him, not one of them daring to open their Lips in their Defence, till *Pelagius* interceded for them, and at his Request the King promis'd to Pardon them. *Totilas* had a great Esteem for this Priest, whom he sent his Ambassador, together with *Theodorus*, a Roman Senator to *Justinian*, Charging them to tell the Emperor, That if he wou'd not conclude a Peace with him, he wou'd Level the City of Rome with the Ground, Kill the Senate, and carry the War into Illyricum. But if he wou'd live friendly with him, as *Anastasius* had done with *Theodoric*, he wou'd own him for his Father, and himself and his Goths shou'd faithfully serve him, when and where he pleas'd. *Pelagius* had formerly resided at the Court of *Constantinople*, and was a Favourite of the Emperor's : On the Death of *Vigilius*, he was chosen Pope ; in which Station he behav'd himself with greater Piety and Meekness, tho' he was richer in Possessions than most of his Predecessors. All the Answer *Justinian* wou'd give *Totilas's* Ambassadors was, That he had made *Belisarius* his General and Vicegerent, and giv'n him full Power to make War or Peace as he thought fit. While *Pelagius* and *Theodorus* were on their Journey to *Constantinople*, the Gothick King endeavour'd to open a Passage into *Lucania*. The Pass was guarded by *Tullianus*, and 300 *Antians*, who being very dextrous in Engagements in Faltresses, repuls'd the Goths, at which *Totilas* was so enraged, that he resolv'd to demolish Rome, and March with all his Forces against *John*, who Commanded in

*Totilas*  
sends a  
threatning  
Message to  
*Justinian*.

*Justinian*  
refers him  
to *Belisarius*.

*Lucania*

*Lucania and Calabria.* He threw down a third part of A.D. 547. the Walls, and was about to set Fire to the fairest Buildings, intending to restore the Ground it stood up. *Totilas designs to demolish* on to its primitive Use, and make it a Pasture for Sheep; when he receiv'd Letters from *Belisarius, Rome,* which diverted him from his Purpose: He insisted on the Majesty and Grandeur of that ancient City, which was *is dissuaded from it* rais'd to such a sublime height of Greatness by the Valoured and Industry of her Citizens; for which Reason, the Person by *Belisarius.* who shou'd destroy it, wou'd be esteem'd an Enemy to Mankind, depriving the Posterity of the Old Romans, of an Example of the Worth and Gallantry of their Ancestors. He bad him consider if he shou'd prove Victorious, he ruin'd what wou'd be his own, and the best part of his Dominions: If he was Vanquish'd, the Conqueror wou'd be indebted to him for preserving the Prize for which so many Nations had contended. By destroying it, he wou'd put himself out of all hopes of Mercy and Favour; and as the doing it wou'd be the worst of Actions, so he wou'd be look'd on as the worst of Men. Totilas by often reading the Letter, and seriously considering the Reasons contain'd in it, desisted throwing down any more of the Wall, and did no farther Damage to the City. He drew all his Men out of Rome, to March against John in Calabria: He posted a Body of Troops at *Algidum, He Marches out of* 15 Miles to the West of Rome, to streighen *Belisarius* in Portus. He took part of the Senators with him, the rest he sent into *Lucania* with their Wives and Children: On his Approach John retir'd into *Otranto*; *Tullianus* abandon'd his Pass, and his 300 *Antians* fled to John. Thus was Totilas Master of all *Calabria* and *Lucania* bordering on the Gulph, except the City of *Otranto*: He commanded the Husband-men to Till the Ground, and restor'd the Lands to their former Owners. The *Goths* grown Bold by Success, straggled about the Country in small Parties, whom John's Outguards surpriz'd, and cut off many of them, which oblig'd Totilas to Command them all to their main Body on Mount *Gargarus* in *Apulia*, where he Encamp'd in the very Trenches *Hannibal* of Old made use of.

*Martianus*, a Roman Soldier, pretending to Desert to the *Goths*, betray'd *Spoletto* to the Romans. John seiz'd *Tarentum*, and fortify'd it. Totilas surpriz'd *Acherontis*,



A.D. 547. Garrison'd it with 400 Men, left a Party in *Campania* to Guard the Senators, and then led his Army towards *Ravenna*. *Belisarius* receiving Information that *Totilas* had evacuated *Rome*, remov'd thither with the best part of his Army, seiz'd it, and resolv'd to keep it at all Hazards. He lost no time to repair the Fortifications: He heap'd Stones one upon another, in the Form of a Wall, without Mortar: Before it he pitch'd good Store of Stakes; between that and the Ditch he dug round it in the first Siege. *Totilas* hearing he was in *Rome*, hastned thither, not doubting but to have the City surrender'd to him on his appearing there with an Army, the Gates he had thrown down, being not yet set up again. *Belisarius* posted his choicest Men there, and order'd the Guards on the Walls to assist them to their utmost. The *Goths* made several vain Attempts to gain the Place. They were beaten off in every Assault, and began to Murmur at their King for quitting a City so easily, after they had been at so much Expence of Blood and Treasure to Possess it. Fortune that had hitherto smil'd on *Totilas*, grew weary of favouring one Man; and with her usual Inconstancy left him, when he was in the fairest way to Empire. *Rome* was full of People: The Citizens that fled from the *Goths*, return'd as soon as *Belisarius* was Master there. They were all Chearful and Resolute in their Defence, animated by the Courage and Care of their Governor. The *Goths* on the contrary were dispirited by their Disappointment, entertain'd little Thoughts of their King, whom they had till now admir'd and worship'd to Adoration. *Totilas* finding he wast'd his Army to no purpose, drew off his Men to *Tibur*, breaking down the Bridges in his Retreat, to prevent the Enemies falling on his Rear. *Belisarius*, after he was gone, set up the Gates of *Rome*, lin'd them with Iron; and a second time, sent the Keys to the Emperor. The Year following began with the Siege of *Perusia*. *Totilas* order'd a Body of his Troops to Invest it; and if they found no great Resistance, to Besiege it in Form: He afterwards thought it necessary to March with his whole Army to that Siege. The *Goths* obey'd his Orders unwillingly; and 'twas to satisfy them that he made an Apologetical Speech, shewing, That his late Misfortunes were owing to the Malig-

*Belisarius*  
*Enters, and*  
*fortifies*  
*Rome.*

*Totilas*  
*Besieges*  
*the City.*

*He raises*  
*the Siege.*

548.

nity of his Stars, and not to his Neglect or Ignorance. A.D. 543.

His Discourse for the present put them in a good Humour, in which they continu'd their March towards *Perusia*. In the mean time, *John* enter'd *Campania*; set the Senators, whom *Totilas* had left there at Liberty, and routed 400 *Goths* that were order'd to Oppose him. The King enrag'd at the Trouble *John* gave him, broke up immediately from before *Perusia*; and resolv'd to drive him out of *Lucania* and *Calabria*: He was ten to one more in Number than *John's* Forces, and might easily have surrounded and destroy'd them, had not his Impatience to be Reveng'd been the Ruin of his Design; for coming up with them by Night, he wou'd not be perswaded to defer Fighting till next Morning; and by favour of the Darknels, most of *John's* Troops got safe into *Otranto*, scarce 100 of them being missing. Soon after, *Belisarius* receiv'd a Reinforcement of 1400 Men, and a Promise from the Emperor, that a great Army shou'd follow to enable him to give the Enemy Battle, leaving *Conon* Governor of *Rome*: He took with him 700 Foot, and 200 Horse, intending to Sail to *Sicily* from *Portus*, and thence to make over to *Tarentum*, where he order'd the fresh Troops to Rendezvous, and design'd to stay for the Arrival of the expected Army. In his Passage he was driven by contrary Winds into *Crotona* in *Calabria*, where he took up his Quarters. His Foot he kept with him in the Town, and sent his Horse up into the Country, to take in *Ruscia*, a Castle possess'd by the *Goths*.

The King detach'd a Party to Relieve the Fort, which the *Romans* defeated; and were so well pleas'd with their Victory, that they fell to Revelling, and in Security stragled up and down, as if no Enemy had been near them. *Totilas* being inform'd of the Rout of his Men, and the Carelesness of the Victors, came suddenly upon them with no less than 3000 Horse, and cut them to Pieces. *Belisarius*, who had order'd *John* to joyn him with his Forces, on News of the Loss of his Men, and that the *Goths* were advancing towards *Crotona*, in a melancholy Condition, took Shipping, and sail'd to *Messina*.

A.D. 548. There were many remarkable Prodigies this Year, The Nile swell'd eighteen Cubits above his Banks, and overwhelm'd all Egypt. The great Whale call'd by the Grecians, *Porphirion*, which for 50 Years had infested the Coasts of Greece, overset several Ships and was the Terror of the Seas, was now taken at the Mouth of the River *Sagaris*; following her Prey too near the Shoar, she stuck in the Ouze: The People came down upon her, and hew'd her with their Axes but could not Kill her; they then fastned great Ropes to her, and drew her ashoar where she Dy'd: She was 30 Cubits long and 10 broad. *Justinian* had try'd many Ways to take her, and was unsuccessful in all of them, till Chance deliver'd the Mariners from the fear of this amazing Monster. In the beginning of the new

Porphiri-  
on, the  
prodigious  
Whale  
taken.

549.

Belisarius  
sends his  
Wife to  
solicit  
Supplies.

He returns  
Home.

Year *Belisarius* receiv'd another Reinforcement of 2000 Men, under the Command of *Valerianus*, who found him at *Otranto*; where his Wife *Antonina* embark'd for *Constantinople*, to sollicite the Empress *Theodora* for further Supplies. The Empress dy'd sometime before her Arrival, and *Antonina* perceiving there was little to be expected from the present Ministry, in behalf of her Husband, Petition'd the Emperor that he might be recall'd; to which *Justinian* consented. Thus after having spent five Years passing from one Sea-Port to another, he return'd home, having lost as much Reputation in his second Expedition as he acquir'd in the first. So Unjust is Fame, the Slave of Fortune, who without considering the Difficulties he struggled with, occasion'd by the slow Motions of the Court in sending him Supplies, blam'd him for not doing as much now by the Terror of his Name only, as he had done formerly with a Powerful Army. The Author of the *Secret History of this Reign*, accuses him of Fleecing the Inhabitants of *Ravenna* and *Sicily*: That he was the Cause of the loss of *Spoleto*, by ill using *Herodian* the Governor, who betray'd it to *Totilas*: That by Instigation of his Wife, to whom he could deny nothing, he Quarrell'd with *John*; and the latter having notice that the Empress out of hatred to him for Marrying *Justina*, had desir'd *Antonina* to have him made away with, avoided his Presence and was afraid to give him the Assistance he wanted. If this Author may be believ'd, 'twas time for

for the Emperor to recall him, tho' he had no thoughts of sending him again into the *East* where the War broke out afresh, as we shall relate when we have done with that in *Italy*. While *Belisarius* was on his Journey to *Constantinople*, a Conspiracy was discover'd there, carry'd on by *Artabanes*, who slew *Gontharis* at *Carthage*; *Arfaces* an *Armenian* his Kinsman; and *Chanaranges* a *Perfermanian*, a People bordering on *Armenia*. *Artabanes* was disgusted that the Match he desir'd with *Projecta* the Emperor's Niece and *Areobindus's* Widow, could not be brought to effect, the Law Justinian forbidding Poligamy, and 'twas prov'd he had a Wife in *Asia*, whom he Marry'd Young. *Justinian* to reward him for his Services, made him General of his Forces in *Constantinople*, of all his forreign Troops, and had Honour'd him with the Title of Consul, an Honour which it seems he reviv'd five or six Years after he had abolish'd it. For *Artabanes* did not kill *Gontharis* till the Year 545. and *Basilus*, or as some will have it, *Belisarius* the Younger, was the last Consul made before *Justinian* put an end to the Office in 541. All these Honours and Offices were not sufficient to content him without *Projecta*, who finding there was no likelihood of his obtaining a Divorce from his *Armenian* Wife, Marry'd another Man. *Artabanes* in revenge of this Affront, combin'd with *Arfaces* who was provok'd by some Stripes he had receiv'd for Corresponding with the *Persian* King. They endeavour'd to engage *Germanus* and his two Sons in the Plot, knowing they were in ill Terms with the Court. *Chanaranges* broke the Matter to *Justinus* the elder Brother, who flatly refus'd to be concern'd in it, and reveal'd it to his Father. *Germanus* presently discover'd it to *Marcellus*, Colonel of *Justinian's* Guards, by whose Advice *Leontius* a Friend of his, was posted behind the Hangings in an Apartment of *Germanus's* House, where the *Perfermanian* was to meet him and his Sons; that he might hear and Witness to what they said. *Chanaranges* coming thither, told *Germanus* and *Justinus* in *Leontius's* hearing, That himself *Artabanes* and *Arfaces* had resolv'd to kill *Justinian* and *Marcellus*; but to defer the Execution of the Design till *Belisarius* was arriv'd, for fear he should raise an Army in *Thrace*, and

A Conspiracy against Justinian by Artabanes and Others.



A.D. 549. *oppose their declaring Germanus Emperor: When he was come to Court, they might easily come at them all three, and stab Justinian, Belisarius and Marcellus together. Marcellus delay'd telling the Emperor, tho' Leontius had confirm'd Germanus's Report, being loth to Ruin Artabanes. Germanus apprehending the Danger of delaying the Discovery of the Plot, reveal'd it to Buzes, which Marcellus understanding, told the Emperor, who Commanded Artabanes and the Conspirators, to be Committed to the common Goal; and the Senate were order'd to enquire into the Matter. Justinian was very Pressing to have Germanus and his Sons found Guilty, as well as the other Prisoners; but they were clear'd by the Prisoners Confessions, and the Evidence of Marcellus, Buzes and Leontius. However, the Emperor fell into a violent Passion with Germanus, for not discovering it sooner. Marcellus generously undertook his Defence, and pacify'd his Master. Artabanes was turn'd out of all his Offices, and the other two Conspirators were confin'd to Apartments in the Palace; a very gentle Punishment for so great an Offence. The Franks, whom Belisarius had frighted out of Italy, perceiving the long Wars between the Romans and the Goths, gave them an Opportunity to Renew their Design of Seizing the disputed Country from both of them, enter'd Venetia, and over-ran that Province: The Lombards, to whom the Emperor had given Noricum, invaded Dalmatia. The Gepidæ about the same time took Syrmium: The Heruli, who were seated in Dacia, enter'd Illyricum and Thrace, and the Roman Empire, on all sides was threaten'd to be overwhelm'd by the Barbarians. It happen'd well for the Emperor, that the Gepidæ and Lombards fell out amongst themselves: Both sides desir'd Aid of the Emperor, who joyn'd with Audouin, King of the Lombards, and sent an Army to his Assistance. The Gepidæ hearing the Romans were approaching, concluded a Truce with the Lombards: Upon which the Imperial Army knew not what to trust, being alike diffident of the Lombards, as of the Gepidæ, and durst not go forward or backward till they had Orders from the Emperor. Italy all this while was ravag'd by the Franks, and harras'd by the Romans and Goths: The Emperor spent most of his Time in Disputes with Priests*

*The Franks  
again In-  
vade Italy.*

*Austria,  
Stiria,  
Carinthia,  
part of  
Bavaria,  
Tirol.*

*about*

about the Controversies in Matters of Religion. The A.D. 549. Roman Army in Italy diminish'd daily, and Totilas increas'd by the Addition of 6000 Men, Commanded by Ildiges a Lombard Prince; and Ilauph one of Belisarius's Life-Guard deserted to him, who sent him with a Fleet and Forces to make a Diversion in Dalmatia. 550.

In the following Year Totilas Besieg'd Rome with his whole Army: Belisarius had left 3000 of his best Men in the City, under the Command of one Diogenes, who made a vigorous Defence. The Goths having cut off his Communication with Portus, he sow'd Corn within the Walls, and prevented the Scarcity of Grain, which was one of the greatest Inconveniencies in former Sieges. Diogenes resolutely defends the City. Corn sow'd within the Walls.

Some Isaurians, who did Duty at St. Paul's Gate, perceiving how well their Country-men's Treachery thriv'd with them, since the last Siege, were tempted to make the same Offers to the Gothick King, with whom they had a secret Conference, and agreed at a Day prefixt, to betray the City to him. He sent two or three Trumpets to sound a false Alarm at another Quarter of the City, while himself and his Army entred at St. Paul's Gate, which the Isaurians open'd to him. He slew a great Number of the Roman Soldiers; and those of them that fled towards the Fortrels Centumcellæ, were cut off by Ambuscades laid for that Purpose, by the Goths. Paulus a Cilician, Steward of Belisarius's Household, at the Head of 400 Men defended the Bridge leading to St. Peter's Church, and oblig'd Totilas to give them honourable Conditions. The King treated the Senators and Citizens very favourably; instead of demolishing the Walls, he repair'd the Breaches he found in 'em, and resolv'd to People it plentifully with Goths and Romans; repenting that he had ever given

Belisarius an opportunity to recover it, which the King of the Franks upbraided him with, when he ask'd his Daughter in Marriage, saying, He had shewn by his Inability to keep Rome, that he never was, and never would be King of Italy. He sent for the Senators that were confin'd in other Parts of the Kingdom, Celebrated the Circensian Games, and prepar'd for a Voyage to Sicily. In his way he besieg'd Centumcellæ, which Diogenes promis'd to deliver, if he was not reliev'd by a

The City betray'd a gain to the Goths by the Isaurians

Totilas repairs the Fortifications.

A.D. 550 set time sufficient for him to send to the Emperor for Succors. *Totilas* also by his Ambassadors desir'd a Truce; but *Justinian* wou'd not so much as see or give them Audience. He attempted *Rhegium* in vain; the Castle of *Tarentum* he took, and *Rimini* was betray'd to him. After these Successes he embark'd for *Sicily*, where *Artaabanes*, whom the Emperor had pardon'd, Commanded the Imperial Forces; and *Germanus*, to the general Satisfaction of both the Army and the People was made Governor of *Italy*. He had Marry'd *Vitiges's* Widow *Matafunta*, which might have had a good Effect on the *Goths*, who wou'd have been loth to fight against the Husband of the only remaining Branch of the Royal Stock of *Theodoric*: By his Liberality he soon levy'd a brave Army; the *Barbarians* as well as the *Romans* flocking to fight under him; the *Heruli* and the *Lombards* sent him several thousand Men, and furnish'd him with Provisions in his March thro' *Illyricum*. The *Roman* Soldiers that were in Garrison in *Italy* assur'd him, they wou'd defend the Cities committed to their Charge, till his Arrival; and every one who wish'd to see *Rome* united again to the *Roman* Empire, flatter'd themselves, that *Germanus* was the Man whom Providence had design'd to finish the Work *Belisarius* had left imperfect. Nor were the *Goths* and their King less dishearten'd, than their Enemies were encourag'd by the Emperor's sending *Germanus* into the West: His Quality and Reputation, the Report of the gallant Army he was leading against them, and the Name of *Matafunta*, were weighty Arguments to work on their Fear and Affections, and make way for the Subjection which they were afraid Heaven had decreed should be their Lot. The *Slavi* had lately made terrible Waste in the Empire, Plundering and Burning all the Towns that lay in their way, even within a few Days Journey of *Constantinople*. These *Germanus*, as an Omen of his future Victory, drove out of the Emperor's Territories: But just as he was preparing to march directly to *Italy*, he was taken ill of a Distemper which put an end to his Life, and the great Designs that he had form'd. He was Brave and Virtuous, an Excellent General, and a daring Soldier. The Emperor on news of his Death gave the Command of the Army to *Justin* his eldest Son,

*Totilas*  
sails to Si-  
cily.  
*Germanus*  
made Go-  
vernor of  
*Italy*.

Great  
Hopes of  
*Germa-  
nus's* Suc-  
cess.

He Con-  
quers the  
*Slavi*.

He dies be-  
fore his  
Arrival in  
*Italy*.

who

who wanting Ships to cross the Gulph of *Venice*, put A.D. 550 his Forces into Winter Quarters in *Dalmatia*. *Liberius* Justin, his Admiral of *Justinian's* Fleet, having taken more Soldiers on board to joyn *Germanus's* Troops, put into *Sicily*, which Island *Totilas* had riss'd and wast'd, and was lain down before *Spracuse*: *Liberius* got into the Town, but was soon oblig'd to leave it, the Famine was so violent. He retreated to *Palermo*; and *Totilas* persuaded to it by *Suprinus* a Roman, an Officer of his Court, whom the Romans had brib'd to give that Advice, quitted *Sicily* to make Head again<sup>st</sup> *Justin* and *John*. He Garrison'd four of the strongest Places in the Island that were in his Possession, and then return'd to *Italy*. Before his Departure *Artabanes* sailing off the Coasts of *Calabria* with a Squadron of the Emperor's Ships, met with a violent Storm, and was driv'n into *Malta*. The *Sclavi* either hir'd by the *Goths* to make a Diversion in *Thrace*, or intigated by their Avarice in hopes of Plunder, invaded the Roman Territories, Robbing and Spoiling the Country as far as the *Long-Walls*, a Days Journey from *Constantinople*, beat the Romans in a Battle near *Adrianople* and took the Imperial Standard, which was afterwards recover'd with most of the Booty and Prisoners the Barbarians had taken, by another Body of the Emperor's Troops. *John*, *Justin's* Brother in Law, expected to be joyn'd in Commission with him in the Command of the Army, and was preparing all things ready to lead it into *Italy* early in the following Spring, when he thought of nothing less than to be General in *Italy*, where he had done good Service. *Narfes* the Eunuch was put over his Head. The Alterations in the Emperor's Council very much hindred the Progress of his Arms; for new Generals took new Measures, and often rejected the old, because they were not their own: *John* was order'd to wait *Narfes's* coming, and he stay'd a long while expecting him; in the mean time the *Goths* were busie and fortunate in *Italy*, where, when *Narfes* arriv'd, he made amends by his Success, for the time lost by his tardy and slow Motions thither, which he could not well avoid, having rais'd most of his Troops in the Barbarian's Country, and was forc'd to march with Care and Circumspection. He was a good Officer, a

Eldest Son  
Succeeds  
him in  
Command  
of the Ar-  
my.

551.

Si-  
makes Si-  
city.

Quits it.

The Sclavi  
are trouble-  
some again.

552.

*Narfes* the  
Eunuch  
made Go-  
vernor of  
Italy.

wife



A.D. 552. wife Politician, and Religious even to Superstition: Narses's 'Tis reported of him, he was so devout, that the Virgin-Mary made him a Visit, and gave him Instructions when and how he should engage the Enemy: 'Tis said also, he never went to the Combat without he had first receiv'd a Sign from her, which assur'd him Success.

Chosroes's  
Son rebels  
in Persia.

The King  
desires a  
Cessation of  
of Arms,  
and is re-  
fus'd.

4000 Per-  
sians beat  
30000 Ro-  
mans.

At the In-  
stigation of  
the Magi  
Chosroes  
besieges E-  
dessa.

We may perceive by these ridiculous Stories, how far the Roman Monks had already corrupted the Truth of History, by mingling absurd Fables with known Events, and what footing Superstition had already got in the World. Before we follow Narses into Italy, we must return to the East, where we left the Persian War, at the time when Chosroes was frighted out of the Empire by Belisarius's sudden Arrival in Comagena. Constantianus the Emperor's Ambassador fell sick in his way to Persia; Chosroes's Son rebell'd, and the Plague we formerly mention'd rag'd with extream Violence, which oblig'd him to send to Valerianus the Roman General in the East, to desire that all Acts of Hostility might cease, till the Treaty commenc'd. The Romans knowing he never offer'd Peace, but when he was in an ill Condition to make War, Instead of granting him a Truce invaded Persermania; but their haste to renew the War met with the Success which always attends rash Councils. Nabades the Persian General laid an Ambuscade for them near Dubis, and with only 4000 Men put their whole Army of 30000 into Confusion, sally'd out upon them, routed them and took their Baggage. The Persians were at first afraid it might be a Politick Flight, and were cautious how they persu'd 'em. They cou'd not imagine that an Army, who call'd themselves Romans, were such egregious Cowards: But the Imperialists galloping from them with Whip and Spur, throwing off their Armour and flinging away their Arms, convinc'd 'em, that they fled in earnest. This encourag'd the Persian King a fourth time to invade the Emperor's Dominions. His Magi were so angry with him, for suffering himself to be amus'd by a pretended Reverence due to the City of Edessa, for the sake of the Christians God, that to please them, he resolv'd to besiege the Place, and if he took it, to raze it. The Inhabitants however made so resolute a Defence, that after a tedious Siege, and several Assaults, he was glad to ac-

cept of much less Money than he at first refus'd to quit A.D. 552: the *Roman Territories*, which he promis'd never more to infest, and return home. The Authors, who relate this Siege, writing in the Days of Darkeness and Idolatry, tell us, the City was not so much sav'd by the Valour of the Inhabitants, as by an Image of our Saviour, which in a miraculous manner set fire to a Machine, that *Chosroes* rais'd to play upon the Town. They threw it into the Vault in their Extremity, and the Engine being near, it kindl'd on a sudden with an unquenchable Flame, and destroy'd the Machine, which otherwise would have destroy'd the Town. We may observe by this Image, when the *Romans* began first to infringe the second Commandment, to make use of Images and Relicks in Religious Worship, tho' they were not made a Part of their Creed till the eighth Century, and then the Council of *Rome* declar'd for them, and Pope *Gregory* the II. excommunicated the Emperor *Leo Isaurus*, for Publishing an Edict against them. Of this we may Discourse further in the Reign of that Emperor.

*Chosroes* marching back into *Persia*, gave Audience to *Chosroes Marcellus*, a Youth, *Justinian's* Sister's Son, and *Constantianus*, his Ambassadors, with whom he concluded a Truce for five Years, on the Payment of another considerable Sum; yet scarce was this Agreement made, and the Money paid, before *Chosroes* began new Troubles about the Kingdom of *Lazica*, which had lately revolted from the *Romans*, and become tributary to the King of *Persia*. This Country he earnestly desir'd to annex to his Crown, for several important Reasons: It lay commodious to curb the *Iberians*, troublesome Neighbours; 'twas a Barrier to *Persia* against the *Huns*, an Inlet into *Capadocia*, *Galatia* and *Bithynia*; it open'd a way to the *Euxine Sea*, and expos'd *Constantinople* it self to the Insults of the *Persians*. No Wonder, a Country so advantageously situated, was warmly contended for. The *Lazians*, who were Christians, were already weary of their new Protector; and *Chosroes* apprehending they might fall off from him, resolv'd to secure the Province, by transplanting the People into *Persia*, and sending a Colony of *Persians* thither. *Gubazes* their King had notice of his Design, and discover'd

*Is prevail'd with for a Sum of Money to raise the Siege. A Fabulous Tradition about the miraculous Defence of Edessa. Imagell' or ship brought in use.*

*concludes a five Year's Truce.*

*Breaks it.*

*Seizes Lazica.*

A.D. 552, ver'd it to the Emperor, who was equally concern'd with himself to keep *Lazica* out of the Hands of the *Persians*, and for this Purpose sent *Gubazes* an Army of 8000 Men, under the Command of *Dagistheus*, to help defend his Country, if *Chosroes* attack'd him. *Dagistheus* was a young Man of little Experience in Military Affairs; and 'twas one of *Justinian's* worst Faults, that he was not careful enough, whom he put at the Head of his Armies, by which means his Wars in *Africa*, *Italy* and the East, were often unsuccessful. The Romans in Conjunction with the *Lazians* besieg'd *Petra*, where there was a *Persian* Garrison. *Chosroes* allarm'd at the News, order'd *Mermores*, his Chamberlain, to march to its Relief with a great Army of Horse and Foot. *Gubazes* hearing *Mermores* was advancing towards his Frontiers, wrote to *Dagistheus* to break up with the main of his Army from before *Petra*, leaving Part of his Forces to block up the Town, and march to dispute *Mermores's* Passage into his Territories: Himself with his own Troops and some Auxiliary *Alans* defended another Pass. *Dagistheus* continu'd the Siege of *Petra* to little Effect, and only sent 200 Men towards the Frontier. He neither appear'd in Person on the Borders, nor improv'd the Opportunities he had at the Siege, to make himself Master of the Town. *Mermores* proceeded in his way to *Petra*, notwithstanding he was oppos'd by the small Detachment from the Roman Army, who skirmishing in defence of the Pass against the Enemy, kill'd 1000 *Persians*. *Dagistheus* being inform'd that *Mermores* had entred *Lazica*, and driven his 200 Men to the Mountains, took Horse and gallopp'd to the River *Phasis*. His Men following his Example abandon'd their Camp to the Enemy, who reinforc'd the Garrison of *Petra*, that from 1500 were reduc'd to 300 Men, repair'd the Breaches, and then march'd back into *Perfermania*, having no Ships to pass the River, which is very rapid, deep and broad. *Mermores* had executed his Commission, and did not care to stay longer in a Place, where he could not be further serviceable, especially hearing *Recithangus*, a *Thracian* a brave old Soldier, was on his March towards *Lazica* with a powerful Army to assist *Dagistheus*, who had so shamefully deserted the Service.

*Dagistheus* with an Army sent to assist *Gubazes*. King of *Lazica*. Is negligent.

*Flies from his Army.*

But after *Mermores* was gone, we find him again A.D. 552. shewing his Head; for *Gubazes* on notice that *Mermores* had left 5000 Men under the Command of *Fabrozas*, to scour the Confines of *Lazica*, ordering him to get what Provisions he could from the *Lazians*, to supply the Garrison of *Petra*; he sent to *Dagistheus* to come and joyn him, that they might fall upon the *Persians*, who were stragling up and down from their main Body. Accordingly they charg'd a Party of 1000 Men, kill'd and took all of them, not a Man escaping, which encouraged them to attack the *Persian* Camp, which they did in the dead of Night, kill'd most of them, and took the rest, except a very few that escap'd to *Petra*, together with their Ensigns, Arms and Baggage: They also routed another Party of *Persians*, who were conveying Provisions to the Town, which they block'd up, and then retir'd with their Prisoners and Booty.

The next Spring, in the Year 550, *Corianes*, one of the King of *Persia's* best Officers, invaded *Lazica* with an Army of *Persians* and *Alans*; to whom *Dagistheus*, grown bold by his late Victory, and *Gubazes* gave Battle, kill'd him, defeated his Army and took his Camp. *Chefroes* had made so many expensive Expeditions into the *Roman* Territories, and prov'd so unsuccessful in all of them, that his Subjects began to murmur, calling him *The Destroyer of his Country*. He doubred not by this Invasion of *Corianes*, to recover their good Opinion, in which we have seen he was mistaken.

About this time *Bessas* return'd out of *Italy*, and was sent into the East, to take on him the Command of the Emperor's Armies. *Dagistheus* was accus'd of Treachery by the *Lazians*, and imprison'd. *Bessas*, as soon as he entred upon Action, oblig'd the *Abasgians* and *Apfilians*, two Nations subject to the *Romans* and *Lazians*, that had lately revolted, to return to their Obedience, and then sat down before *Petra*, which City, as the Emperor had commanded him, he resolv'd, cost what it would, to be Master of. He was above 70 Years of Age, and too much troubled with the Vice incident to old Age. His Avarice was the loss of *Rome*; however he was stout, and never braver in his Youth, than now at the Siege of *Petra*: He mounted the Scaling-Ladder himself, fell from it, and mounted it again with as much Vigour, *Petra*.

*Dagistheus behaves himself well.*

*Kills the Persian General, and routs his Army.*

*us accus'd of Treachery by the Lazians, and imprison'd.*

*Bessas succeeds him in the Command of the Roman Army.*

*He besieges*



A.D. 552. Vigour, as if he had been younger by fifty Years : His Example animated the *Romans*, and the Obstinacy of the Besiegers to Conquer, made the Besieg'd as obstinate to defend the City. The *Persians* had rais'd a vast Tower of Wood, from which they threw Balls of Fire on the *Romans* Engines that play'd on their Walls. This Tower very much annoy'd the Besiegers, till it accidentally took fire and burnt to Ashes with the *Persians* that were in it. *Bessas* being like to carry the Town in the last Assault he gave, the Besieg'd offer'd to quit the Place, which the old General thinking was only a Feint to gain time, refus'd, and push'd on his Attacks ; in the mean while *John Guzes* an *Armenian*, at the Head of some of his Country-men mounted a Rock, which was thought inaccessible, and is suppos'd to give Name to the Town ; from whence falling on the Backs of the Besieg'd, the *Romans* easily entred the City, and took all the *Persians* that remain'd of 3000, except 500 that retir'd to the Cittadel. Of the Prisoners no more than 17 were unhurt. The *Romans* lost many good Soldiers, and *John Guzes* among the rest, who was kill'd with a Stone. *Bessas* flatter'd and threaten'd the 500 Men in the Cittadel, to get them out of their Hold, which they refusing, he commanded it to be burnt ; the *Persians* that were in it perish'd in the Flames. The Walls of the Town were demolish'd, and the Prisoners sent to the Emperor. After this Victory, *Bessas's* old Vice of Covetousness return'd upon him : He was in haste to go to *Pontus* and *Armenia*, of which Provinces he was made Governor, that he might fill his Pockets by oppressing the People, as he had done in *Italy*. By this means he neglected the fortifying the Passes of *Iberia* and *Lazica*, and left the latter as open to the Enemy as he found it. 'Tis true, he posted *Odonachus* and *Babai* with 3000 near *Archæopolis*, and an Army of 9000 Men on the *Phasis*, ordering them to succour any Place that wanted their Assistance. *Mermores*, after *Bessas* was gone, entred *Lazica*, and resolv'd to attack the *Romans*, while their Forces were divided. He first march'd towards *Odonachus*, who not being strong enough to oppose him, reinforc'd the Garrison of *Archæopolis*, the Capital City of *Lazica* and embark'd the rest of his Troops and his Baggage in some Vessels, that rode at Anchor near

Takes it by  
Storm.

his Camp, which *Mermores* found empty and deserted. A.D. 552.  
 He then besieg'd the City, and was so warmly receiv'd,  
 that in one Sally the *Romans* kill'd 4000 Men, took 3 Ge-  
 nerals and 4 Ensigns, and sent them to *Constantinople*,  
 where *Justinian*, while his Forces were successfully em-  
 ploy'd in the East, was busie, treating with the *Persian*  
 Ambassadors about another five Years Truce. The  
 Price was set and agreed to, and twenty six Centena-  
 ries of Gold, paid for the Purchase of a few Years  
 Peace, which the *Roman* Arms were in a Condition  
 of making on better Terms. The Subjects of the *Justinian*  
 Empire complain'd justly, that by this Truce, the Pla-  
 ces the *Persians* held in *Lazica*, were to be 5 Years in  
 their Possession, and in that time they would fix them-  
 selves so securely, as never to be dispossest'd. Thus  
 was *Constantinople* expos'd to the Insults of her Enemies;  
 and what the *Persians* had been long aiming at, the Em-  
 pire was become Tributary to the Kingdom of *Persia*. The Ro-  
 man tri-  
 butary to  
 the Persi-  
 ans.  
 The Ambassador *Chosroes* us'd to send on this Errand, The Inso-  
 lence of the  
 Persian  
 Ambassa-  
 dor.  
 was *Isdigunas*; so insolent, he would eat at the Empe-  
 ror's Table, and *Justinian* was so weak as to admit  
 him, and even his Interpreter. 'Twas the Custom for  
 the Eastern Ambassadors in the Court of *Constantinople*,  
 to have Guards set upon them, to prevent their holding  
 any Clandestine Correspondence with the Enemies of  
 the State. *Isdigunas* would not suffer any such Restraining  
 and the Majesty of the *Roman* Emperors was sunk so  
 low, as to be Bully'd by a Barbarian, and to be a Com-  
 panion for a Slave. In *Africa* the *Roman* Governor  
*John* maintain'd the Dignity of the Empire, brought all  
 the Princes of *Numidia* into Subjection, and like the  
 Ancient Consuls under the Common Wealth of *Rome*,  
 had Kings attending him in his Court, as a part of his  
 Train, more like Servants than Sovereigns. We must  
 cross over from *Africa* into *Italy*, where *Totilas* either  
 to prevent her falling into the Emperor's Hands, or re-  
 senting, that the Citizens favour'd the *Romans* more  
 than the *Goths*, burnt *Rome*; and resolving to carry the  
 War into the Enemy's Country, fitted out 300 Ships to *Rome*.  
 make a Descent on the Coasts of *Greece*. The Soldiers  
 he put on board Landed at *Coreyra*, Plunder'd the Island,  
 and did the same at *Epirus*; but for want of Skill in  
 Maritime Affairs they return'd home, without doing  
 any

A.D. 552. any thing answerable to the Expence ; only they took a few Vessels laden with Provisions for *Narfes's* Army. This General in his March to *Italy* was diverted by an Irruption of the *Hunns*, who Robb'd and Spoil'd *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, and retreated with their Booty and Prisoners, without coming to an Engagement. *Narfes*, when they had quitted his Master's Dominions, proceeded towards his Government. In the mean time *Totilas* block'd up *Ancona* by Sea and Land ; 'twas the only Town the *Romans* had left on the *Ionian* Gulph. *John* lay still at *Salona*, the Emperor having order'd him not to stir till *Narfes* arriv'd : However, rather than be a tame Spectator of the Loss of *Ancona*, he ventur'd to disobey his Orders ; he mann'd out 40 Ships, and crossing the *Adriatick* Gulph appear'd off *Ancona*, where *Valerianus* the Imperial Admiral joyn'd him with another Squadron. The *Goths*, tho' they were not very well vers'd in Sea Fights, yet loth to be dar'd by an Enemy, whom they look'd on as more than half subdu'd, ventur'd out to Sea and gave them Battle. There was little Difference between them, in the Number of their Ships ; but the *Romans* were the better Mariners. The *Goths* could not tell how to work their Ships in the Combat ; they struck against each other, and receiv'd as much Damage from their Friends as their Enemies ; they could not tell how to ply their Oars and their Arms together, and falling into Confusion were entirely defeated. The *Romans* took and sunk every Ship of them with all the Men on board, except 11 Gallies, which the *Goths* burnt themselves, lest the *Romans* should have taken them. Those that escap'd, carry'd the News to their Camp before *Ancona*, upon which the *Goths* rais'd the Siege and departed. *Valerianus* and *John* reinforc'd the Garrison, and furnish'd them with what Provisions they wanted, and then the former made towards *Ravenna*, and the latter to *Salona*. *Totilas* lost a great deal of Ground in the Hearts of his People by this Defeat, for they lov'd him no longer than he was Fortunate : As they were apt to be too much elevated on Success, so they were soon dejected by Misfortune, especially *Totilas*, who had sent frequent Embassies to *Fusinian*, representing the miserable State of *Italy*, that a good Part of it was seiz'd by the *Franks*, and the

The *Goths*  
give the  
*Romans*  
Battle by  
Sea,

And are  
defeated.

rest depopulated and ruin'd. He offer'd to pay him A.D. 552. Tribute for the poor Remains of that Noble Kingdom, and in all things to be obedient to his Pleasure; yet the Totila's Emperor took no notice of his Overtures, seeming to <sup>submit</sup> ~~submissive~~ loath the very Name of *Goths*: Their long War with <sup>offers re-</sup> ~~him~~ had taken from them all Pretence to Mercy; and <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ *Narses* with an Army resembling the old Roman Legions for Figure, Valour and Number, was marching to put an end to it, which was a terrible Consideration for them and their King.

About the same time *Artabanes* landed in *Sicily*, and recover'd all the Forts the *Goths* had in that Island, <sup>Artabanes recovers</sup> from whence he sent Supplies of Men and Provisions to the Garrison of *Crotona*, then besieged by the Enemy, which oblig'd them to draw off, and not long after they abandon'd *Tarentum*.

In the Year 552, *Narses* approach'd towards *Italy*. The *Franks* possess'd *Venetia*, and deny'd him Passage thro' that Province, pretending he had *Lombards* in his <sup>Narses ar-</sup> Army, who were their profess'd Enemies. *John* <sup>advis'd</sup> him to march along the Coasts, which he knew <sup>Ravenna</sup> perfectly well, and led the whole Army safe to *Ravenna* <sup>with a fresh</sup> ~~with a fresh~~. *Totilas* was extremely surpriz'd to hear he was <sup>Army</sup> arriv'd there, believing, he must have forc'd his way thro' *Venetia*, and in such case he had posted *Teias*, who succeeded him in the Kingdom at *Verona*, to defend the Passes on those Borders against him. He stay'd 10 Days at *Ravenna*, and *John* past the *Rubicon* near *Rimini*. As he was searching for a Ford, *Ursilas*, Governor of the Town, sally'd out upon him with the choicest Soldiers of the Garrison, thinking to annoy him in his Passage. He was encounter'd by a Party of the *Heruli*, who defeated the *Goths*, kill'd *Ursilas*, cut off his Head and presented it to *Narses*, which the *Romans* interpreted as a propitious Omen. Notwithstanding that the Governor of *Rimini*'s Death was a Temptation to him to attack the Town, yet he neglected that and others, resolving to lose no time, but to bring the Enemy to a Battle, as soon as possible. Hearing *Totilas* was encamp'd on the *Appennine* with the same Intention, he march'd thither, and sat down on the round Hills, where *Camillus* defeated the *Galls*, from thence call'd *Busta Gallorum*. *Totilas* lay at *Fuguria*, 12 Miles



A.D. 552. off, to whom *Narſes* ſent an Officer to adviſe him not to contend with a few Out-Laws againſt the whole Strength of the Empire; and if he reſolv'd to continue the War, to appoint a Day for a Battle. *Totilas* told him with a ſtern Aſpect, He was for War, and eight Days hence would not fail to meet them. *Narſes* ſuſpecting he had ſome meaning in prolonging the time, ſtood on his Guard, in which he acted very prudently; for as he imagin'd, the next Day the King appear'd at the Head of his Army, *Narſes* detach'd a Party to ſeize a Hill between the two Camps for the Advantage of the Ground, which they perform'd. *Totilas* ſent ſeveral Detachments one after another to drive them from it, but the Romans repulſ'd them all. Both Armies lay ſtill all that Day; and the next Morning *Cocas*, pretending to be the Champion of the Goths, according to the Romantick Cuſtom of the Gothick Heroes, rode up to the Roman Army, and Challeng'd the boldeſt of them to fight him. He had deſerted the Romans and revolted to *Totilas*. An Armenian accepted his Challenge, fought and ſlew him, at which *Narſes's* Soldiers ſhout'd, as another Omen of Conqueſt. *Totilas* expected every Hour a Party of 2000 Horſe, which he had order'd to joyn him, and endeavour'd to defer the Fight till they came up. He appear'd mounted on a fine Courſer in glittering Armour between both Armies, not to Challenge any one to a ſingle Combat, but by prancing and managing his Horſe, bred to War, to draw the Eyes of the Romans, and inſenſibly waſte time, till his Horſe came up. This Trick took for ſome Hours, and then he deſir'd *Narſes* to treat with him in Perſon: *Narſes* ſaid he juggl'd. Before the Meeting was agreed on, his Cavalry arriv'd; he then went to Dinner, order'd his Men to do the ſame, ſhifted his Armour, mounted another Horſe and led his Troops to the Battle, thinking to ſurprize the Romans. *Narſes* would not ſuffer his Men to eat their Dinners, miſtruſting *Totilas's* Policy: He bad them take a Morſel as they ſtood in their Ranks, and to have a watchful Eye on the Enemy. *Totilas* commanded his Horſe to uſe only their Lances, and not their Arrows; and accordingly they ruſh'd unadviſedly on the Romans without their Foot and too late found their Error; for *Narſes* had plac'd a Body of his Infantry between his Wings, who receiv'd them

*Totilas*  
gives *Narſes*  
Battle.

them so resolutely, that before they could reach the Horse, they were weary, and had lost many of their Men; whereas the *Romans* and their Auxiliaries charg'd them with fresh Courage, drove them back upon their own Foot, who, instead of opening their Ranks to receive them, ran away with them. Night coming on, prevented the *Romans* pursuing them, or they had been all cut in Pieces. 6000 of them were kill'd in the Fight; and those that were taken Prisoners, were afterwards put to the Sword by *Narfes's* Order, to terrify the *Goths*, who still held out against the Emperor: *Totilas* with only five Men fled in the Dark. The Imperialists persud'd them, and one of them, a *Gepida* by Nation, mortally wounded him with his Lance. He was convey'd by his Followers 10 Miles off, to a little Town call'd *Caprae*, where he Expir'd and was Bury'd. The *Romans* knew nothing of the King's Death, till they were inform'd by a *Gothick* Woman, who shew'd them where he was bury'd. To be certain in the Matter, they dug up his Coffin; and when they were satisfy'd 'twas *Totilas's*, they re-interr'd the Corps. Such was the Fate of this *Gothic* King, after a Reign of 11 Years, in which Fortune had as often been his Friend as his Enemy: In him the Dominion of the *Goths* in *Italy* seem'd to have an End; for tho' the Remainders of that Nation, who were in Arms, chose *Teias*, Governor of *Verona*, for their King; yet he could not resist the prevailing Power of the *Romans*, but soon follow'd his Predecessor the same way into another World.

*Narfes* after his Victory return'd Thanks to the Almighty, and order'd his Men to behave themselves moderately and civilly, which the *Lombards* refus'd, and robbing and spoiling the *Goths*, ravishing their Women and burning their Houses, the General dismiss'd them. *Teias* muster'd his Forces on the other side of the *Po*, and endeavour'd to draw the *Franks* to his Assistance, which *Narfes* understanding, he commanded *Valerianus* with a separate Body of the Army to observe the Enemy, and hinder their Junction with the *Barbarians*. The General himself march'd thro' *Tuscany* towards *Rome*; in his way he took in *Narny*, *Spoletto* and *Perusia*. The *Goths* made a shew of Resistance at *Rome*; but as soon

A.D. 552. as *Dagisthaus*, who is become another sort of Man than *Dagisthaus*—when he lay before *Petra*, set his Scaling-Ladders to the Walls, they fled some to the Castle, and some to *Portus*. *Narfes* summon'd the Castle, which the Enemy surrender'd, on Condition to have their Lives spar'd. This Victory cost the Senate of *Rome*, and the Roman People dear; for the *Goths* despairing to be ever again Masters of *Italy*, murder'd the Senators where-

The *Goths*  
murder the  
Senators,  
and massa-  
cre the Peo-  
ple in their  
Despair.

ever they could come at 'em, and massacred the People. *Totilas*, when he went forth to meet *Narfes*, took with him the Sons of the Principal Men of *Rome*, and sent them to *Teias* beyond the *Po*. These the new King, to the Number of 300 young Gentlemen, barbarously butcher'd; and the Misfortune that befel him in the first Year of his Sovereignty, was a just Judgment of God on him for his Cruelty. Five times was the City of *Rome* taken in *Justinian's* Reign; and now again were her Keys sent to *Constantinople*. She was so alter'd from the Figure she made in the time of the Commonwealth, that she was scarce worth the Trouble the contending Parties gave themselves about her; like a Strumpet she prostituted her self to him on whom Fortune smil'd; no more like old *Rome*, who was as jealous of her Honour, as of her Being. Indeed, there was nothing but the Ruins of her Ancient Monuments and Edifices that deserv'd the Expence of Blood and Treasure which the Emperor was at to possess her.

The *Franks* refus'd to give aid to *Teias*, resolving to be Spectators of the War between them and the *Romans*, and to watch their Opportunity to seize *Italy* from them both. *Narfes* having Information that most Part of the late King *Totilas's* Treasures were in *Cume*, detach'd a Party to take that Castle, and another to besiege *Centumcelle*: Himself stay'd at *Rome* to repair the Breaches in the Walls, and the Ruins in the City. *Teias* hearing there was a Detachment advancing towards *Cume*, hasten'd thither with all his Forces to defend the Place, which was of the highest Importance to him. *Narfes* being inform'd of his Proceedings, sent some Part of his Forces to dispute his Passage thro' *Tuscan*. The *Goths* left the nearer way on the right hand, and ferching a Compass by the Sea Coasts, entered *Campania*. *Narfes*, on fresh Advice of his Mo-

ons, countermanded the Troops he sent into *Tuscany*, and A.D. 552.

march'd against him with his whole Army. The *Goths*  
 encamp'd on one side of the River *Draco*, and the *Romans*  
 on the other ; the former had seiz'd and fortify'd  
 the Bridge over it, and the two Armies continu'd thus  
 in their Camps two Months. The *Goths* were Masters  
 of the Sea and River which supply'd them with Pro-  
 visions, till *Narses* prevail'd with the Mariners to de-  
 sert, and deliver up their Ships to him. He order'd a  
 Squadron of the Imperial Navy to come on the Coasts  
 from *Sicily* ; and by this means he cut off the Enemy's  
 Supplies by Sea. He prepar'd Machines to play on those  
 the *Goths* had built on the Bridge, at which the Enemy  
 were so dejected, they broke up their Camp and fled *The Goths*  
 to the Mountains. Here they were in a worse Condi- *fly to the*  
 tion, than on the Banks of the *Draco* : They could get *Moun-*  
 no Provisions for Man or Beast ; and when the Famine *tains.*  
 began to pinch, they came to a desperate Resolution,  
 to fight the *Romans*, and rather die like Men, than be  
 starv'd like Dogs. As they had resolv'd, they descend-  
 ed the Hills in a disorderly manner, and came upon  
 their Enemies, when they were least expected. The *They sally*  
*Goths* fought like Men that had sworn to die, or to *down and*  
 Conquer ; and the *Romans*, as those that would rather *fight despe-*  
 perish, than yield to a People they had so lately van- *rately.*  
 quish'd. *Teias* stood in the Front of his Army, holding *Teias's*  
 out his Spear and shaking his Lance. The *Romans* *Bravery.*  
 knowing his Death, would decide the Controversie,  
 combin'd to destroy him ; some attack'd him with their  
 Lances, others ply'd him with their Darts ; he receiv'd  
 both on his Shield, and when he had leisure to act offen-  
 sively, he flew upon them, and kill'd all that came in his  
 way : He chang'd his Shield several times in the Com-  
 bat ; at last the Darts came so thick upon him, that  
 2 stuck on his Target, and he could not wield it, nor  
 beat off those that assaulted him ; yet he stood firm,  
 kept his Ground, flew the *Romans* with his right Hand,  
 and defended himself with his left. Crying out to his  
 Armour-Bearer to give him a new Shield, in the Mi-  
 nute that he was shifting his Target, his Breast being  
 expos'd, he was wounded by a Javelin, and dy'd on *Is slain.*  
 the Spot. The *Romans* struck off his Head and stuck it  
 on a Spear, to dishearten the Enemy and encourage their  
 Friends.



A.D. 553. Friends. However, the *Goths* maintain'd the Fight till Night parted them. Early the next Day the Battle was renew'd, and continu'd with the same Obstinacy till the Evening, the *Goths* imagining 'twas their last Cast, and the *Romans* scorning to be overcome by a few desperate Fellows. At last the *Goths* sent to *Narses*, telling

him, *They perceiv'd God was against them, and were willing to submit, on Condition they should not be compell'd to live under Subjection to the Emperor, but as a free People among some of their neighbouring Nations.* They desir'd He would suffer such of them as would leave the Empire, to retreat in Safety with what Goods they had left; to which *Narses* agreed by the Advice of *John*, engaging them never more to bear Arms against the *Romans*. About 1000 of them under the Conduct of *Ildulph* retir'd into *Picenum*, and the Country beyond the *Po*; the rest stayd and ratify'd the Treaty, which was to extend to all the *Goths* in *Italy* that claim'd the Benefit of it.

Thus ended the 18th. Year of the War, the 27th. of *Justinian's* Reign, and the Year of our Lord 553. We should in this Year have mention'd the calling of the fifth General Oecumenical Council, which, consisting of 160 Fathers, sat in *Constantinople*. Pope *Vigilius*, who was at that time in the Emperor's Court, refus'd to assist at it because he had not Bishops enough depending on the See of *Rome*, to have the Majority, and confirm his Precedence. *Eutichius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, presided. They condemn'd *Origen's* Works, those of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, *Theodore* of *Cyr*, and *Ibas* of *Edessa*, the *Nestorian* and *Eutichian* Heresies. The Pope oppos'd the condemning *Theodorus*, *Theodore* and *Ibas*,

because neither the Council of *Ephesus*, nor that of *Chalcedon*, had made any Decrees against them. His greatest Reason was a Spirit of Opposition and Vanity, to shew himself above the Determinations of the Council. The Opinions of these three Heretick Bishops were call'd the *Tria Capitula*, the Three Chapters, and were much the same with the *Nestorian* and *Eutichian* Heresies. We shall have occasion to speak again of these *Tria Capitula*, in the Course of this History, and thought it not improper to prepare the Reader for it; by this short Digression.

A.D. 553.

Tho' must of the *Goths* had taken hold of the Agree-  
 ment their Army made with *Narses*, yet *Aligern*, the  
 Brother of *Teias*, the last King of that Nation in *Italy*,  
*Idulph* and the *Goths* beyond the *Po* refus'd to submit.  
 They invited the *Germans*, commanded by *Leutharis* and  
 the *Franks*, led by *Butelinus*'s two Brothers, to assist  
 them. *Tibaud*, Son of *Tocodebert*, was not at all pleas'd  
 to hear what Success the *Roman* Arms had against the  
*Goths*, whom, being no longer in a Condition to be fear'd,  
 he pretended to pity, and order'd *Butelinus* to march  
 to their Assistance. The *Goths* were so grateful as to  
 promise to chuse *Butelinus* for their King, if by his As-  
 sistance they recover'd the Kingdom. The *Franks*  
 thinking themselves secure in their Numbers, did not  
 doubt but they should drive the *Romans* out of *Italy*  
 and *Sicily* in a Campaign or two. *Narses* was a little  
 surpriz'd, when he heard that an Army of 70000 Men  
 was advancing towards his Province: However, he  
 recollected himself immediately, and like a prudent  
 and valiant Governor, prepar'd for its Defence, He  
 besieg'd *Cumæ*, and the Cities that *Aligern*'s Friends  
 held out in *Tuscany* with small Parties, and order'd the  
 main Body of his Army to move towards the *Po*, and  
 dispute the Passage of that River with the *Barbarians*.  
 Having block'd up *Cumæ*, he took in *Florence*, *Centum-*  
*cellæ*, *Volaterra*, *Piso*, and all the Towns on the Coasts;  
*Lucca* only excepted. The Citizens promis'd upon  
 Oath to surrender, if they were not reliev'd in 30 Days:  
 When the time was expir'd *Narses* demanded the Place,  
 pursuant to the Agreement, for the Performance of  
 which they had given Hostages; yet either trusting to  
 the General's Clemency, or valuing their Liberty more  
 than the Lives of their Hostages, they broke their Oaths  
 and would not surrender the Town. *Narses* to try  
 them, order'd a Scaffold to be built in sight of the  
 Town, and the Hostages to be led thither, as to Exe-  
 cution: The Executioner appear'd, the Prisoners were  
 produc'd, the Assistants surrounded them, affecting to  
 appear mightily touch'd at their Sufferings; the Ax was  
 lifted up, and the Blow heard to be given; but the  
 Hostages were all this while safe, and convey'd back  
 another way. Their Relations beholding this Mock  
 Tragedy, cry'd out, exclaiming at *Narses* for his Cru-  
 elty

The Franks  
 march a-  
 gainst the  
 Romans  
 in Italy  
 with  
 70000  
 Men.

*Narses* be-  
 sieges *Luc-*  
*ca*, the on-  
 ly Town  
 that held  
 out against  
 him.

His Policy.

A.D. 553. elty and Hypocrisie, who under a shew of Piety and Moderation was the most bloody minded Man in the World. *Narſes* told them, *He had dealt by them no worſe than they deſerv'd*; yet, *if he was ſure they would render themſelves worthy his Favour, he would contrive ſome how or other to reſtore the Hoſtages to them alive.* They thought he had engag'd for more than he was able to perform, and ſwore, that if he could do it, they would ſet open their Gates. *Narſes* upon this brought forth his Priſoners, to the great Joy of the Citizens: But ſeeing their Relations were alive and well, they bogg'l'd about delivering up the City, and at laſt abſolutely refus'd it, which gave occaſion to a moſt ſublime inſtance of Magnanimity and Generoſity; for *Narſes*, notwithstanding he was thus highly provok'd, diſmiſſt the Hoſtages without Ransom, and bad them tell their Friends in the City, *He ſcorn'd to delude any with vain Hopes, and unleſs they ſurrender'd without delay, laying his Hand upon his Sword, he ſaid, This ſhall force them to it.* The Hoſtages being come into the Town, extoll'd his Goodneſs and Clemency to the Skies, ſaying, *There never was a more Noble and Generous Perſon than Narſes.* Their Praises within had more Effect than the Romans Battering Rams without; and they were juſt about ſending their Deputies to him with their Keys, when he receiv'd ill News out of *Æmia*, That the Army which he order'd to advance towards the *Po* were entirely defeated by the *Franks*, occaſion'd by the Raſhneſs of *Fulcaris*, Captain of the *Heruli*. While the Romans ſtood on the deſenſive, the Barbarians did not dare to attempt paſſing the River, which *Fulcaris* taking for an Argument of their Weakneſs, contrary to *Narſes's* Orders, to keep to his Station, he made an Excuſion to the Gates of *Parma*, where he and his Followers were cut off by an Ambuſcade *Butelinus* had plac'd in the Amphitheater: On this Deſeat the remaining Part of the Romans retir'd to *Faventia*. The Inhabitants of *Lucca* expecting Relief, now the *Franks* were fortunate, once more excus'd themſelves and would not yield the Town. *Narſes's* Soldiers were dejected; he animated them by a chearful Speech, and ſent away *Stephanus* with 200 Horſe, to perſuade the Troops that were at *Faventia* to return to their Poſt. *Stephanus* paſt thro'

The Citi-  
zens Trea-  
chery.

Narſes's  
Generoſity.

a Country full of *Franks*, and with much Difficulty A.D. 553. arriv'd at *Faventia*, where he prevail'd with the Officers and Soldiers to go back to their old Station.

The General being secur'd from any sudden Irruption of the *Barbarians*, bloc'kd up *Lucca* more closely than ever; which the Citizens observing, and that he was preparing to give the Assault, after 3 Months Siege, they surrender'd the Place upon Promise of Pardon. *Lucca surren-  
der'd.* The *Franks* had already discover'd their wicked Designs, that under colour of Friendship they meant to secure *Italy* for themselves, which *Aligern* perceiving, or suspecting, thought it most reasonable, that the Sovereignty should return to her old Masters the *Romans*; so he came to *Narses* and deliver'd the Keys of the Castle of *Cumæ*, and the Treasures of the *Goths*. The General receiv'd him with Joy, took him into the Emperor's Service, advanc'd him and sent him to *Nissene*, to shew himself upon the Walls to the *Franks*, that they might see their pretending to relieve *Cumæ* was in vain, for both the Town and Treasure were in his Possession. The *Franks* were extreamly surpriz'd to see *Aligern* on the side of their Enemies; they immediately held a Council of War, to deliberate whether they should proceed farther into *Italy*, or return home. The major Part of them was for proceeding in their Expedition; upon which they made Excursions as far as the Gates of *Rimini*. *Narses* being accidentally there, sally'd out upon them, routed the Party and kill'd 900 of them.

The next Year the *Barbarians* divided themselves in two Bodies; *Butelinus* with one of them overran and wasted the *Tyrrhenian* Shoar from the *Po* to the Streights of *Rhegium*, and *Leutharis* with the other scowr'd the Coasts of the *Adriatick* up to the Gulph of *Tarentum*. *Leutharis* had got most Booty, and was willing to march home with it; but *Butelinus* flattering himself with vain Hopes of a Crown, resolv'd to stay and try what he could make of it. To please the *Goths* he gave out, that having taken an Oath to assist them, he could not leave *Italy*, till he was dischar'gd of that Engagement. *Leutharis* in his March thro' *Picenum*, fell in with a Party of *Romans*, commanded by *Artabanus*, near *Pisaurus*, who charg'd him with his usual Bravery, *Pisaro.*  
and



A.D. 554. and defeated his Forces. The *Germans* after this Defeat were so hasty in their Retreat, that they left their Booty and Prisoners behind them, and in their March thro' *Venetia* they were seiz'd with a Plague, of which almost all of them dy'd, and among the rest *Leutharis* their General, who fled distracted, rav'd like a Mad-man, tore his Flesh from his Bones and breath'd forth his impious Soul in a frantick Fit, which was a righteous Judgment of the Almighty upon him for his Sacrilege and Rapine in *Apulia* and *Calabria*. *Narfes* all this while was not idle; he had winter'd in *Ravenna*, and in the Spring muster'd all his Forces near that City, from whence he march'd towards *Rome*, to oppose *Butelinus*, or *Balduin*, as some Authors call him. The latter hastned to meet him and give Battle; for the Roman General had clear'd the Country so well of Provisions, that his *Franks* were almost starv'd. Hearing *Narfes* was advancing towards *Capua* to meet him, he encamp'd on the Banks of the River *Casulmus*. He had not heard of his Brother's Misfortune, and being still 30000 strong, he thought himself strong enough to engage the *Romans*; to which he was encourag'd by some Deserters of the *Heruli*, who assur'd him, all the Soldiers of that Nation in *Narfes's* Army, were disgusted with the General, and would come over to him with the first Opportunity. *Butelinus* for these Reasons was the first that came out of his own and mov'd nearer *Narfes's* Camp, which was at a little Distance off. The Fight was long and bloody, but in the end the *Romans* obtain'd a compleat Victory, with the loss only of eighty Men; of the *Germans* no more than five escap'd, their General and all his Army perishing in the Battle and the Pursuit. The *Romans* behav'd themselves singularly well, like the Sons of those Heroes that conquer'd the World; their Auxiliaries animated by their Example, fought with unusual Courage, particularly *Aligern*, and *Sindual*, Captain of the *Heruli*, did Wonders. This Action put an end to the War in *Italy*, there being no Enemy to oppose the *Romans*, except *Regnares* a Hunn, who commanded a Body of 7000 *Goths*, and seiz'd *Cassin*, a Fort near *Capua*, which was strongly situated among inaccessible Mountains. *Narfes*, to save his Men, resolv'd to starve them out, and not attempt to subdue it

*Narfes*  
routs them,  
and kills all  
of 'em that  
remain'd  
alive.

by

by Force. The *Hunn*, some Months after he gain'd A.D. 555. the Fort, sent to desire a Conference with the General. *Regnares* agreed to a Meeting, at which *Regnares* insisted on the *Hunn* such unreasonable Terms, that the General with Indignation rejected his Offers. The *Barbarian* enrag'd at his Refusal, when he was got at a convenient Distance let fly an Arrow at *Narses*, designing to kill him. The General's Guards, tho' the *Hunn* miss'd his Aim, were so provok'd, that they sent a Shower of Darts after him, by which he was wounded, and two Days after dy'd in the Castle. The *Goths* immediately offer'd to surrender on Quarter, which *Narses* granted them, and ship'd them off to *Constantinople*, to prevent their raising any new Commotions. He is kill'd.

Thus the Dominion of the *Goths* in *Italy* was quite extinct, the very Name of that Nation lost, and those that remain'd were without Distinction, call'd *Italians* as well as the Native *Romans*. From the Death of *Odoacer* in the Year 493, when *Theodoric's* Monarchy began, to the Death of *Teias* in 553, were just 60 Years; so long the *Goths* reign'd there, and from the present Year 555, the *Roman* Emperor continu'd sole Monarch of *Italy*, till the Invasion of the *Lombards* about fourteen Years afterwards.

*Narses* rul'd the Province all that time as *Justinian's* Lieutenant; he made *Sinduald*, King of the *Heruli*, whom revolting from the *Romans* soon after, he defeated and drove them out of the Habitations *Theodoric* had assign'd them near the *Alps*; their King he hang'd for an Example to other Tributaries. He then apply'd himself to regulating the Civil Government, repairing the Breaches made by the War, both in Publick and Private Edifices, and behaving himself in the discharge of his Office with Moderation and Justice. 556. Narses hangs the King of the Heruli.

Before we take a view of the War which is again renew'd on the Borders of *Persia*, we shall observe in what Condition the Church remain'd, during these Troubles. The State in the State. By the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and that of the *Goths* in *Italy*, the Church. *Arian* Heresie that had so long'd prevail'd was rooted out; but as Heresies are sent in Judgment by God, so they are not to be remov'd by Man's Power. The *Nestorian* and the *Eutichean* Heresies continue still under several

A.D. 556. Several Names : one of the Sects of the latter were call'd *Acephales*, as we have else where hinted, and the Emperor seem'd too much to countenance their Opinions: He was perswaded to it by *Theodore*, Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was a rank *Eutichean*, and had a great Influence over *Justinian*. Those Hereticks abhor'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, of which the Emperor appear'd a zealous Defender. This Council had been very favourable to *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, *Theodore* of *Cyrrhus* and *Ibas* of *Edeffa*, confirming the two latter in their Sees on their feign'd Repentance, and taking no notice of the former. *Theodore* of *Casarea* insinuated to the Emperor, that he need not be at so much Pains to impose the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, that the only thing which was objected against that Council, was, their Tenderness to the three Heretical Bishops; and if he would procure their Writings to be condemn'd, every Body would receive that Synod as Orthodox. *Justinian* by his own Authority Publish'd an Edict against their Errors, and would have oblig'd Pope *Vigilius* to joyn with him in it. The Bishop of *Rome* disdaining that any Power should encroach upon his own, refus'd it, alledging, that the Council of *Chalcedon* had been silent in the Matter, and therefore he would not meddle with it. The Bishop of *Casarea*, who, by the Advice he gave the Emperor, was far from aiming at any thing injurious to the Memory of those Bishops, saw it produc'd the Effect he design'd: It made a Breach in the Church, which was not soon repair'd; the Council of *Constantinople* by taking upon them the decision of the Matter, while the Pope was in that City, and refus'd to be present at the Assembly, incurr'd *Vigilius's* Displeasure; they confirm'd the Emperor's Edict against the *Tria Capitula*, and *Justinian* banish'd the Pope for opposing the Authority of the Council: He continu'd in Exile two Years, and then was permitted to return to his Dioceses.

*Justinian*  
condemns  
the *Tria*  
*Capitula*  
by an Edict,  
and banishes  
the Pope  
for opposing  
his Authority.

*Narses* having clear'd *Rome* of all *Vigilius's* Enemies, the Pope being come as far as *Syracuse*, dy'd of the Stone, or Poyson, and was succeeded by *Pelagius* the Deacon, of whom mention has been made. *Vigilius*, to be restor'd to his See, had done all that the Emperor had desir'd of him; he allow'd of the Imperial Edict relating to the

the *Three Chapters*, and submitted to the Council of A.D. 556. *Constantinople*, which in this Dispute seem'd to clash *The Pope is* with that of *Chalcedon* and the *Acephales*: The *Euticheans* humbled and other Hereticks were not a little pleas'd to find they *and sub-* had got so much Ground. *Pelagius* was ordain'd by a *miss.* Bishop and a Presbyter, and is accus'd of having a hand in the Death of *Vigil*. He declar'd openly for the Fifth Council, and endeavour'd to oblige the Western Bishops to receive it. The Resistance made by the Bishop of *Aquileæ* caus'd a long Schism in the *Roman Church*. *A Schism in the West.*

The five Years Truce was scarce expir'd in the East, before the *Persians* broke forth into Acts of Hostility, being impatient to have *Lazica* entirely in their Possession. After *Bessas* in the late War took *Petra*, *Isdigunas*, to amuse *Justinian*, was sent by *Chosroes* to *Constantinople*, to treat for a Cessation of Arms; and during the Treachery the *Persians* made use of the Security the *Romans* were an *War* in, and *Bessas's* Absence, to seize several strong Towns *in that Country*. *Telephis* was still in the hands of the *Romans*, and now *Mermores* by a Strategem surpriz'd it, but did not long survive his Success. He was worn out with Age, and departed this Life at a time when his Laurels were green and flourishing, tho' his Head was gray and declining. *Chosroes* gave *Nachoragan* the Command of his Army, and order'd him to continue the late General's Endeavours to drive the *Romans* out of *Lazica*.

*Gubazes* the King wrote a Letter of Complaint to *Justinian*, that *Martinus*, Governor of *Telephis*, had basely given up that Fortress to the Enemy, and that *Bessas*, *Lazica* by his Extortion and Avarice, had done the Country as much Mischiefs as the *Persians* ever did it. *Bessas*, whose Interest at Court was not so Powerful as that of *Martinus*, was turn'd out of his Place, and confin'd among the *Abasgians*, while *Martinus*, contrary to the Desire of *Gubazes*, was continu'd in his Employment. This Officer to revenge himself of the King of *Lazica*, for writing against him to the Emperor, resolv'd to remove him out of the way. For this Purpose he entred into a Conspiracy with *Rusticus*, Quæstor or Paymaster of the Army, to destroy *Gubazes*. The Quæstor, by Bribery and other indirect Practices, had render'd himself as obnoxious to the King's Complaints as *Martinus*. He readily



A.D. 556. dily hearken'd to the Methods propos'd for taking him off ; and pursuant to the Measures agreed on by the Conspirators, *John* the Brother of *Rusticus*, was dispatch'd away to *Constantinople*, to give Information of *Gubazes's* Treachery and Correspondence with *Chosroes*. The Emperor knowing there was a Difference between *Martinus* and the King, suspected there might be more Malice than Care in the Accusation ; yet to provide against the worst, he told *John*, *If what he said was true, they should send Gubazes to Constantinople.* *John* apprehending, that in case the King came thither the Fraud would be detected, ask'd, *What must be done if he refus'd to come ;* *Justinian* reply'd, *He should be compell'd :* *John* demanded further, *What they should do if he resisted ;* the Emperor reply'd, *Treat him as a Tyrant, and let him miserably perish :* Then says *John*, *The Man needs fear nothing that kills him :* No, reply'd *Justinian ; Should he resist, and refuse to obey, let him die like an Enemy.* This last Order was all that *John* wanted. As soon as he came back to *Lazica*, and brought Letters from the Emperor to the Officers, importing what had pass'd in the Dialogue between him and *John*, *Martinus* and *Rusticus* desir'd *Justinus*, the Son of *Germanus*, and *Buzes*, who commanded in Chief in those Parts, to accompany them to *Gubazes*, and witness to their Executing the Emperor's Orders. When they met, *Martinus* and *Rusticus* requir'd him to joyn his Forces with theirs and attack *Onogoris*, a Fort possess'd by the *Persians*. *Gubazes*, as he us'd to do, instead of consenting to their Proposals, upbraided them with Cowardice and Injustice, telling them, *That the Fault was theirs, that Onogoris was in the Enemy's Hands, and said plainly, he would not have any thing to do with them, till they had made amends for their past Miscarriages.* This they interpreted as a Proof of his Revolt, and immediately murder'd him. All *Lazica* was in an Uproar upon this barbarous Act. The Inhabitants were justly provok'd to desert the Romans. *Justinus* and *Buzes* knew not what to say or do in the Matter, supposing *Martinus* and *Rusticus* had secret Orders from the Emperor. The Conspirators to ingratiate themselves with *Justinian*, presently entred upon Action and besieg'd *Onogoris* against the Advice of *Buzes*, who, on

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And murder him.

Inform

A.D. 556.

Information that *Nachoragan* was marching to secure the Fort, advis'd the *Romans* to fight him first, and then to think of Sieges. The Conspirators Friends carry'd it in a Council of War, a Party of 600 Horse only was detach'd to oppose an advanc'd Party of the *Persians* and the rest of the *Roman Army* lay down before *Onogoris*. The Detachment we have mention'd met the Enemy, who thinking they were supported by the whole *Roman Army* fled at the Onset. But being 3000 Men, and perceiving their Error, they fac'd about and beat back the *Persuers*, who not expecting to have the Battle renew'd, follow'd them in disorder. The *Persians* easily recover'd the Day, drove the *Romans* to their Camp, and before they were aware of it, fell tumultuously on the Besiegers, who apprehending the whole Strength of the *Persians* was at hand, ran with their Friends towards a Bridge which they must necessarily pass. The Besieg'd sally'd out upon them at the same time, and had not *Buzes* rally'd his Men to favour the *Romans* in their Flight, in all Probability they had been all destroy'd in passing the River *Catharus*. The *Persians* plunder'd the Camp, and thus ended a shameful Campaign. 'Tis reported, that the *Roman Army* were Fifty Thousand, and their Defeat is the most scandalous Rout that we read of in the History of the Empire. The *Lazians* still meditating how to revenge themselves on the *Romans* for the Death of their King, *Justinian*, to satisfy them, order'd *Anastasius* to go from *Constantinople* to try the Offenders. *Rusticus* and *John* were Convicted, Condemn'd and Beheaded: *Martinus's* Crime was refer'd to the Emperor's Judgment; and the Year following he did considerable Service against the *Persians*. *Nachoragan* enter'd *Lazica* with 6000 Men and threaten'd an entire Conquest; he began with *Phasis*, where *Justin* and *Martinus* engag'd him, kill'd 12000 of his Men and forc'd him to steal away into his Master's Dominions. *Chosroes* for his Cowardice, commanded *Chosroes* him to be flea'd alive. The Overthrow of this General was follow'd by the Reduction of the *Masiniens*, who had kill'd *Soterichus* their *Roman Governor*, and revolted to the *Persians*. Tho' *Martinus* was very instrumental in both these successful Enterprizes, yet the Emperor to please the *Lazians*, who could not forget the Murder

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A.D. 557. Murder of King *Gubazes*, remov'd him, and made *Justin* sole General of his Forces in the East.

*Chosroes*  
sends to  
*Justinian*  
to desire a  
Truce.

*Chosroes* grew at last weary of a War, which turn'd very little to account. He dispatch'd away one *Zich* his Ambassador to *Justinian*, with whom he negotiated for a Cessation of Arms and a Truce, till Commissioners of both sides could agree on Terms for a lasting Peace.

*Justinian*  
sets the  
Barbari-  
ans at va-  
riance a-  
mong them-  
selves.

This Year there happen'd a terrible Earthquake at *Constantinople*, which swallow'd up most of the Publick Edifices with a vast Number of Citizens. The Earthquake was scarce over before the Plague return'd, and destroy'd an infinite Multitude. These Judgments were esteem'd to presage an Irruption of the *Hunns*, who invaded the *Roman Empire*, and wasted it in a dreadful manner. *Justinian*, who was now grown old and lov'd Quiet, to prevent the like Inroads from the *Barbarians*, resolv'd to try a new Course, and put his Politicks in practice more than his Arms: He endeavour'd to set one Barbarous Nation at variance with another, and by cutting them out Work at home, to keep them from troubling their Neighbours: He sow'd Jealousies and Division among them, and scatter'd his Money with a liberal Hand, by which means, when one of them invaded his Territories, he had another ready to play against him: So far did his Politicks prevail, that by Favour and Preferment he often engag'd one part of a Nation against the other, and could trust *Barbarians* at the Head of his Armies to oppose their own Country-men.

The Ro-  
man Ar-  
mies a-  
mount to  
no more  
than  
150000  
Men.

Tho' his Policy made him easie for a few Years, yet it had its Inconveniences. By Security the Fortifications of his Cities were neglected, and his standing Forces very much diminish'd. They hardly amounted to 150000, a little Company. compar'd with the Armies that the old *Roman Emperors* us'd to have in pay, seldom less than 650000; besides, what Soldiers *Justinian* had in his Service, were dispers'd up and down at such a distance, that they were not within Call, in case of Danger, in the Heart of the Empire: Some of them were in *Italy*. some in *Africk* and some in *Lazica*, the utmost Bounds of his Dominions.

The *Zani* inhabiting the Country about the City of A.D. 557.  
*Trapezond*, on the *Euxine* Sea, in a confus'd manner invaded *Pontus*. To oppose them the Emperor sent *Theodorus* their Country-man with an Army, who drove them out of his Dominions, Conquer'd them and oblig'd them to pay Tribute. Tho' this People were of no great Consideration, yet *Justinian* was more proud of subduing them than of his other Successes; as old Men are generally fond of their last Actions.

The Year following had like to have been Fatal to the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, as it was to the Province of *Greece*. The *Hunns* passing the *Ister*, divided themselves into two Bodies; one past into *Greece*, *The Hunns* and the other directly for *Constantinople*, meeting with *threaten* no Opposition till they got within twenty Miles of the *Constanti-* *nople*. City. The Forts that were rais'd for her Defence were neglected, the Money appropriated for that use having been squandred away on Racers, Whores and other Extravagancies. The News of the Approach of the *Barbarians* threw the Court and City into a terrible Consternation; the Shops were shut, and the Publick and Private Treasures remov'd to Places of Safety, at a distance from the Invaders: The Militia were so frighted, that they could hardly be perswaded to make good the Walls and Gates: The *Scholarii*, or Pretorian Bands strutted in their Military Ornaments; but they were generally Tradesmen, who had bought their Places in this Honorary Service, and no Benefit was expected from such Soldiers. The Emperor had only old *Belisarius* to fly to. He was so worn with Years, that he could scarce lift up his Shield: However, his Heart was good, and he undertook to put a *Belisarius in his old* Stop to the Progress of the *Hunns*. He had little *Age oppos-* Encouragement to hope for Success from the Number, *ses them.* Valour or Experience of his Troops. They were all new rais'd Men, except 300 *Veterans* that had formerly serv'd under him, and Peasants, who were driven from their Dwellings by the *Barbarians*. 'Twas the best Shift he could make; and with these Men he went out against the Enemy, pitch'd his Camp as near them as he could with Safety, fortify'd it and sent out Scouts to discover the Posture of the *Hunns*. By these he was inform'd that 2000 of 'em advanc'd towards his Camp;

A.D. 558. on which News he posted 200 of his Men in a neighbouring Wood, ordering them to charge the Enemy on a Signal given. He commanded the Peasants to raise the Dust as much as they could, and shout, while with the rest of his Forces he attack'd the *Barbarians*, who imagining the *Romans* were more numerous than in reality they were, began to retire: The Men that were plac'd in the Ambuscade, fell upon their Rear and kill'd 500 of them; the Remainder reach'd their Camp. By such Stratagems as these *Belisarius* so weaken'd the *Hunns*, that they would gladly have gone home, if *Justinian* would have ransom'd their Captives, which he refusing, they threaten'd to cut their Throats. The Emperor to save the Prisoners, consented to pay them some Money, rather than suffer *Belisarius* to pursue his Victory, and recover both the Captives and the Booty the *Hunns* had taken by Force. The Courtiers envy'd the old Man his Reputation, and *Justinian* himself was jealous of his Glory, for which Reason he was suddenly recall'd, and the *Barbarians* both in *Thrace* and *Greece* accepted of the Gold offer'd them by the Emperor, and quitted his Dominions.

Routs 2000  
of them.

Justinian  
out of jea-  
lousie to Be-  
lisarius  
buys a  
Peace.

Belisari-  
us's Cha-  
racter.

The Courtiers out of respect to *Belisarius's* Merit, were oblig'd to give him Precedence: Those of them that by Virtue of their Eldership in the Consulate, or their Dignity of Patritian might claim place of him, were asham'd to stand on Punctilio with a Person that had Triumph'd over two Kings, and so often stood in the Breach when the Empire was assaulted. His Illustrious Actions rais'd him many Enemies; Envy naturally turning into Hate, and his Uxorious Humour, which put him upon many Acts of Injustice meerly to please his Wife, lost him the Love of the People: He was besides covetous of Money to Oppression. In his Expeditions to *Africk* and *Italy*, 'tis said, he scrap'd together no less than 10000 Pounds Weight of Gold; which however he did not hoard up: But as he got it by the Sword, he spent it on the Soldiery, which gain'd him the Hearts of the Army; and his Interest in them was an Advantage that *Justinian* could not forgive; neither could he forget his Treating with the *Goths* for the Crown of *Italy*, tho' there appear'd no Reason to think he had any Design by it prejudicial to

his Sovereignty. He was more than once turn'd out of A.D. 558.  
his Offices, and restor'd to them in times of Difficulty  
and Necessity.

The next Year was remarkable for nothing but the 559.  
Death of *Pelagius* Bishop of *Rome*, in whose Place *John* Pope John  
III. was Elected, and approv'd of by *Narses* Governor III. Elect-  
of *Italy*, where we find *Dagisbaeus*, who gave so little ed and ap-  
Hopes of his future Service by his first Expedition in prov'd of  
the East, has acquir'd a good Reputation, is made Ge- by *Narses*  
neral under *Narses* of the Army in that Province, and Governor  
clear'd all the Coasts from the *Goths* and *Franks* that of *Italy*.  
still lurk'd in some Towns, having restor'd its former  
Peace to the Kingdom after a War of above twenty  
Years Continuance, and setled the State in a course of  
Order and Justice, *Italy* began again to look fair in the  
Eyes of the World, and to enjoy in some measure her  
former Happiness with a feint Resemblance of her an-  
cient Lustre.

*Italy flour-  
ishes under  
Narses.*

About the latter end of the following Year a dange-  
rous Conspiracy was discover'd at *Constantinople*, car- 560.  
ry'd on by *Ablavius*, *Marcellus* and *Sergius*, all Persons  
of Quality, against the Life of *Justinian*. They in-  
tended to kill him by Night in his Bed-Chamber. *Ab- Adange-  
lavius* acquainted his Friend *Eusebius*, a Man of Con- rous Con-  
sular Dignity, with the Plot, and he reveal'd it to the gainst Ju-  
Emperor. The Conspirators were seiz'd with Swords tinian.  
hid under their Robes: *Marcellus* immediately stab'd  
himself: *Sergius* accus'd *Belisarius*, on which *Justinian* The Conspi-  
assembl'd the Senate, *Eutichius* the Patriarch being rators ac-  
present. He caus'd the Confession of the Prisoners to use *Belisa-  
be* read: *Belisarius* was enrag'd at the Affront offer'd rius.  
him, but he was in no Condition to shew his Resent-  
ment. His Guards were taken from him, his Servants  
dismiss'd and himself confin'd to his House. Yet 7 or He is dis-  
8 Months after, on the 19th. of *July*, the Emperor ei- grac'd and  
ther satisfy'd of his Innocence, or asham'd to keep a confus'd.  
Man in hold, to whom he was so much oblig'd, restor'd 561.  
him to his Honours and Offices, and in appearance to Restor'd to  
his Favour. The Popish Writers say, he was shut up his Ho-  
in a Tower, which is from him call'd to this Day the nours.  
Tower of *Belisarius*, on the Sea-shoar, in the way The Story of  
from the *Seven Towers* to the *Seraglio* in *Constantinople*; his Begging  
and that he ty'd a Purse to a Pole, and hung it out of Fabulous.



A.D. 561. the Window to receive the Alms of the People, after the Emperor had order'd his Eyes to be put out, crying, *Give a Half-penny to poor Belisarius, whom Envy, and not Guilt, has made blind.* This ridiculous Story they tell us as a Judgment upon him, for his dealing so roughly by Pope *Sylvester* at the Instigation of the Empress *Theodora*. But the most Authentick Historians, *Agathias*, *Cedrenus* and *Zonares* make no mention of his Blindness or Poverty.

Justinian  
builds new  
Cities, and  
repairs  
old ones.

*Justinian* being now at Peace in all Quarters of his Dominions, we have leisure to take notice of his Care and Concern for the Safety and Glory of his Empire, in inspecting into the other Parts of his Government. He built many strong Cities and Castles, re-built and repair'd such as Time or the War had destroy'd. He enlarg'd and beautify'd the Cathedral Church of *Constantinople*, which was for its Magnificence and Riches said to excell the Temple of *Solomon*. He restor'd above 150 Cities to the Lustre and Strength that they were in in the Times of the *Roman* Monarchy, adorning them with Churches and other Publick Edifices, and securing them with Walls and other Fortifications.

Justinian  
against the  
Humanity  
of our Sa-  
viour.

In the beginning of his Reign he was a zealous Defender of the Orthodox Faith, but by the Bishop of *Casarea's* Lessons he became infected with some *Eutichian* Principles, and was too warm in promoting them. He publish'd an Edict in Favour of that Heresie, and would have oblig'd all the Bishops of the East to consent to it, which most of them refus'd, following the Example of *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who would not subscribe to his Opinion, *That the Body of Christ was not subject either to Hunger, Thirst, Death, or any other Infirmities of Humane Nature*, which destroy'd the Humanity of our Saviour and consequently the Mystery of our Redemption. The Partizans of this Sect were call'd the *Incorruptibles*. *Anastasius* for opposing their Errors, and writing a Homily against them for the use of his Church, was forbidden the Court, and commanded to be gone out of *Constantinople*. But this was not enough to satisfy *Justinian* and his Party; they resolv'd to declare all those Bishops that refus'd to submit to his Edict, depriv'd, to depose them from their Sees, and put Persons of their own Principles in their Places. The

Church

Church was grievously afflicted by the Obstinacy of the A.D. 561.  
 Emperor, in maintaining his Opinions; for the two fol-  
 lowing Years, in which there happen'd nothing extra- 562.  
 ordinary in relation to the Civil or Military Govern- 563.  
 ment of the Empire, *Justinian* spent most of his Time  
 in Disputing with old Priests about the *Impassibility* of  
 Christ's Body, an Error of which he was very fond,  
 and of making Converts, affecting to be thought Learn- 564.  
 ed in Controversy. The Bishop of *Constantinople*, both by  
 Preaching and Writing, oppos'd his Heretical Te-  
 nets, and drew on him the Hatred of those that pro-  
 fess'd to believe as the Emperor believ'd; *Justinian* was  
 prevail'd upon by them to make him an Example to  
 his Brethren. He first depriv'd him *Ex Officio*, and  
 confin'd him to a Monastery in *Chalcedon*, where the  
 next Year he was depos'd by a Synod of Bishops, who  
 all favour'd the Sect of the *Incorruptibles*. The Em-  
 peror knowing *John* the Deacon, Resident for the Church  
 of *Antioch* at *Constantinople*, wou'd in all Things com-  
 ply with his Pleasure, plac'd him in the Patriarchal  
 Chair in the room of *Eutychius*, who excommunicated  
 the Prelates that had subscrib'd to his Deposition. The  
 Synod were the more exasperated by this Proceeding  
 of the Patriarchs, whom they banish'd first to a barren  
 Island, and afterwards to *Apamea*, a City in *Syria*. He  
 liv'd in Exile twelve Years, and after the Death of  
*John*, at the Request of the People, he was restor'd to  
 his See.

On the 13th of *March*, in the following Spring, dy'd 565.  
 the famous *Belisarius*, of whom we may say never did  
 Master meet with a better Servant than *Justinian* had 566.  
 in him; And never did such a Servant light of a worse  
 Master than this Emperor prov'd to *Belisarius*, if what  
*Pontanus Crinitus* and others write of him be true, that  
 he dy'd a Beggar, of what we may venture to affirm is,  
 that, as soon as he was Dead his Estate was confiscat- 567.  
 ed, and that he enjoy'd it as long as he liv'd. His Estate  
 Confiscated.

Eight Months after, on the 13th of *November*, the  
 Emperor *Justinian* himself follow'd his old General in-  
 to another World, having liv'd Eighty three Years, and  
 reign'd Thirty eight and seven Months, reckoning from  
 the time he was declar'd *Augustus* by his Uncle. The  
 Author of the *Anecdota*, or *Secret History*, pretended to

A.D. 565. He written by *Procopius*, charges him with so many Faults. that were a third part of them true, he could with the least Reason of any Prince before or since claim the Surname of *Great*. The Insurrection of the *Nica*, this Historian affirms was owing to his Partiality to the *Veneti*, one of the Factions. He says he was Covetous and Extravagant, Foolish and Tricking, and reconcil'd Vices and ill Qualities, otherwise inconsistent with each other. He was, if we may believe him, conversant with a familiar Spirit, and to Sum up all his Vices in one Word exactly, like *Domitian* in Mind and Body. *Baronius*, and other Writers of his Stamp have endeavour'd all they could to blacken his Memory, to Revenge his giving the Title of *Universal Bishop* to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Affronts he put upon several Popes, whom he treated as his Subjects, and depos'd and banish'd them as he thought fit. The Secret History came out of the *Vatican Library*, and has been since 'twas Printed and Publish'd very much cry'd up by the Popish Authors, forgetting what Pope *Gregory* the Great call'd *Justinian*, *A Man of Pious Memory*. The Legates of *Otho* stil'd him of *Divine Memory*, and Pope *Agatho* in his Epistle to the Emperor *Constantine Pagonotus*, to prove out of the Fathers, that there were two Natures in Christ, writes, *And above all these, Justinian the Emperor of Holy Memery, a zealous Defender of the true Apostolick Faith teacheth this, whose Purity of Doctrin did as much exalt the Christian Commonwealth, as its Sincerity was pleasing to God, whose Religious Memory is esteem'd by all Nations worthy of Veneration.* The same Pope jointly with the Synod of *Rome* in his Pontificate, consisting of 125 Bishops, writing to the same Emperor *Constantine*, Exhorts him to imitate the Piety and Vertue of *Theodosius*, *Marcian* and *Justinian* the Great, *the last indeed, but the most Excellent of them all, whose Vertue and Piety restor'd all Things into better Order.* Not to trouble our selves any farther with these Passages, contradicting one another in the Popish Writers, let us give the Reader his Character giv'n him by the loud and consenting Voice of his Contemporaries, who proclaim his Piety, Prudence, Justice, Clemency, Bounty, and all other Christian and Heroick Vertues conspicuous in him. His

Popish Authors differ about him.

Laws

Laws are to this Day a Standard of Right in all Nations of Christendom. His Code came out first, and is a Collection of the most useful Parts of the *Theodosian*, and other Codes. Then came out his *Digests*, or *Pandects*, which reduc'd the Writings and Decrees, such as our Reports of the most famous Judges into fifty Books, that before were diffus'd into no less than Two thousand Volumes. These were follow'd by the *Institutes*; an Abridgment of the whole; and finding it necessary still to add some new Constitutions, he publish'd a Volume of new ones, which were thence call'd *Novelle*. This his extraordinary Care for the regular distribution of Justice, is enough to confute all the Calumnies of the *Secret History*; for never did any Prince so Immoral and Unjust himself take so much Pains to keep his Subjects Honest and Vertuous. Such was he in his civil Capacity: In his Military, the *Roman Empire* was more indebted to him than to any of his Predecessors, since the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*. They were perpetually loosing, and the best of them scarce kept the Dominions that were left them entire. Whereas *Justinian* recover'd *Africk*, *Italy* and *Rome* herself, the Mother and Mistress of all out of the Hands of *Barbarians*. If he was guilty of Weakness in paying Tribute to the *Persians*, we ought to blame those that Reign'd before him over the Eastern Provinces, for setting him an ill Example in buying Peace of Invaders. Besides, we must consider he was antiquated, and that Action is not so natural to Age as to the Heat and the Vigour of Youth and Manhood. However, in his last War he oblig'd *Chesroes* to beg a Peace, and when he dy'd, he left his Territories in Repose, his Subjects Quiet and Happy. Three Things lie heavy on his Memory; His Marrying a Player, and suffering himself to be govern'd too much by her; His Ingratitude to *Belisarius*; and his favouring the Heresy of Christ's *Impassibility*. When he committed the first Fault he was Gay and Amorous; and when he was guilty of the last, Old, Jealous and Doating; or if neither of these Excuses will clear him, we think 'tis reasonable to forgive some Failings incident to Human Nature, in Consideration of the many glorious Actions perform'd under his Auspices, and by his Direction for the good of the



A. D. 565. the Common-Wealth. After his Reign, the Empire fell again into Disorder and Confusion, and all that is to come of her History is a Series of mean Events, Preparatory to her Dissolution, as the Follies and Infirmities of old Age are Presages of Death.

## C H A P. VII.

*From the Death of Justinian the Great,  
to the Usurpation of Phocas.*

*Containing the space of Thirty Seven Years.*

### Justin II.

Justin II.  
succeeds  
Justinian.

Justinian dying about Midnight, Callinicus his Chamberlain went immediately to Justin, Praefectus Praetorio, the late Emperor's Nephew, Son to his Sister Vigilantia and Dulcissimus, rais'd him out of his Bed, and advis'd him to take care that no Body slip into the Throne before him, whom Justinian had design'd for his Successor. The Senate readily approv'd of him for their Prince, and he took on him the Sovereign Power without any manner of Opposition. He began his Reign like a devout Christian, first addressing himself to God Almighty by his Prayers for a Blessing on his Government; he receiv'd the Apostolical Benediction of John the Patriarch of Constantinople, and afterwards suffer'd him to put the Imperial Crown on his Head. He then mounted the Throne, and from thence made a Speech to the People, among whom, perceiving there were some who complain'd of Debts owing from his Uncle, he order'd them to be presently paid. He committed the Care of Burying his Predecessor Justinian to Sophia, Theodora's Niece, whom he had marry'd.

while

while himself was employ'd in settling the Affairs of A.D. 565: the Empire on his Accession to the Sovereignty. Like a true Father of his People, he was very earnest to Reconcile the several Factions in the City, and make his Subjects live Peaceably and Lovingly together. He commanded an Officer to tell the *Veneti* and *Prasini*, the Two contending Parties, who were the chief occasion of the Insurrection of the *Nika*, that he resolv'd to be of neither Side, and not to distinguish himself by a Faction as *Justinian* had done, which was one of the meanest Actions of his Life. It being the certain Sign of a narrow Spirit in a Prince to Dispose one part of his Subjects more than another, forgetting he is the common Father of all, and shou'd distribute his Favours with an equal Hand to them, as kind Parents do to their Children. *Justin* order'd the Officer to inform Justinian's private Animosities, and in Obedience to his Commands, they became good Friends, and so continu'd a long Court and while.

In the beginning of the Year ensuing, he took on him the Consular Dignity, gave a Donative to the People; and as the *Pagan* Consuls us'd to ascend the Capitol, to adore their false Deities on their entering upon that Office, so he went to the Church of *Sta. Sophia*, to Worship the true God on the same occasion. Soon Poles of after his Advancement, Ambassadors came to him from *Cracow*. *Gaganus*, King of the *Avari*, to demand Payment of the Pension allow'd him by *Justinian*. The new Emperor flatly deny'd to continue it, Threatning them, *To chastise their Insolence, if they dar'd to offer any Violence to his Subjects.* He was induc'd to give them this rough Answer by the Perswasions of the Ambassadors from the Prince of *Messagetes*, a Nation inhabiting the Country, lying on the *Tanais*, towards the East, where now stands the City of *Asoph*, and the Territories about it. These *Messagetes* were afterwards call'd *Turks*, and mingling with the *Saracens*, over-ran the East, and founded the *Ottoman* Empire on the Ruins of the *Roman*. The *Messagetes* had Wars with the *Avari*, and desir'd *Justin* not to Pay them any Money.

He Publish'd an Edict to advance the Purity of the Christian Doctrine, and behav'd himself so Generously and

His bold Answer to the *Avari*, to whom *Justinian* paid a Pension.

The rise of the *Turks*.

A.D. 566. Just, that had he preserv'd his Temper, he wou'd have been a most excellent Prince ; but he soon left the good way he was in, and launch'd out into all kinds of Vices and Extravagancies, oppressing and ruining his People to fill his Coffers, and quickly emptying them in his Expences on his brutal Lusts : All Offices, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, were expos'd to Sale ; he granted no Favour without Money ; his Cruelty discover'd its self in his Carriage to his Cousin *Justinus*, the Son of *Germanus*, who had done signal Services to the State in the East, where he commanded against the *Persians* ; and lately he had been sent towards the *Danube*, to observe the Motions of the *Avari* ; for it seems this Nation were originally of *Asia*, and having made their way into *Europe*, as far as the *Vistula* were bought off by *Justinian*, when they attempted to proceed farther. Between *Justinus* and his Cousin, the present Emperor, there had been an Agreement made, that since they had both Pretences to the Succession, he, whom *Justinian* their Uncle call'd to it by his Will, shou'd prefer the other to be the first Person in the Empire, next himself. *Justin* remember'd his Promise, but observing what a Reputation his Kinsman had got among the People for his Liberality and good Nature, and what Interest in the Army for his Valour and Conduct, he rather thought how to Destroy him, than Advance him. To this end he wrote to him very kindly to come to Court, where, when he arriv'd, he embrac'd him, and liv'd with him as they had agreed to do with one another. But the next Year, the second of his Reign, he procur'd false Witnesses to accuse him of forg'd Crimes, took from him his Guards, order'd him to be hurry'd away to *Alexandria*, and there strangl'd in his Bed. His Head was cut off, and sent to Court, where the Emperor and Empress barbarously insulted and kick'd it. He also put to Death two Senators, *Aetherius* and *Addaus* : The one was an Informer, the other a Sodomite ; and the People were well enough pleas'd with their Fate, tho' 'tis doubted whether they were guilty of the Crime for which they suffer'd, an Accusation of High Treason for intending to Poyson the Emperor.

Justin  
grows Ty-  
rannical.

567.

Justin bar-  
barously  
Treats his  
Cousin Ju-  
stinus, and  
Murders  
him.

In the Year following he did a Thing very grateful A.D. 568. to his Subjects. *Justin* having had frequent Complaints made him against several Senators; and the Complainants, whom he had order'd to be redress'd, still Importuning him by Petitions for Relief, he was puzzled how to Ease himself of the Trouble. One of that Body offer'd, provided he wou'd make him *Præfect* of the City, and assist him with his sovereign Authority, that he wou'd take care Right shou'd be done the Petitioners, and the Emperor be no more disturb'd by them. *Justin* gladly accepted of his Proposal, establish'd him in the Office; and the new *Præfect* heard and determin'd all Causes that were brought before him, to the great Ease of the People. It happen'd a poor Woman had been very ill us'd by one of the chief Magistrates in the State, who had taken from her all that she was worth. The Woman complain'd to the *Præfect*, who granted her a Warrant to have the Offender brought before him: Instead of appearing in Court, he abus'd the Plaintiff by some new Oppression and Violence. Upon which the *Præfect* sent one of his Officers to fetch him: He scornfully refus'd to obey the Citation, valuing himself on the Emperor's Favour, with whom he was to Dine that very Day. The *Præfect* went presently to the Imperial Palace, demanded to have the Prisoner deliver'd into his Hand; and that the Emperor wou'd Support him according to his Promise, with the supream Power in Execution of his Office. *Justin* order'd him to take him from his own Table. The *Præfect* condemn'd him to be whip'd, to be set naked on an Ass, and conducted thro' the City: His Estate was confiscated, and giv'n to the injur'd Woman, and the Example of so rigorous an Act of Justice on the Person of an eminent Magistrate deter'd others from committing the like Offences. The Emperor made the *Præfect* a Patritian, and gave him the Office for his Life.

This popular Action was follow'd by another, no less pleasing to the Commons; for the Empress *Sophia* perswaded her Husband to discharge the Debts of such poor Prisoners as were Insolvent. Thus was *Justin* good and bad by turns, and both in the Extream, proceeding rather from Humour than Inclination. Now was that unhappy Step taken by the Imperial Counsel

An Instance of Justin's severe Justice.

He is Good and Bad by turns.  
that



A.D. 568. that again subjected *Italy* to a foreign Power, and brought her under the Dominion of *Barbarians*, who have ever since kept her from the *Romans*; and tho' she has often chang'd Masters, she has never been able to throw off the Yoke which was put upon her at this time. *Narfes* had for fourteen Years govern'd her with equal Wisdom and Fortune: His Prosperity rais'd him many Enemies out of Envy to his Greatness, and these address'd themselves in a Remonstrance to the Emperor, *That the Romans had better have serv'd the Goths than the Greeks under the Eunuch, who us'd them like Slaves; and unless he was recall'd, they wou'd deliver the City and themselves into the Hands of some other Nation.* The Emperor was very much displeas'd with him for giving the *Romans* any occasion to entertain such Thoughts.

*Narfes*  
accus'd  
wrongfully  
to the Em-  
peror.

*His mild*  
*Answer.*

*He is pro-  
vok'd by the  
Empress's  
Raillery at  
his Man-  
hood.*

*Narfes*, whose Conscience was clear, answer'd like an innocent Man, *If I have ill treated the Romans, let me be ill treated my self.* The Empress in a Passion bad him lay by his Sword, and come and Spin with her Women, an Office better agreeing with his Circumstances being an Eunuch, of which 'tis said she very familiarly put him in mind. *Narfes* hearing that *Longinus* was sent to take on him the Government of his Province, with the Title of *Exarch*, and that *Sophia* had spok'n so contemptibly of him, reply'd, *He wou'd Spin her such a Thread, as neither she nor her Women shou'd be able to Unravel as long as she liv'd.* Perceiving the Court was prepossess'd by his Adversaries, and that there was nothing for him to expect but Disgrace and Banishment, or a Prison, he began to reflect on his own Power at present, and to reason with himself why he shou'd throw his Fortunes on the Mercy of his Enemies, when he might by standing on his Guard defend himself from their Injustice. Injury is a powerful Temptation to Ambition, and 'tis dangerous wronging a Man, who has his Remedy in his own Hands. Apprehending that he was not strong enough to resist the whole Strength of the Empire, he thought of entring into an Alliance with some Neighbouring Power; and *Aboin*, King of the *Lombards*, being the most Potent, he apply'd to him. We have formerly mention'd how the *Lombards* were got so near *Italy* as *Pannonia*, where they had dwelt now above 40 Years, and been very ready to assist *Justinian*

in the *Gothick War*. *Aboin* had marry'd the Daughter of *Clotaire*, King of the *Franks*, and lately conquer'd the *Gepidae*, whole King he slew in Battle. Him *Narses* invited to Invade *Italy*, and promis'd to open him a Passage, sending a Present of some of the fairest *Italian Fruits* to tempt him to come out of the poor Country he liv'd in, and Inhabit the richest and pleasantest in the World. *Paul* the Deacon gives this account of the Motives which induc'd *Narses* to call in the *Lombards*. *Baronius* and others affirm, That *Narses* was present at the Inauguration of the Emperor at *Constantinople*, at the Audience giv'n *Chaganus's* Ambassadors, and to justify their Assertion, quote *Chorippus*, a Grammarian of *Africa*, from whom it appears that *Narses* return'd into the East two Years before, and was in great Favour at Court. *Chorippus* makes mention of him in a Poem he wrote on the Emperor's Coronation: 'Tis probable that he might be there, and be sent back to his Government, tho' 'tis more likely that the *Narses* here spoken of was another Man. There were three considerable Persons so call'd; the first was the famous Eunuch, Governor of *Italy*; the second the Brother of *Aratius*; and the third a young Gentleman very Beautiful, who might distinguish himself by his fine Appearance at the Solemnity of the Coronation; and this is without doubt the Person mention'd by *Chorippus*, whom afterwards the Tyrant *Phocas* order'd to be Burnt alive. And yet *Baronius* affirms, the Man that *Phocas* put to Death, was the same that drove the *Goths* out of *Italy*, tho' he must have been above a Hundred and Ten Years Old, and at that Age 'twas not likely he shou'd be concern'd in any Conspiracy against the Usurper. 'Tis said *Narses* dy'd the same Year that the *Lombards* enter'd *Italy*, and was bury'd at *Rome*; about which there are several differences in Historians, some writing his Body was carry'd to *Constantinople*, others that he went thither himself alive: But the reason of the Thing is against our believing, that the Body of a Man, who was esteem'd a betrayer of his Trust, wou'd have been suffer'd to have honourable Burial in the Imperial City; and that he never return'd to *Constantinople* we may imagine by the share he had in the *Lombard* Invasion.

*He invites Aboin, King of the Lombards to joyn with him against Justin.*

*Baronius errs in his Annals about Narses.*

A.D. 568. *Aboin* being come with a mixt Multitude of 200000 Barbarians of all Nations, near the Borders of *Italy*, went up into a high Mountain, from thence call'd *Mons Regis*, to have a Prospect of the Country; and it being in the beginning of the Summer, contributed not a little to render the Sight Charming and Amiable.

*Aboin* *Invades Italy with 200000 Men.* He enter'd the Province of *Venetia*, and past thro' it without any Opposition; when he approach'd near the City of *Trevisa*, *Felix* the Bishop met him, whom he receiv'd very graciously, made him a Grant of all the Lands belonging to his Church, and did all that he desir'd him to do for him. He took *Vicentia*, *Verona*, and the whole Province of *Venetia*, except *Padua*, *Mantua* and *Montefelice*. The ancient *Venetia*, besides the Territories now under the Senate of *Venice*, included all the Country lying from the Borders of *Hungary* to the River *Adda*. From *Venetia* he march'd into *Liguria*, enter'd *Milan*, where he was proclaim'd King of *Italy*, and subdu'd all the Inland Towns, *Pavia* excepted. Then he proceeded farther up into the Country, invaded *Tuscany*, and made himself Master of all the Cities that he appear'd before. He avoided *Rome* and *Ravenna*, where the *Exarch* lay close with the *Roman* Forces, and went forward Conquering as he came; and to secure his Conquests, he made *Sisulphus* his Nephew, and General of the Horse, Governor of *Istria* and *Friuli*, which last was erected into a Dutchy, and has so continu'd to this Day.

360. Such was his Fortune the first and second Years of his Invasion. He met with no Resistance but at *Pavia*, and that City held out above three Years. He left it block'd up by his Forces, and seiz'd those Towns which open'd their Gates to him. *Placentia*, *Parma* and *Modena* receiv'd him as their Sovereign; and the Cities in *Tuscany* follow'd their Example. Marching thro' that Province into *Umbria* he took *Spoletto*, and set over it a Governor with the Title of Duke, as he had done in other Cities; and those Governors assuming afterwards the Sovereign Power, many little Dutchies were then erected in *Italy*, that still continue there under the Protection of the Emperor or the Pope. The little Opposition *Aboin* met with, was the Reason that he did not shew the Cruelty of his natural Disposition so much as

was expected, and fear'd by the *Italians*; his Soldiers frequently committed Robberies and Murders; but he did not countenance them in it, neither did he live long enough to do as much Mischief as his Power and Inclination serv'd him to do.

In the mean time *Tiberius*, *Justin's* Chamberlain, obtain'd a signal Victory over the *Avari*, and forc'd them to beg a Peace. The Avari  
defeated by  
Tiberius.

The *Armenians* inhabiting the Country call'd *Persarmenia*, because 'twas Tributary to the *Persians*, had a long time endur'd a grievous Persecution on account of Religion; for they were Christians; and their own King neglecting to appear in their Defence against their Persecutors, they address'd themselves to *Justin*, offer'd to swear Fealty to him, on Condition that he would protect them in their Liberty of Conscience. The Emperor willingly receiv'd their Petition, accepted of their Offer, and Articles were agreed on and sworn to by their Agents and *Justin*. Upon which they depos'd their King, put him to Death and revolted to the *Romans*. *Chosroes* alarm'd at this Revolution, charg'd the Emperor with Sinister and Clandestine Practices, contrary to the Treaty between *Justinian* and himself. *Justin* answer'd boldly, That the time of the Truce was expired, and that 'twas his Duty, as a Christian Emperor, to relieve all Christians, who fled to him for Succour, from the Rage of their Persecutors. He talk'd big, but did nothing, giving himself up to sensual Pleasures, while *Chosroes* prepar'd to invade his Dominions. *Justin* thought he was secure from any Attempts of that Nature, a Report flying thro' the Empire, that the *Persian* King was dead, or dying; and instead of sending a strong Army to the Borders to make good what he had said in Answer to *Chosroes's* Message, he order'd *Martianus*, one of the Captains of his Guards, to command in the East, yet supply'd him with neither Men nor Arms. *Martianus* got together a Company of loose Fellows, with whom (by Chance) he defeated a small Party of *Persians*, and was so vain in his Victory, that he besieg'd *Nisibis*. The Inhabitants laugh'd at him for his Presumption, and had no Apprehension of suffering much by such a Siege. Notwithstanding the Emperor had taken no Care to furnish *Martianus* with Necessaries



A.D. 571. ries to carry on the War; yet he was so puff'd up with the News of his slight Success, that he wrote to *Martianus* to send him the Keys of *Nisibis*; and because he did not, or rather could not obey his Commands, he order'd one *Acacius* to hasten into *Mesopotamia* to cashier *Martianus*, and prosecute the Siege. The Soldiers understanding their General was turn'd out of his Place, threw away their Arms, quitted the Siege and shifted every Man for himself.

Justin's  
Army  
throw a-  
way their  
Arms.

The *Persians* all this while were preparing to carry on the War with Vigour. *Chosroes* muster'd all his Forces, and divided them into two Bodies; with the one he resolv'd to drive the *Romans* from before *Nisibis*; and the other, commanded by *Artabanus*, his General, he order'd to pass the *Euphrates* and invade *Syria*. The latter, pursuant to his Orders, enter'd the *Roman* Territories, wast'd them with Fire and Sword. He in vain attempted the City of *Antioch*, which had been lately re-built, and was defended by the Inhabitants with so much Resolution, that *Artabanus* was forc'd to raise the Siege. He then master'd and burnt *Heraclea*. The same he did by *Apamea*, contrary to his Promise to the Citizens, who surrendred on Articles. The Bishop and Governor he carry'd back with him into *Persia*, where he joyn'd the King, who was lain down before *Daras*, the Barrier of the Eastern Provinces. The *Romans* made a brave Defence for five Months against their united Powers, and might have held out longer, had they not been betray'd by the Governor.

572.

The Persi-  
ans take  
Heraclea  
and Apa-  
mea

This Place was of such Importance, that as soon as *Justin* heard 'twas lost, he fell distracted, and became unfit for the Administration of Publick Affairs. The Successes of the *Avari* on the *Danube*, where they had lately been too hard for his General *Tiberius Constantinus*, and recover'd the Overthrow he gave them in the beginning of the War, contributed to his Madness. This General, by Birth a *Thracian*, being a Man of great Interest in the Army, and equally acceptable to the People, undertook the Government of the State, by the Advice of the Empress *Sophia*. His first Care was to procure a Peace with *Chosroes*; and to this end he made Choice of one *Trajan*, famous for his Wisdom and Virtue, to go without any Character to the *Persian* King.

573.

Justin runs  
distracted.  
The Avari  
too hard for  
Tiberius.  
Tiberius  
takes on  
him the Go-  
vernment.

King, and carry him Letters from the Empress, who A.D. 573. wrote him in a very moving Stile, *That her Husband was sick and confin'd to his Bed, and 'twould not be much for his Glory to make War with a sick Man and a Woman. She reminded him of the last Emperor's Friendship towards himself, when he was ill, to send him Provisions, and pray for his Health; and she hop'd he would not in Return invade the Empire, when it was in no State of Prevails Defence, and utterly destitute of Support and Succour.* with Chofroes out of Humanity, or good Nature, gave over his Design to enter with all his Power into the Roman Territories, concluded a Truce for three Years, and consented, that *Armenia* should be compris'd in it. *make Peace for three Years.*

Thus stood Affairs in the East, in the Tenth Year of Justin's Reign, while the Lombards rag'd in the West. 574. Pavia surrendred after a Siege of 3 Years and 3 Months. Alboin was so enrag'd with the Garrison and Inhabitants, for holding out so long, that he swore to put them all to the Sword. The King making his Entry at St. John's Gate in the Eastern Part of the City, his Horse fell under him, and whatever he did to him, he could not make him rise; which one of his Lombards observing, *A Fabulous he said to him, Sir, This City is inhabited by Christians, Story about a Vertuous and Religious People, and you must break your Oath to destroy them before you will be permitted to enter it.* Alboin's entering Pavia. The King hearkning to his Advice, promis'd to Pardon the Citizens, and *says our Author,* his Horse presently rose, and he rode to the Royal Palace built by Theodoric, where he was saluted King by the joyful Citizens; there he staid, resolving to make it the place of his Residence, and it was ever after the Seat of the Lombard Kings. *Makes it the Seat of the Lombard Kings.*

Alboin Reign'd quietly as long as he liv'd, the Roman Exarch being not strong enough to give him any considerable Disturbance. In the Sixth Year of his Reign in Italy, the Tenth of Justins, he feasted his Nobility in the City of Verona: The Queen being his second Wife, Rosamond, Daughter of Cunimond, King of the Gepidae, was present at the Feast; and when he was almost Drunk, he commanded the Servants to fill her some Wine in a Cup he had made of her Father's Scull, whom he had slain in Battle, and had since marry'd his Daughter, to ingratiate himself with the Gepidae his new Subjects.

**A.D. 574.** Subjects. The Queen, whom he forc'd to drink out of that detested Bowl, in Horror of his Insolence and Barbarity to her self, and the Memory of her Father, was so incens'd, that she conspir'd with *Helmichis*, his Armour-Bearer, to destroy him, promising to marry *Helmichis*, and to assist him in getting into his Master's Throne as well as into his Bed. The Temptation was too fair for one of his Circumstances to resist; he joyn'd in the Conspiracy; and to strengthen their Interest, he advis'd her to engage *Peredeo*, a Man of great Power in the Kingdom, who refusing flatly to be concern'd in the Treason, she had recourse to a filthy Stratagem: She knew *Peredeo* had an Intrigue with one of her Ladies, and when the Hour was come that he us'd to meet her, she plac'd her self in the Lady's Room, and lay with him, who thought all the while that he was embracing his own Mistress. After their Caresses were over, the Queen discover'd her self to him, and gave him to understand, that having done what he did, there was no Security for him, but in the King's Death. The Man was so terrify'd with the Apprehension of his Danger, or rather so pleas'd with his Fortune, that he consented to do all that she requir'd of him. One Day, as the King lay asleep on his Bed, after Dinner, his

*Rosamund sacrifices her Chastity to her Revenge.*

*She forms a Conspiracy against Alboin, and has him murder'd.*

*And flies to Ravenna to the Roman Exarch.*

Wife ty'd his Sword so fast in the Scabbard, it could not suddenly be drawn out, and then she admitted *Peredeo* and *Helmichis*, who attack'd him, and *Alboin* waking at the noise of their Entrance, defended himself with a Stool, when he found he could not draw his Sword. In the end he was overpower'd and slain. His Body was bury'd under a Stair-case, and *Helmichis* attempted to seize on the Crown; but the *Lombards* strenuously oppos'd it, alledging, he ought rather to be call'd to an Account for the Death of the late King, than advanc'd to his Dignity. *Rosamund* seeing she could not gain her Ends to make him King, however perform'd that part of the Agreement that related to her self; she marry'd him, and sent to *Longinus* the Exarch to dispatch away a Ship to receive her aboard, that she might make her escape to him at *Ravenna*. The Exarch readily comply'd with her Request; so she stole away with her new Husband, and all the Jewels, Gold and other Treasure that belong'd to *Alboin*, by whom she

she had a Daughter nam'd *Albivinda*, who accompany'd A.D. 574<sup>2</sup> her in her Flight.

*Longinus* being of a very Amorous Constitution, fell in *Longinus* Love with her, and perswaded her to rid her self of *Hel-* the Exarch  
*Michis*, and marry him. She was fond enough of be- falls in  
ing Mistress of *Ravenna*; and *Helmichis* having done Love with  
the Drudgery she set him about, she had no further Oc- ber.  
casion of his Service; so she prepar'd a Dose of Poyson,  
and gave it to him as he rose out of his Bath. *Helmichis* She is for-  
perceiving what it was, drew his Sword and forc'd her ced to drink  
to drink what he had left in the Bowl, which was suf- Poyson by  
ficient to send her out of the World, and they fell to- one of the  
gether, a dreadful Example of the Divine Vengeance Conspira-  
on Traitors and Murderers. On the Death of the tors, whom  
Queen and her Gallant, *Longinus* sent *Albivinda* and she had  
the Treasures she brought with her to *Constantinople*, marry'd.  
whither, 'tis said, *Peredeo* fled from the Fury of the  
*Lombards*, who Elected *Clephis*, a Person of the most E- Clephis  
minent Rank for Quality and Reputation among them, chosen  
to be their King. His Wife *Massana* was Crown'd King of the  
with him; and he extended the Territories of the *Lom-* Lom-  
*bards* to the Gates of *Rome*, which City was govern'd bards.  
by a Duke under the Exarchs of *Ravenna*. *Clephis* for 575.  
his Tyranny and Cruelty was murder'd, together with Murder'd  
his Wife, by a Boy in his Family. who was set upon it by a Boy.  
by some Principal Men, whom he had offended. Af-  
ter his Death most of the Governors of the *Italian* Ci-  
ties set up for themselves; no less than Thirty of them 30 Chief  
at once assum'd the Supream Power within the Limits of Men of the  
their Governments at *Pavia*, *Zababanes*, at *Milan*, *Au-* Lombards  
*boin*, at *Bergamo*, *Willar*, *Comus* at *Trent*, *Alachis* at in several  
*Brescia*, and *Gisulphus* at *Friuli*, took upon them the Places call  
the Sovereign Title of Duke, each in his Province; themselves  
the same did others in other Parts. Tho' they did not Dukes and  
agree very well among themselves, yet they were all of assume So-  
one Mind in their Hatred to the *Italians*, whom they vereign  
Robb'd and Murder'd, rifling the very Churches, burn- Power.  
ing the Towns and Villages that fell under their Pow-  
er. The Exarch wasted his Time at *Ravenna* in the  
Pleasures of a Luxurious Court, and suffer'd the *Lom-*  
*bards* to maké Inroads as far as the Suburbs of *Rome*,  
which they burnt, demolish'd several Monuments of  
the Martyrs, and carry'd away their Relicks. *Zaba-*  
*banes*



A.D. 575. *banes* and two others of the *Lombard* Dukes, with their united Forces past the *Alps* and invaded *Gaul*. They were oppos'd by *Amatus* the Patritian, whom *Gontran*, King of *Orleans*, sent with an Army against them. Him they defeated, and enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of *Bourges* and *Burgundy*. In their Retreat homewards loaden with Booty, *Mummulus*, another of *Gontran*'s Generals, attack'd them near *Ambun* in *Dauphine*, overthrew them, and forc'd them to leave the greatest Part of their Plunder behind them. Ten Years was *Italy* oppress'd by these Thirty *Lombard* Tyrants, at the end of which Term the several principal Cities were re-united into one Monarchy, under *Antharis* the Son of *Clephis*, who was unanimously chosen to sit in his Father's Throne.

*Antharis*  
the Son of  
*Clephis*  
is chosen  
King by  
them all.

576.

The next Year the Truce with *Persia* was to expire, and the Empress *Sophia* finding there were no Hopes of the Emperor's Recovery, got him in the Intervals of his Reason to make *Tiberius* his Colleague. At the Solemnity of his Inauguration the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Senate and great Officers of the Crown being present, when *Justin* had invested him with the Imperial Robe and Mantle, he is reported to breath forth in a Rapture, and speak thus to him, like one that was divinely inspir'd, *Be not so dazzled with the Splendor of these Ornaments as to be misled by it. Be not deceiv'd with the glorious Appearance of those things that flatter the Senses. I have been too much charm'd and deluded by them, and have brought my self by it into this miserable Condition: Do then, by Moderation and Prudence, redress what I have foolishly committed. By no means be rul'd by these Men, pointing to the Courtiers; for those are the very Persons to whom I owe my Ruin.* The Assembly were mightily astonish'd and mov'd to hear a Madman speak such Divine Truths in such a Pathetick manner, as drew Tears from the whole Auditory.

*Justin's*  
fine Orati-  
on to him  
on that Oc-  
casion.

Justin

*Justin II. Tiberius II.*

THEY made so great an Impression on the Mind of *Tiberius*, that he immediately apply'd himself to redress the Grievances the Provinces lay under, and then prepar'd a potent Army to defend the East from the Attempts of the *Persian King*, who was marching to Besiege *Cæsarea*, the Capital City of *Cappadocia*. Before the Truce was quite expir'd, he enter'd and overran *Armenia*. The new Emperor had rais'd no less than 150 Troops of choice Horse. He mounted the Troopers very well, cloath'd them and arm'd them better than the *Roman Soldiers* had been Equip'd for a long while; with these, and a Body of Foot answerable in Number and Equipage to the Cavalry, he order'd *Justinian*, the Brother of *Justin*, to advance towards the Enemy. But to prevent the Effusion of Blood, he sent Ambassadors to *Chosroes* with Instructions to get him to prolong the Truce, and propose a Treaty of Peace. The King proud of his Conquest of *Daras* and *Armenia*, haughtily bad the Ambassadors follow him to *Cæsarea*, where, perhaps, he would vouchsafe them Audience. But when he saw the Imperial Army appear, when he beheld their glittering Arms, heard the neighing of their Horses, and all the dreadful Pomp of War, especially at the sight of the Cavalry, an Appearance, that the *Romans* had not of late made in the Field, he sigh'd out of Sorrow, that he had refus'd an Honourable Treaty, and out of Fear declin'd the Battle. Doubting his own Strength he endeavour'd to put his Stratagems in Practice, and spin out the Time till he could see a fair Opportunity to draw off, which *Curs* a *Scythian*, who led the Right Wing of the *Roman Army* perceiving, he would not suffer him to dally with them. He charg'd the Left Wing of the *Persians* with such Violence, that they gave Ground, and put the rest of their Forces in Disorder: Then the *Romans* fell upon their Rear, where all their Baggage and Treasure was posted. This they took, together with the Holy Fire, which *Chosroes* worshipp'd as his God. The King stir'd not during the Action. When Night came on, and the *Romans* divided them-

*Chosroes  
overthrown  
Armenia.*

A.D. 576. themselves into two Bodies. The better to follow the Pursuit, He order'd great Fires to be made, and attack'd one of the Bodies of the *Roman Army*, forc'd his way thro' them, seiz'd *Milivina* in the less *Armenia*, which the Inhabitants had deserted, and made towards the *Euphrates*, intending to re-pass the River. The *Romans* joyn'd their two Bodies into one, and persu'd him so close, that he was oblig'd to shift for himself, and slip away on an Elephant. The greatest part of his Army were either kill'd by their Enemies, or drown'd in the *Euphrates*, endeavouring to pass the River. *Justinian* ravag'd the Borders of *Persia*, and Winter'd in the Enemy's Country. In *June* following he march'd back, *Chosroes* being so weary of the War, that he made a Law, that no King of *Persia* should ever after take Arms against the *Roman Emperor*. The Grief of his late Disgrace stuck so close to his Heart, that it threw him into a Disease, which kill'd him soon after he had made that Law, which was a Scandalous Monument of his Flight; and his Successors, ashamed of his Weakness, took no notice of it, thinking it too Infamous to be binding.

Chosroes  
dies.

And dies  
of Grief.

578. *Agathias* relates his Death in another manner, he says, That he retir'd to a Village on the *Carduchian Mountains*, to refresh himself during the Heats of the Summer, and from thence beholding the Fires which were kindled by the *Romans*, who under the Conduct of *Mauritius* the Son of *Paul*, one of *Tiberius's* Generals, had pass'd the River *Zirino*, and made an Irruption into the Country of *Araxes*: He was so troubled to see his Towns and Cities in Flames, that he Dy'd of immoderate Grief. Certain it is, he was one of the greatest Princes that ever sat on the Throne of *Cyrus*, being endu'd with all the Moral Vertues. He was Brave, Generous, Merciful, Just, and wanted nothing but the Knowledge of the Faith of Christ, whose Servants were those that had reason to speak the worst of him; to render him worthy of the Sirname of *Great*, by which he is known in History. Some Authors mention'd by *Evagrius*, have reported that he was Baptiz'd before he dy'd, to which we cannot give Credit. Yet we must acknowledge that tho' he was sometimes too severe to the Professors of the Christian Religion, at

others

others he spoke of their God and their Religion with A.D. 578. Reverence.

The *Lombards* while the Imperial Arms were employ'd in the East, seiz'd *Chiassi* and put a Garrison into it. The Town lies three Miles to the South of *Ravenna*, and *Faroald* Duke of *Spoletto* who took the Place, design'd by it to Curb that City the Residence of the Exarch, who durst not stir out of the Town. They block'd up *Rome* her self, and very much streightned the Inhabitants for want of Provisions. Which the Emperor *Tiberius* hearing, he equipt a good Fleet of Ships, put aboard a Body of his Forces, and order'd them to relieve *Rome*. The *Lombards* on News of the *Roman's* approach, broke up from before the City, consented to a Truce, and liv'd quietly as long as they thought it their Interest.

*The Lombards block up Rome.*

*They quit it.*

While the *Persian* War lasted, *Tiberius* could not send the Exarch such Assistance as the necessity of his Government requir'd. But as soon as that was over, he took care to provide for the safety of his Territories in *Italy*, as he had done to defend his Frontiers in *Asia*. *Justin* the Emperor continu'd in a weak Distracted Condition till the next Year, and then his Distempers growing upon him he Dy'd, having Reign'd about 14 Years. When he drew near his end, he sent for his Colleague *Tiberius*, the Patriarch *Eutichius*, who was recall'd from Banishment, and the Senate: Before whom he Address'd himself thus to *Tiberius*, Consider these Imperial Robes as the Gift of Almighty God, and not mine. Honour thy Mother (meaning the Empress *Sophia*) remembering thou was first her Servant and then her Son. Delight not in Blood. Keep thy Hands clean from it. And never return Evil for Evil, as I have done, who am an Offender and a guilty Person, under the Rod of Divine Justice, suffering for my Sins. Be not Proud of thy Dignity. Look on thy Subjects as thy Children. Do not forget what thou hast been, and then thou wilt not rabe grow too Presumptuous on what thou art now. Compare my Speech be- present State with my past, and let it be a Lesson to thee. I depended on thy Vertues when I call'd thee to the Throne. Take care that thou dost not give the Common-wealth cause to Curse my Memory for the Choice I made. Be kind to the Army. Admit none into it of whose Discretion and

579.

*Justin dies.*

*Tiberius and the Senate.*



A.D. 579. *Courage thou art not assur'd. Protect the Rich in their lawful Property, and Relieve the Necessities of the Poor. What I advise thee to do and to avoid is from my own Experience.* The Patriarch then said Prayers, and the whole Assembly concluded with *Amen.* Tiberius falling at the Emperor's Feet, told him, *Sir, I am at your Disposal, all that I have and am is yours.* Justin reply'd, *The God that made Heaven and Earth, put into thy Heart what I have forgotten.* The Auditory were extreamly touch'd with the pious Counsel of the Dying Emperor, whose Strength failing, he soon after Breath'd his last.

Tiberius's  
submissive  
Reply.

We have already given some Account of Justin the Second's Vices and Character; which shews that he was Courous and Vicious, yet the Speeches he made at Tiberius's Inauguration, and his own Death, are Instances of his lucid Intervals of Vertue as well as Reason. In the worst part of his Life he mingled some good Deeds with his bad ones, and this must be said of him, That tho' some of his Predecessors might Live, none of them Dy'd better than this Emperor.

## Tiberius II.

A Faction  
in favour  
of Justinian,  
Justin's  
Brother.

Tiberius avoided going to the Circus in State to see the Shows, as the Custom was for the new Emperor to do; being inform'd that a Faction was made in favour of Justinian the Brother of Justinus, who intended to do him some Mischief had he gone thither. He went privately to Church, perform'd his Devotions, sent for the Patriarch, the Præfect and other Officers to the Palace, where he was Crown'd with the loud Acclamations of all the Spectators. The Faction who were disappointed by his not coming to the Cirque, stole away every Man to his Home, and Justinian came to Court, threw himself Prostrate before the Emperor, who receiv'd him favourably, and Commanded him to attend his Person. Justinian Presented Tiberius with no less than fifteen Centenaries to bring him into a good Humour, to which he was naturally inclin'd.

1.  
47160.

The Empress Sophia had been very instrumental in Justin's Preferring Tiberius to Justinian his Kinsman.

She had in view, that the latter being a single Man A.D. 579 would Marry her, and so her Authority might be continu'd should *Justin* dye before her. On the Death of the late Emperor, *Tiberius* having no Collegue to controul him, brought out a Lady he had privately Marry'd while he was a Subject, whose Name was *Anastasia*, own'd her for his Wife and had her Proclaim'd *Augusta*. The Empress Dowager was so enrag'd at this balk, that she practis'd with some of *Justinian's* Friends to advance him to the Throne. Of the Em- which the Emperor having notice at the time when he *press Dow-* was in the Country to Celebrate the Vintage by Thir- *ager* ager So- ry Days Feast, as his Predecessors were wont to do, *phia for* He remov'd immediately to *Constantinople*, seiz'd her *him.* Person and all her Treasures, leaving her only a Suffici- *she is* ency to supply her with Necessaries. He remov'd her *seiz'd.* old Servants, and plac'd such as he could confide in, to wait upon her. He chid *Justinian* and some time after took from him all his Offices; for a Competitor in Empire is a Grievance that the best of Princes cannot endure, without shewing that like other Men they *Justinian* are subject to humane Frailties. In his room *Mauritius* *disgrac'd,* was made General of the East. He was Born at *Are-* *Mauritius* *bissus* in *Cappodocia*; but by descent he was a *Roman*; *advanc'd to* His Ancestors removing from old *Rome* into *Asia*. He *the Com-* is commended for his Wisdom, Diligence, Constancy, *mand of* Continence and Piety. Add to these his Valour and *the Army.* Success, which render'd him the most Illustrious Person in the Empire.

*Tiberius* soon after *Justin's* Death, dispatch'd away 580. Embassadors to *Hormisdas* the third, King of *Persia*, to notifie his Advancement to the Imperial Throne, and to propose a Treaty of Peace, which *Hormisdas* reject-ed with scorn. The Emperor resenting the Affront offer'd him by a haughty young Tyrant, order'd *Mauritius* to bring him to reason. *Mauritius* with a Powerful Army enter'd his Territories, Fought and Defeated the *Persians*, Plunder'd their Camp, and sent the Captives *He defeats* and the King's Treasures which were taken, to *Constan-* *the Persi-* *ans.* *tinople*. The Emperor gave the Prisoners their Liberty without Ransom, Cloth'd them Richly and dismiss'd them. The young King levy'd another Army, and gave the Command of it to *Tasso Cosroes* and *Advarmanes*. Him- self

A.D. 580. self, in Obedience to a Law he had made, *That no King of Persia should for the future be present in Person at any Battel*, staid at Home. *Tiberius* had for some time been purchasing Slaves of the *Hunns*, whom he order'd to be instructed in the Art of War, form'd them into regular Troops, and now sent them into the East to *Mauritius*, who posted his Forces in *Mesopotamia*, to oppose the *Persian* Generals. *Evagrius* is very short in the Relation of this War, referring it to another History he intended to write, which was never written, or is lost; and no other Historian gives us any larger Account of *Mauritius's* Actions. He says in general terms, that he took Provinces and Cities, a prodigious Treasure, and such a vast number of Captives, that he fill'd whole Islands with them, and Peopled Countries that had lain for a long time Desolate and Waste.

He form'd mighty Armies out of his Prisoners, and successfully employ'd them in other Parts of the Empire against the Enemies of the Common-Wealth. He overcame *Tamo Cosroes* not so much by the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers as by his own Piety and trust in God, *the Giver of all Victory*. He put *Advarmanes* to flight and slew most of his Men, tho' *Alamandurus* Captain of the *Arabian* Auxiliaries betray'd, him and *Theodoric* who commanded the *Scythian* Troops that serv'd under him, basely ran away in the Battel.

581.

582.

He mar-  
ries the  
Emperor  
Tiberius's  
Daughter  
Constantina.  
Is Created  
Cæsar.

500 Jews  
Baptiz'd at  
a time in  
Tours.

These Transactions happen'd in this and the two following Years. After which *Mauritius* return'd in Triumph to *Constantinople*, to whom the Emperor gave his Daughter *Constantina* in Marriage, and Created him Cæsar, in August 582. The *Persian* King was so mortify'd by his late Misfortunes, that he sent Embassadors to desire Peace, which was concluded, but not long observ'd, as will be shewn in its proper place. The Church all this while remain'd Quiet and Happy except in some Parts of *Italy* and *Spain*, where the *Lombards* and *Goths* who were *Arians*, Persecuted all the Orthodox that were subject to them. We are told that no less than 500 Jews were Baptiz'd at one time in the City of *Tours* in *Gall*. And in *Spain* another Convert of much more Importance to the Church was made by the means of a Woman. *Leuvigild* King of the

the *Goths* in that Province in the Pontificate of Pope *Benedic*, who succeeded *John III.* took his two Sons, *Hermenigild* and *Recarede* to be his Companions in the Royal Authority. To the Elder he gave *Sevil* and the Country round about it. To the Younger, *Reccopolis* in *Aragon*, and the Territories lying on the *Guadiela* which falls into the *Tagus* near *Pastrana*. *Hermenigild* Marry'd *Fugonda* Daughter of *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia*, Lorrain. a Nation of the *Franks*. This Princess being Orthodox, with great Constancy resisted the Temptations of her Husband's Mother *Gosvinda* to turn *Arian*. The Old Woman enrag'd to find her Proof against her Perswasions, try'd whether she could not by force compel her to change her Religion; she gave her abusive Language, threw her down and drag'd her about by the Hair of her Head; and made her fall into a Fish-Pond with an Intention to Drown her. The Resolution which she shew'd on this occasion to stand firm in the Profession of her Faith, workt on the Mind of *Hermenigild*, who began to have a good Opinion of a Religion that render'd its Professors so Zealous: His Wife's Example and her Arguments prevail'd so far upon him, that he renounc'd his Heretical Faith and profess'd the Catholick Creed. *Leuwigild* set on by his Wife, rais'd *Hermenigild* an Army to oblige his Son by force to recant his new child *thick King* Opinions, and *Hermenigild* sent *Leander* Bishop of *Sevil* *Converted by his Wife.* to the Emperor *Tiberius* to implore his Assistance, where he contracted a Friendship with *Gregory the Great*, then Resident for Pope *Pelagius II.* *Benedict's* Successor, at *Constantinople*. *Tiberius* order'd Supplies to be Transported to *Spain*. The Commander on his Arrival was Brib'd for a large Sum of Gold to side with the Father, tho' his Commission was to assist the Son. *Hermenigild* deserted by his Friends and Confederates was forc'd to fly from *Sevil*, which his Father Besieg'd and reduc'd. His Son having no Information of the Treason of the *Romans*, threw himself into their Hands. But finding they had espous'd his Father's Quarrel, he took Sanctuary in a Church. From whence he was perswaded by his Brother *Recarede* to come forth on promise of Pardon, which *Leuwigild* confirm'd by an Oath. *Hermenigild* fell Prostrate before his Father, who in appearance receiv'd him with Joy, Embrac'd and Kiss'd him.



A.D. 582. him. Yet a few Days after he stript him of his Regalia and Imprison'd him in the City of *Sevil*, where he liv'd for some Months with his Hands ty'd behind him and Fetters on his Legs ; spending his time in Acts of Penitence and Devotion. His Father sent an *Arian* Bishop to Administer the Holy Sacrament to him, according to the manner of these Hereticks. The Prince turn'd from him with disdain, at which *Leuvigild* was

so highly incens'd, that he order'd his Head to be Cut off. Pope *Sextus I.* Canoniz'd him.

His Father rais'd a violent Persecution against the Catholics, which lasted many Years, and made many Apostates. Among the rest *Vincentius* Bishop of *Saragossa*. He seiz'd the Revenues of the Church. Put to Death several of his Nobles. Enrich'd his Crown with their Estates. Banish'd *Leander* Bishop of *Sevil*, and other Catholics. Threatning to Extirpate the Orthodox Doctrin in his Dominions; but God in his Mercy call'd him to Judgment a Year after, and *Leander* returning to his Diocess converted *Recarede*, who Reign'd

in his stead, and had the Title of Catholick given him, which the Kings of *Spain* stil'd themselves long before *Ferdinand V.* was so call'd. We have made bold with Chronology, and plac'd all these Events together in this Year, tho' they happen'd some of them five or six Years before, and some as long after it. We should not omit to acquaint the Reader, that about this time, according to *Mariana*, the grand Imposture *Mahomet* the *Arabian*, was Born; whose Blasphemous and Absurd Tenets, in a few Years from the Date of their being Publish'd, got so many Voraries as to stand in opposition to the Law of Christ, the Saviour of the World, and at last to tread it under foot in the East, and throughout the whole *Roman Empire*. The Error of whose ways was permitted to mislead the Sons of Men, that for more than 200 Years had wandered from the pure light of the Gospel, in Paths of Heretical Darknesh and Popish Superstition.

Not long before *Tiberius* the Emperor dy'd, *Chagan* King of the *Avari* invaded *Pannonia*, took *Sirminium* and threaten'd to proceed into *Mesia* and *Thrace*, unless *Tiberius* would pay him a certain Sum of Money, and send him an Elephant yearly. This the Emperor

is murder'd  
by his Fa-  
ther's Com-  
mand, and  
Canoniz'd  
by the Pope.

His Bro-  
ther *Reca-  
rede* King  
of *Spain*,  
has the Ti-  
tle of Ca-  
tholick  
conferr'd  
on him by  
the Pope.  
*Mahomet*  
Born.

(for

(for Peace sake) comply'd with: But the *Barbarian* A.D. 582.  
 growing more insolent, and demanding more Money,  
 he order'd his Forces to march against him. They no  
 sooner appear'd, than the *Avari*, who expected to be  
 paid for the Mischief they had done, retir'd with Pre-  
 cipitation and quitted the Empire. 'Tis uncertain what  
 Year the Emperor dy'd in. Some Authors place his  
 Death in this; others three Years forward, which being  
 least follow'd, we choose rather to copy after those  
 that affirm he dy'd on the 14th. of *August* 582. All agree,  
 that *Mauritius* was invested with the Imperial Orna-  
 ments before his Death, in the Presence of the Patri-  
 arch, and *John* the Orator, who, *Tiberius* being weak,  
 advis'd *Mauritius*, in the Emperor's Name, To raise a  
*Beautiful Monument to his Predecessor by his good Govern-*  
*ment; To Adorn his Tomb with his Virtues, and not dis-*  
*appoint the Expectations of the People committed to his*  
*Charge; To continue in the way he walk'd, to be Morally*  
*and Liberally good; To restrain the Insolence of Power by*  
*the Force of Reason, and wisely steer the Vessel of Autho-*  
*rity by the Arts of Philosophy; Empire being too apt to him at his*  
*change the Minds of Man and swell the most Humble into death.*  
*Pride and Arrogance.* He added, *Do not flatter thy Self*  
*that thy Wisdom like thy Power is Supream. Rule thy*  
*Subjects more by Affection than Fear. Prefer Sincerity*  
*to Dissimulation. Learn to look on thy Imperial Purple as*  
*a vile Rag, and on the Jewels in thy Diadem, as Peb-*  
*bles; for thou wilt by comparing thy Duty with thy*  
*Greatness, find that thy Monarchy is no better than a*  
*Splendid Servitude.* He told him, *He Spoke to him as*  
*a Father to his Son, and requir'd the same Obedience to*  
*his Precepts, as a Parent expects from a Child.* Much  
 more he said to him to this Purpose, which had as good  
 an effect on *Mauritius*, as *Justin's* Advice had on him-  
 self. *Tiberius* was extremely Lamented by his Subjects,  
 who would have Wept for him and Mourn'd much more,  
 if the Joy of *Mauritius's* Advancement had not mitiga-  
 ted their Sorrow. The late Emperor was in his Per-  
 son the handsomest Man in his Dominions, and the  
 best in his Disposition. He had a noble Soul, was Mild,  
 Merciful, Generous and Just. So Charitable that *Sophia*  
 the Empress reprov'd him for it during the Life of *Justin*.  
 Telling him, *By giving at that rate he would make his*  
*Treasury*

*Mauritius*  
*declar'd*  
*Augustus.*

*Tiberius's*  
*Advice to*

*Tiberius's*  
*Character.*

.D. 582. *Treasury Poor.* He reply'd, *My Exchequer will never be empty as long as the Poor shall be allow'd to take out of it.* Adding, *This is the great Treasure of which 'tis said in Scripture, Make to your Selves Treasures in Heaven,* &c. We are told that this Vertue of his receiv'd a Reward while he was upon Earth; for an Old Man came to him and discover'd the Place where *Narses's* Riches were laid, when he was apprehensive that they would have been Confiscated. Short was his Reign, four Years with *Fustin*, and as many alone; yet in that little time he became so dear to his People, that nothing but their Hopes of *Mauritius's* treading in his Steps could have comforted them.

### *Mauritius.*

Mauritius's Clemency.

583.

Smaragdus Exarch of Ravenna.

THIS Emperor began his Government by giving an Instance of his extraordinary Clemency towards those Persons that had incur'd his Displeasure when he was a private Man. *Alamandurus* the Arabian Captain deserted him in the East when he was engag'd with the Enemy, and *Naamanes* his Son had wasted *Phœnicia* and *Palæstine*. The former he only Banish'd to *Sicily*, and kept the latter under Confinement. The Solemnity of his Coronation, which was perform'd by *John* Sirnam'd *Jejeunator* the Patriarch, was very Magnificent: As soon as that was over he sent *Smaragdus* a Patriarchian into *Italy*, to take on him the Government, in the place of *Longinus* whom he recall'd. At the Solicitation of Pope *Pelagius*, who by *Gregory* his Resident, represented the Danger *Rome* was in, the *Lombards* threatening her with a Siege, and the Exarch being either too Weak or too Negligent to defend it.

584.

*Smaragdus* was an old Soldier, and brought with him a considerable Supply of Men and Arms, to the great Joy of the Citizens at *Ravenna*, who were streighten'd by the Garrison of *Chiassi*. Soon after his Arrival he drew over *Droctulfus*, a *Sweve*, and Captain of a Party in the Service of the *Lombards*, to his Interest. *Droctulfus*, to shew he was in earnest, secur'd *Vercelli* for the Emperor, a Town of great Importance to the *Romans*, for it had the Command of the *Po*; and hinder'd the *Lombard's* Communication with several Cities in their Possessi-

Possession : It also lay convenient to furnish *Smaragdus's* A.D. 534. Army with Provisions.

The new Exarch enter'd upon Action and open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Chiassi*. The loss of *Vercelli*, and the News of the *Romans* taking the Field, allarm'd the *Lombards*, and oblig'd the Thirty Dukes to resign their several Powers into the Hands of one Man, whose sole Authority might unite them all under one Head. They had thriv'd best while they were Govern'd by a King, and therefore they Elected *Antharis*, the Son of *Cleophis*, to Reign over them. He was a bold active Prince, fit to sit at the Helm in a time of Danger. To put his Subjects in heart, he undertook to recover *Vercelli*, where *Droctulfus* was prepar'd to receive him.

585.

The Siege being like to last some time, he had leisure to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom, which were in Confusion, occasion'd by an Inter-Regnum, or Anarchy of 10 Years. He assum'd the Sirname of *Flavius*, Commanding, that all his Successors should use it in Imitation of the *Roman* Emperors : He confirm'd the Thirty Tyrants, or Dukes, in their Titles and Authority, obliging them to pay him every three Years one half of their Yearly Revenues: He reinforc'd his Army by the Addition of new-rais'd Troops from all Parts of his Kingdom, with which he so distress'd the Garrison of *Vercelli*, that *Droctulfus* was forc'd to surrender. However, he procur'd Honourable Terms for himself and his Men, who march'd out with their Arms and Baggage. Having reduc'd this City, he put his Forces into Winter Quarters, where he Publish'd seasonable Laws for restraining the Licence of his Soldiers, requiring them to live orderly, to abstain from Rapine and Cruelty ; Adultery he punish'd with Death ; less Offences with Punishment answerable to the Nature of the Crime ; yet he still remain'd involv'd in Pagan Darkness, continuing as he was born, a Heathen, an Idolater, till a Year or two after his Election to the Sovereignty, when it pleas'd God to open his Eyes and shine upon him with the Rays of the Divine Truths, which work'd on him to Conversion.

585.

'Tis reported by the Monkish Authors, that a certain *Lombard* finding *St. Peter's* Golden Key, drew his Knife, intend-



A.D. 586. intending to cut it asunder, instead of which he was mov'd by some Invisible Power to direct the Blow to his own Throat, gave himself a Mortal Wound and dropt down dead. *Antharis* and his Nobility, some how or other to make out the Story, happen'd to be present, when the Fellow try'd to cut the Key, saw him fall, and were so amaz'd at the Miracle, that not one of them would venture to touch it. Upon which a Christian, who stood by, approach'd and took it up. The Sight of the Tragedy, and the Reason of it, had such an Influence on *Antharis*, that he, and all his Courtiers that were not Christians, turn'd from their Idolatry to worship the Name of Christ; but being instructed by an *Arian* Bishop, he was infected with that Heresie, which denying the Divinity of our Saviour, was hardly worth a Miracle to procure a Convert to it. The Key, with another made like it, he sent to Pope *Pelagius*, to whom it was a welcome Present, and has ever since been one of the best Flowers in his Garden. The Power of Binding and Loosing bringing more Money into his Coffers than all his Taxes and Impositions.

*Antharis*  
*King of the*  
*Lombards*  
*converted*  
*to Christi-*  
*anity by the*  
*Miracle of*  
*the Key.*

*He sends*  
*the Golden*  
*Key to the*  
*Pope.*

*Mauritius*  
*bribes*  
*Childe-*  
*bert King*  
*of the*  
*Franks to*  
*assist him.*  
*Childe-*  
*bert takes*  
*his Money,*  
*and is af-*  
*terwards*  
*brib'd by*  
*Antharis*  
*to forsake*  
*him.*

*Droctulfus* was conducted from *Vercelli* to *Ravenna*, and from thence he went with his Forces to the Siege of *Chiassi*; where observing that the Besieg'd had neglected to Fortify the Place towards the Sea, he advis'd *Smaragdus* to attack them on that side, which Advice he put in execution, and forc'd the Garison to surrender at Discretion. The *Romans* getting very little Ground in *Italy* by Skirmishing and Sieges, *Mauritius* sent Embassadors to *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, for Assistance. The Embassadors presented him with a good Sum of Mony, the best way of Treating with the *Franks*, which *Antharis* knew very well. And when *Childebert* led his Army into *Italy*, as he had promis'd the Emperor's Ministers to do, the *Lombards* brib'd him with a greater Sum to return home, without doing any thing for the first Mony he receiv'd. Thus we see how early the Kings of *France* were insensible of Honour and Justice, and never minded their Words any longer than 'twas for their Interest. The Emperor by another Bribe procur'd him a second time to pass the *Alps*, and then his Army Deserter'd before they arriv'd at the Borders of *Italy*.  
Once

Once more he order'd an Army to march against *Antharis*, A.D. 586. who was not rich enough to hold out Paying as long as *Childe-Mauritius*: These therefore he resolv'd to Oppose; to that end he met them, gave them Battle, and Overthrew 'em, few of them escaping.

*Childebert* resenting this Affront, made the Emperor's Quarrel his own, enter'd into a League Offensive and Defensive with him, promis'd to raise a mighty Army to act in *Italy* in conjunction with the *Romans*, whom *Mauritius* on his part, engag'd to reinforce with several fresh Regiments; which he either cou'd not raise in time, or did not care to trust the *French* too far. *Childebert* took *Bavaria* in his way, subdu'd it, and then entering *Italy*, he made himself Master of *Cisalpin Gaul*, a Province the *Lombards* had taken from his Father *Sigebert*. *Antharis* imagining his mighty Army after the first heat of his Revenge was over, would moulder away for want of Provisions, kept himself close in *Pavia*. As he guest, the *Franks* rov'd up and down the Country for two or three Months, and having lost most of their Men by the Heats, they return'd home, being forc'd to sell their Cloaths and their very Arms, to purchase Necessaries in their March.

*Antharis* from this time began to enjoy the Sweets of a peaceful Reign. The *Lombards* no more attempted to make War in *Italy*, till the Reign of *Pepin*; and *Mauritius* readily consented to a Truce, which was more Religiously observ'd by the *Lombards*, than any of their former Treaties.

We related what we cou'd learn of the *Persian War* in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and how *Mauritius* behav'd himself in it to the Emperor's Advantage and his own Glory. *Hormisdas* finding he cou'd make nothing of the War, sent an Embassy to the Emperor to conclude a Truce, which he broke as soon as he saw the Troubles in *Italy* were like to give *Tiberius* and *Mauritius* a powerful Diversion on that side; he levy'd a numerous Army, and invaded the Empire, killing and spoiling all before him. Against him *Mauritius* sent one *John* a *Thracian*, who with various Fortune manag'd the War in the East, till *Philippicus* the Emperor's Brother-in-Law was made General of the *Roman Armies* in those Provinces: He by his Liberality and affability was be-

*Childebert false to Antharis.*  
The Franks defeated by the Lombards

*Childebert invades Italy.*

*Is forc'd to retire.*

A Truce with the Lombards

A.D. 586. come very Popular, by which means, in a little while, he rais'd a new Army of Soldiers, that were earnest to fight under a Man they Lov'd; with these he joyn'd the Forces in the East, whom he reclaim'd from their Riot and Debauchery, by bringing them into a regular course of Discipline. Having prepar'd his Men for Action, he enter'd the Enemy's Country, and warily avoided an Ambuscade, which *Cardariga*, *Hormisdas's* General had laid for Him. He loaded his Men with Booty, and then return'd into the Roman Territories. In his second Excursion he met *Cardariga* advancing with the Persian Army to fight the Romans, so sure of Victory, that he had provided Chains for his Prisoners. *Phillipicus* resolving to give him Battle, made a Speech to his Soldiers, exhorting them to put their confidence in *Christ*, and then order'd the Trumpets to sound a Charge. The Persians receiv'd them at first with extraordinary Courage; but the Romans pushing on with unusual Vigor, they forc'd the Enemy to retire, and at last to Run. The Romans persud'd them till Night. The next Morning, *Cardariga* rally'd his Troops, and again Engag'd *Philippicus*. In this Fight he came off worse than in the former; the Rout was general and irrecoverable, himself with difficulty making his Escape. Two Thousand Persian Captives were sent to *Constantinople*. *Philippicus* Detatch'd *Heraclius* his Lieutenant, with a strong Party, to enter farther into the Persian Dominions, himself following with the main Body of the Army. *Cardariga*, who tho' he was Unfortunate, wanted not Courage, was inform'd by a Deserter, that the Roman Army was divided; and gathering all the remainder of his Army together, Attack'd the Romans, when they least expected any Disturbance from a Man they had twice Beaten. The Persians fell on *Philippicus's* Rear in the Night so furiously, that he Fled, in the Consternation it put him in; his Men ran after him with such speed, as made the Persians jealous of some Stratagem to draw them on to their Destruction: They gave over the Chase till Morning; when the Romans recollecting themselves, fac'd the Enemy, who saw too late what an Opportunity they had lost. *Heraclius* in the mean time past the *Tygris*. took several Cities, and return'd with a vast Booty to *Philippicus*, who was preparing to revenge the Affront

*Philipicus  
defeats the  
Persians.*

*Is himself  
put to  
Flight.*

Affront he had lately receiv'd from *Cardariga*, when A.D. 586. Orders came from Court for him to hasten thither, and leave the Command of the Army to *Priscus*. The Soldiers were extreemly displeas'd, both that *Philippicus* left them, and that *Priscus* was set over them. He was an old Officer, but Proud and Insolent; behaving himself so severely, that they rose upon him, Plunder'd his Tent, and forc'd him to fly to *Edeffa*. The Mutineers compell'd *Germanus*, Governor of *Phœnicia*, to take on him the Command, tho' he did all that he could to avoid it, alledging 'twas dangerous to do it without the Emperor's Commission. They put out and put in such Officers as they lik'd or dislik'd, and were grown so bold in their Rebellion, that when *Philippicus* by *Mauritius's* Order, return'd to the Army, they refus'd to submit to him.

*A Mutiny  
in the Ro-  
man Army*

The *Persians* improving the Confusion the *Roman* Troops were in, Invaded the Empire, and did much Mischief; at which the Soldiers were so Inrag'd, that they desir'd *Germanus* to lead 'em against the Enemy, whom they Defeated, and cut 'em all off, scarce leaving one of them to carry home the news of their Overthrow. The Emperor was very uneasie, while the Soldiers continu'd in their Disobedience: He therefore sent *Andreas* to endeavour to appease them; who, not succeeding in his Negotiation, *Mauritius* desir'd *Gregory*, Bishop of *Antioch*, to undertake it. *Gregory* had reliev'd the Soldiers often in their Marches, and was generally belov'd by them for his Piety and Charity. At his Request the principal Mutineers gave him a Meeting; to whom he represented *what a loss their Rebellion was to the Empire, that 'twas in their Power to ease her of her Fears of any more Invasions by the Persians.* He us'd so many forcible Arguments, that they at last comply'd with his Desires, and promis'd to be obedient to their old General *Philippicus*, whose Pardon they beg'd for what was past, which he willingly gave them, put himself at their Head and led 'em against *Murazes*, a new General, who had taken the Field with the *Persian* Army, as numerous as any of the former; a convincing Proof of the Power of the Monarchy of *Persia*, that having lost three potent Armies in the Compass of two or three Years, could raise another so soon, and be in a Condi-

587.

*Appeas'd  
by Grego-  
ry Bishop  
of Anti-  
och.*



A.D. 587. tion to take the Field against the Victors. The Romans were very seldom too hard for the Persians; and whenever the latter condescended to ask a Peace, the former were more ready to grant it, than they to desire it. *Philippicus* routed *Murazes's* Forces, put a great Number of them to the Sword, and among the rest, *Murazes* himself was kill'd by one of the Roman General's Guard.

588. In the Year following the City of *Antioch*, which seem'd to be re-built in Defiance of Eternal Justice, was destroy'd again by an Earthquake with no less than 60000 of her Inhabitants. And soon after in *Italy*, there happen'd such a terrible Inundation, that nothing had been seen like it since the Flood. The Waters rose as high as the Church-Windows; yet, if we can believe Pope *Gregory*, the Inside of the Churches continu'd dry, the Waters not daring to trespass on such Holy Ground. We are not at all fond of reporting Miracles, nor mixing the History of Winds and Weather with that of Kings and Common-Wealths; but when the Hand of God seems to appear visibly, in punishing Mankind by some extraordinary Revolutions in the Phænomena of Nature, we think 'tis the Duty of an Historian to transmit it to Posterity, for the Terror and Instruction of future Ages.

Antioch  
destroy'd by  
an Earth-  
quake, in  
which  
60000 Ci-  
tizens per-  
ish'd.  
An Inun-  
dation in  
Italy.  
A Popish  
Miracle.

While *Philippicus* was employ'd against the Persians on the *Tygris*, *Sittas*, a Senator of *Martyropolis* in the Greater Armenia, when the Garrison was drawn out to joyn the Army, betray'd the City to the Persians. *Philippicus* hasten'd thither to reduce it, tho' he wanted Necessaries for a Siege. The Soldiers having made several vain Attempts upon it, drew off; and whatever the General, or *Gregory* the Bishop could say to 'em, to persuade them to continue the Siege, they would not be prevail'd upon; so *Philippicus* put good Garrisons into some Neighbouring Castles to block up the Place, and then dispos'd of his Troops into Winter Quarters.

589.

The next Year the Persians attempted to throw Relief into the Town. *Philippicus* met the Party and routed them: However, so many of them got into the Place, as serv'd to reinforce the Garrison. The Roman General perceiving 'twas to no purpose for him to think of mastering the City, till his Warlike Engines were ready,

ready, built a Fort a Mile off, and resolv'd to stay there A.D. 589 till all things were prepar'd for him to give the Assault. Before he was provided of what he wanted, the Emperor recall'd him, and gave *Commentiolus*, a *Thracian*, the Command of the Army. The new General, to signalize his Entrance on his Office, march'd against the Enemy, who were advancing towards the Roman Frontiers in *Mesopotamia*, under the Conduct of *Bara-* <sup>The Persi-  
ans over-</sup> *mes*. He fought and overthrew them, kill'd most of their Officers, almost all the Soldiers, and the rest fled to *Nisibis*. *Hormisdas* threaten'd, if they did not bring back their Commanders with them, he would put 'em all to Death. The *Persians* knowing him to be cruel enough, to do as he said he would, began to think of their Preservation by conspiring to destroy him. *Commentiolus*, after he had beaten the *Persians*, took *Ochas*, situate on a steep Rock near *Martyropolis*, which he closely besieg'd, and streighten'd the Garrison more than ever. *Hormisdas* turn'd *Barames* out of his Office, and sent him a Woman's Habit, the greatest Affront that could be offer'd to a *Persian* Soldier. *Barames* in Revenge engages *Ferroabanes*, whom the King had order'd to succeed in his Command, by fair Promises to enter into a Conspiracy against his Master. He also persuaded *Bindois*, one of the Chief of the *Persian* Nobility, whom *Hormisdas* had lately releas'd out of Prison to joyn with them. The Soldiers were exasperated by counterfeited Letters dispers'd among them, importing, that *Hormisdas* intended to kill them all for their late Misfortune. His other Subjects hated the King for his Tyranny and Cruelty. Having concerted their Measures, *Bindois* boldly enter'd the Court, pull'd *Hormisdas* down from his Throne, snatch'd the Crown off his Head, and imprison'd him. The Nobility commanded he should be brought forth. They order'd his Wife and one of his Sons to be saw'd in pieces before his Face; then they put out his Eyes and threw him into a Dungeon. A dreadful Example of Divine Justice on Tyrants, to punish whom Providence often lifts up those Hands that had been instrumental in their Male-Administration, and turns their own Armies upon them. The Nobility advanc'd his Son *Chosroes II.* to his Throne. The new King was very kind to his Fa-

A.D. 589 ther, order'd him a large Allowance of Provisions, which he tramp'd under Foot; and *Chosroes* was so provok'd at his Ingratitude, that notwithstanding he wore the Sacred Names of King and Father, he commanded him to be Cudgell'd to Death.

*Cudgell'd to Death by his Son's Order.*

*Barames usurps.*

*Chosroes II. driv'n out of his Kingdom.*

*Flys to Mauritius*

*Is kindly entertain'd*

*The Roman General routs Barames,*

*590. And reinstates Chosroes in the Throne.*

Tho' the *Persians* were not sorry that their late King was kill'd, yet they did not approve of the manner of his Death, nor the Author of it. *Chosroes* farther offended them, by ordering some principal Men among them to be executed, on bare Suspicion that they were disaffected. *Barames* perceiving the Number of the Malecontents increas'd daily, usurp'd, and the Army revolted to him. *Chosroes* deserted by his Subjects and Soldiers, was in suspence whether he should fly to the *Turks*, or the Emperor. He mounted on Horse-back, took his Wife and two small Children with him, gave his Horse the Bridle, resolving to go whither the Beast directed him. The Horse led him and his Family, for a few of his Servants remain'd faithful to him, to *Circesum*, in the Province of *Osrhoena*, on the Frontiers of the Empire, from whence he sent to desire *Mauritius's* Protection and Assistance to recover his Dominions.

The Emperor, as well out of a Sense of Humanity commiserating the Distresses of fall'n Majesty, as out of Policy to embroil the Affairs of the *Persians*, invited him to *Constantinople*, where himself and the Empress treated *Chosroes* and his Wife like their Children, and furnish'd him with Troops and Money sufficient to restore him to his Kingdom. In his March towards *Persia* he call'd at *Martyropolis*, where he was receiv'd by the *Persians*, and put to Death the Traitor *Sittas*, the Citizens stoning him as he was leading to the Gallows. The Roman General routed *Barames*, suppress'd the Rebellion, and reinstated *Chosroes* in the Throne of *Cyrus*. *Martyropolis* and *Daras* were deliver'd to the Romans, in Gratitude for the good Offices they had done him: He also liberally rewarded *Gregory*, Bishop of *Antioch*, whom he presented with a Golden Cup set with Diamonds, and others that had interceded for him with the Emperor, tho' he afterwards ill requited the succeeding Emperors for *Mauritius's* Kindness to him and his Family.

We must now look back on the Affairs of *Italy*, which A.D. 590. we left under the Direction of *Smaragdus*; who, a Year after the Truce was made with *Antharis*, was recall'd to Court. In his room the Emperor sent *Romanus* to be his Exarch in *Italy*, where the *Lombards* were Masters of the best and most spacious Provinces. The *Smaragdus* Romans were confin'd to *Ravenna* and the Maritime Towns, with the Country about them. *Rome* herself was indeed subject to the *Roman* Emperor, tho' as her Master had but a poor Pretence to that Glorious Title; so she was no more like old *Rome*, under the old *Roman* Emperors, than she now resembles what she was even then. The *Latin* Tongue ceas'd about this Time to be spoken by her Citizens: It had long before been so corrupted by admitting barbarous Words into the Language, 'twas easy by her Speech to discover she had been a Slave to Barbarians: Her Bishop receiv'd a terrible Mortification soon after *Romanus's* Arrival; For a Council which assembl'd at *Constantinople*, had such a Respect for the Piety of the Patriarch *John Jejeunator*, that they thought him fit to govern the whole *Catholic* Church, and bestow'd on him the Title of *Universal Bishop*, long before the Bishop of *Rome* arrogantly took it upon himself, as his peculiar Prerogative, tho' the Popes for above two Centuries had pretended to Precedence. And as a Compliment, both the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Rome* had been sometimes styl'd *Oecumenical*, or *Universal*; but neither of them till now claim'd it as his Right Exclusive of all others. The Honour decreed by the Council to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was warmly oppos'd by *Gregory*, Resident for Pope *Pelagius* in *Mauritius's* Court. This Man was first a Soldier, then a Monk, then a Deacon, and now the Pope's *Apocrisary*, or *Nuncio*, as the Bishop of *Rome's* Ministers have since been call'd. He had such an ill Opinion of *John Jejunetor's* styling himself *Universal Bishop*, that he call'd *Gregory* him the *Forerunner* of *Antichrist*, thinking no Church but the *Whore* of *Babylon*, would give so imperious a Title to her Pastor, no ways becoming the Humility and Meekness of a *Christian* Presbyter; yet, in less than twenty Years, *Boniface III.* purchas'd the same Title of the Tyrant *Phocas*; and to obtain it, crown'd



A.D. 590. him as his lawful Sovereign, tho' he was a Traytor and Murderer. Gregory's exclaiming against the Honours given the Bishop of *Constantinople*, in prejudice to his Master the Pope, lost him the Favour of the Emperor, who made a Law, that no Soldier should turn Monk; and this Law reflecting on Gregory's deserting his Colours to get him Preferment in the Church, procur'd him the Hatred of that Priest, who, on the Death of *Pelagius*, was chosen Pope. He violently oppos'd that Law, and cry'd aloud against an Universal Monarchy in the Church. However, *Mauritius* taking care to govern all his Subjects with Clemency and Justice, doing in all things as he thought would conduce most to the Welfare of the State; neglected Gregory's Resentment, treated him with Contempt, went on in his own way, and without minding what a haughty Prelate said to the contrary, oblig'd him to Publish the Law we have spoken of.

*Mauritius  
despises  
him.*

In the following Year *Antharis* King of *Lombardy* dy'd at *Pavia*. On his Death the Chief of that Nation sent Agents to *Childebert* to desire Peace, which he granted them, being as unwilling to break with 'em, as they were to have him. The *Lombards* were to well pleas'd with the Queen Dowager *Theudelinda*, *Antharis*'s his Widow, Daughter to *Garibald*, King of *Bavaria*, that when they met to choose a King in the room of her late Husband, they unanimously agreed to refer the Election to her: She chose *Agilulf*, Duke of *Turin*, a near Kinsman of *Antharis*, whom she marry'd, and the *Lombards* heartily approv'd of her Choice. The Person being Wise, Valiant, and very well qualify'd to take the Charge of the Government upon him, he

*Agilulf  
succeeds  
him.*

592. was Crown'd in May 592 at *Milan*. He sent the Duke of *Trent*, his Ambassador, to the King of the *Franks* to conclude a Peace with him. *Minulf*, another of the thirty Dukes, he put to Death, for revolting to *Childebert*. *Gaidulph*, Duke of *Bergamo*, who had fortify'd himself in that City he reduc'd. He was convert-  
ed to the Christian Faith by the persuasive Arguments of his Wife *Theudelinda*, having liv'd in Pagan Idolatry till after his Marriage and Coronation: At his Baptism he took the Name of *Paul*. He was entirely Master of all the great Towns in *Italy*, *Ravenna* and *Rome* excepted.

*Is convert-  
ed to Chris-  
tianity by  
Theude-  
linda his  
Wife.*

*Rome*

*Romanus* the Exarch went from *Ravenna* to *Rome* in A.D. 593<sup>e</sup> the Year ensuing, taking in several Cities in his way which belong'd to *Agilulf*, particularly *Perusa*. *Maurisio* Duke of the Place for a Sum of Money betray'd that City and others in his Jurisdiction to him. *Agilulf* on News of his Revolt, march'd speedily from *Pavia* with a powerful Army, and Besieg'd *Maurisio* in *Perusa*. The Citizens made a vigorous Defence while it lasted, but being Over-power'd they were compell'd to submit and admit the King. *Agilulf* order'd *Maurisio* to be Slain, and threaten'd to march towards *Rome*, where the Inhabitants were in a terrible Fright on the Report of his Approach. However he contented himself with Burning and Spoiling the Country about it. The People of that and other Provinces which fell into his Hands he coupl'd like Dogs, and sold them to the *Franks* for Slaves. He recover'd the Places *Romanus* had Taken, and then march'd back to *Pavia*.

*Agilulf*  
couplies the  
Italians  
like Dogs,  
and sells  
them for  
Slaves to  
the *Franks*.

The Miseries the *Italians* endur'd by the Invasions of the *Lombards*, were aggravated by the oppression of the *Roman* Governors, from whom they suffer'd as much as from the *Barbarians*. Pope *Gregory* in a Letter to the Empress *Constantina*, writes, That the Impositions were so heavy, the Inhabitants of the Island of *Corfica* were forc'd to sell their Children to pay their Taxes, and at last to throw themselves into the Arms of the *Lombards* from the Violence of the Collectors and other Officers. In *Sicily* the poor People were so cruelly Opprest, that a whole Volume would not contain the number of their Grievances. He complains that the *Roman* Officers themselves obstructed the Peace, hoping to go Unpunish'd for their Misdemeanors till the War was over. It continu'd two Years longer with some Intermision, and in the third Year *Agilulf* by his Wife's Mediation, concluded a Truce for two Years only. Before 'twas expir'd *Romanus* dy'd, and *Callinicus* succeeded him in the Exarchate. *Callinicus* surpriz'd *Parma* and a Daughter of *Agilulf* in it, together with her Husband *Godescalc*, a Name that has some resemblance to *Odescalchi* the Family of the Famous Pope *Innocent XI.* in our Days. The *Lombard* King resenting the Breach of the Truce as he pretend- ed, tho' his Subjects had often broken it before, threat- ned to carry on the War against the *Romans* with great-

595.

596.

597.

A.D. 597. er Fury than ever. He enter'd into an Alliance with Callinicus Cagan King of the *Avari*, sent him Carpenters to build Exarch of him some Ships on which he might embark his Forces, Ravenna. and make a descent on *Thrace*. Callicanus to divert Takes Parma, the Storm impending over the Empire from the North, enter'd into a Treaty with the same Cagan, and Bribing

598.

And other  
Cities.

599.

He Dies.

600.

Smaragdus again  
Exarch.

A Truce.

601.

Mauritius  
makes an  
unsuccessful  
Expedition against the  
Avari.

Cagan was become one of the most powerful Enemies of the Empire. The Emperor led an Army in Person against him as far as *Heraclea*, in the 9th Year of his Reign; but did nothing answerable to the Peoples Expectation from this Expedition. The Barbarians pierc'd into *Thrace* and took *Didimothecum*. *Mauritius* having in vain try'd to purchase Peace, seem'd to enter on bold Councils, and as if he resolv'd to Transport an Army to the other side of the *Danube*, to make the Enemy's Country the Seat of the War, He order'd the Imperial Fleet to be equipt. On the rumor of his mighty Preparations the *Avari* retreated faster than they advanc'd. His Stratagem had the design'd Effect, and clear'd his Dominions of the Barbarians. As soon as they were gone he Fortify'd the Places lying on the *Danube*, to hinder their Irruptions for the future. He made *Priscus* General of his Forces in *Europe*, and order'd him

him to Post himself on the Borders to observe the Enemy. *Priscus* hearing *Cagan* was preparing to invade the Empire again, sent *Theodorus* a Physician to him, to perswade him to embrace a Peace, and maintain a good Correspondence with his Master the Emperor. *Cagan* gave him Audience, but answer'd him with Threats and Rhodomontades, Boasting that he would subdue the whole World, and make himself Lord and Master of all Nations. *Theodore* reprov'd his Arrogance by telling him the Story of *Sesostris* King of Egypt, who caus'd himself to be drawn in a Chariot by four Kings whom he had Conquer'd. One of them in his Harness would be still looking back, and did it so often that *Sesostris* took notice of it, demanding why he turn'd about to gaze at the Wheels. *Because* (says the Captive Prince) *in that I see an Emblem of humane Greatness, how in a perpetual Succession 'tis Elevated and Deprest.* *Sesostris* seriously reflecting on the Truth of his Observation would be no more drawn by Kings. *Cagan* smil'd at the Story, which applying to himself, made him willing to hearken to Terms while his Fortune was in its Elevation. *Priscus* procur'd a round Sum of Money for him, and the *Barbarian* drew off his Forces from the Frontiers of the Empire.

*The King of the Avari's boasting Threats.*

About the same time *Mauritius* declar'd his Son *Theodosius*, *Augustus*; had him Crown'd by *John* the Patriarch, and took him for his Colleague in the Imperial Dignity.

The next Year *Priscus* defeated *Ardagastus* General of the *Slavi*, enter'd their Country, wasted it, and brought off many Prisoners. *Priscus's* Army lying at *Singidon* to observe the Motions of *Cagan*, for want of necessary Supplies were almost starv'd. Their Affliction was the greater, it being near *Easter*, and 'twas the Custom of the Eastern Christians to Celebrate that Festival with Banquets and Merriment. *Cagan* understanding *Priscus* wanted Provisions, sent him word if he would fetch it, he would give him forty Waggon load of the best he had: The *Romans* were very glad to find so much Generosity in a *Barbarian*; They accepted his Offer, Celebrated the Feast, during which all Acts of Hostility ceas'd, and the *Romans* and the *Avari* convers'd freely with one another. As soon as it was

*His Generosity.*



A.D. 601. over the *Barbarians* dividing themselves into several Parties, broke into *Thrace* and Riffled and Destroy'd it at Pleasure. The Citizens of *Constantinople* were in such a Fright, that they had Thoughts of deserting their City and removing to *Chalcedon*. The Emperor in this Extremity, sent *Armaço* in an Embassy to *Cagan* to sooth him into a good Humour. *Armaço* came in an ill Hour, the *Barbarian* having lost no less than seven Sons in one Day by the Pestilence. Most of his Army dy'd of the Plague, and *Cagan* offer'd for a reasonable Sum to depart. *Mauritius* hearing what a Condition he was in, thought he could not stay long, and refus'd to give it him. *Cagan* sunk yet lower in his Demands, and would have been contented with the moiety for the Ransom of his Captives. This the Emperor also deny'd him, which put the *Barbarian* into a terrible Passion, and in the heat of his Resentment he Commanded all his Prisoners to be Slain.

He is provok'd to put his Prisoners to death.

The Romans offended with the Emperor for provoking him.

The Soldiers Mutiny. *Phocas* sent to Court with their Remonstrances. He speaks saucily, is beat him. Beaten.

But the method he took to get rid of them was not well concerted. The Soldiers got Intelligence of his Instructions to *Commentiolus*; Mutiny'd, and sent Deputies to Court to complain of the General's Treachery. *Phocas* a Centurion or Captain of a Company was the chief Man among the Deputies. He spoke so Saucily, and behav'd himself with such Insolence in the Emperor's Presence, that some of the Courtiers beat him. The Army requir'd that *Commentiolus* should be

be turn'd out of his Place, to which *Mauritius* would not consent. And their Agents were dismiss'd without receiving the least Satisfaction in Answer to their Petition. A.D. 601:

The Citizens of *Constantinople* thinking the Soldiers were wrong'd, took their Quarrel on themselves, rais'd a Tumult, and as the Emperor rode thro' the Streets *A Tumult* threw Stones at him. *Mauritius* order'd the principal *in Con-* Persons of the Sedition to be Seiz'd and Punish'd, which *stantino-* was an unseasonable Severity, and occasion'd those Plots *ple in fa-* and Conspiracies against his Government; that in the *vour of* end improv'd the ruin of himself, his Wife and his Children. *the Army.* Whether *Commentiolus* was recall'd or not, we find *Priscus* at the head of that or another Army to oppose *Cagan*, whose Forces were divided into five Bodies, Commanded by himself and four of his Sons, whom he order'd to post themselves on the Banks of the *Danube*, to prevent the *Romans* entering their Country. However *Priscus* past the River in Boats with the Imperial Army, gave the King's Son Battle, and kill'd 4000 Men; losing no more than 300. Those that remain'd of the *Avari* whom he had defeated, he drove into the *Fenns*, where most of them were Drown'd. *Cagan* being inform'd that his Sons and the Troops he had left with them were cut off, return'd towards his own Territories to fight *Priscus*, who overthrew him and push'd his Conquests beyond the River *Teisse*; where the Inhabitants living in Security, apprehending no danger of an Invasion at home, while their King was Victorious abroad, were Slain or taken Prisoners with little or no Opposition; 30000 of them were kill'd and a considerable Booty taken. *30000 of the Avari kill'd.*

*Cagan* to revenge these Affronts, resolv'd once more to try his Fortune in the Field. He again Fought the *Romans* and was again defeated, 5000 of his Men being made Prisoners. The *Barbarians* immediately posted away a Messenger to the Emperor, to desire that the Captives on both sides might be releas'd. *Mauritius* *Mauritius* having no account of their number, gave order that *makes* they should be freed, imagining his were but few, and *Peace with* that 'twould be an Obligation on *Cagan* to be quiet. *them a-* The Soldiers who expected to have divided their Ran- *gainst the* som amongst them, were very much dissatisfy'd that *Soldiers* they *taking.*

A.D. 601. they were dismiss'd, and this help'd to encrease the Faction of the Mutineers.

We have observ'd in other Places how the Deaths of some of the former Emperors, were usher'd in by several portentous Accidents. We troubled the Reader with such superstitious Reports out of pure Complaisance to his Curiosity, and not to impose on his Faith. For as we find the same direful Presages related as fore-runners of the Fate of bad Princes as well as good, so we cannot imagin that divine Providence suffer'd Nature so often to go out of her Course, to warn Mankind of the Death of one of their fellow Creatures. A guilty Conscience made *Mauritius* fancy he saw Visions and heard Voices, which had no other foundation than a sick Fancy and the Terrors of Remorse; for having refus'd to redeem the Captives, their Blood he thought lay at his Door; a Guilt which he knew deserv'd a severe Punishment, and such he fear'd would be his Portion in this Life or that which is to come. He Commanded the Bishops to order Prayers to be said for him in all Churches throughout his Dominions, and himself spent most of his Time in private Devotions, to prepare himself for his approaching End. *We are told that 'twas reveal'd to a Holy Person, That Mauritius should Dye. That a Lamp which always Burnt in the Cathedral Church, went out and could not be Lighted again. That a Person dress'd like a Monk, and a Monk it was in all likelihood, went from the Forum to the Palace-Gate with a Sword in his Hand, and Cry'd out aloud, The Emperor shall Dye by this. That 'twas told Mauritius, he should fall by the Hand of a Soldier whose Name began with Ph. The Emperor suspecting Philippicus his Brother in Law, threw him into Prison; but being inform'd in a Dream that Philippicus was Innocent, and that the Man's Name who was to do the Deed, was Phocas; he sent for his Brother, threw himself at his Feet, and beg'd his Pardon. He ask'd him, If he knew one Phocas a Soldier. Philippicus told him, he did, That 'twas the very Person who had behav'd himself so rudely before him in the Business of Commemoriolus. Mauritius demanded, Of what sort of Temper he was. His Brother reply'd, Timorous and yet Fierce. Then says the Emperor, He is a Murderer. He employ'd Magistrianius to enquire of Men Famous for their*

*Mauritius  
afraid of  
his Fate.*

*Orders pub-  
lick Prayers  
to be said  
for him.*

Sanctity, and endu'd with the Gift of Propheſie, whether his Punishment ſhould be in this World or the next. The Report he made was, They ſaid, God had accepted of his Repentance, and would ſave his Soul, and the Souls of all his Family; but he muſt loſe the Empire with Infamy. *Mauritius* answered, *Let the Lord's Will be done, and his Name be Prais'd*, or Words to that Effect. A Comet appear'd in the Air, and as many other Prodigies as would take up ſeveral Pages to deſcribe.

At laſt the Fatal Hour came, in which he was to loſe his Empire, tho' not his Life. He ſent Orders to *Peter* his Brother, who commanded the Army, to paſs the *Danube*, and winter in the Territories of the *Avari*. The Soldiers would not hear of it, fell into a Mutiny, and liſting *Phocas* aloft on a Shield, Saluted him Emperor.

The News flew immediately to *Conſtantinople*. The Rabble fond of Change, and apt to grow weary even of the beſt Things, roſe in Favour of the new Emperor. *Mauritius* perceiving his Danger, embark'd with his Wife and Children, intending to retire to a Place of Safety: But his adverſe Fate rais'd contrary Winds, and drove him back to *St. Autonomus*, where he lay conceal'd, till he was diſcover'd by Perſons, whom *Phocas* employ'd for that Purpoſe. The Tumult in the City increas'd on the Report that *Mauritius* was gone, The Mob rail'd at him in the *Forum*, and the *Prasini*, one of the *Factions* we have formerly ſpoken of, went forth to meet *Phocas*, who was on his way to the City. When he arriv'd at the *Hebdomus*, or Palace, *Cyriac* the Patriarch, accompany'd by the Senate, made their Addreſſes to him. The Biſhop took his Confeſſion of Faith, and an Oath to preſerve the Peace of the Church; after which he put the Imperial Crown on his Head, in the Church of *St. John Baſtiſt*. His Wife *Leontia* was Crown'd five Days afterwards, and declar'd Au-

To keep up an old Cuſtom, on his Acceſſion to the Throne, he went to the *Cirque* to behold the Sports there. The *Prasini* and *Veneti*, whom the late Diſorders had made Factionous, began to revive their old Quarrels. *Phocas* order'd ſome of his Guards to ſeize

A.D. 602

Mauritius's Piety.

662.

Phocas

Proclaim'd

Emperor

by the Ar-

my.

Mauritius

flies, and

hides.

The Patri-

arch of Con-

ſtantino-

ple meets

the Uſurper

And

Crowns

him.



A.D. 602. the most Seditious ; their Friends cry'd out tumultuously, *That Mauritius was not yet dead, and they would make him Judge of the Controversy.* Phocas's Jealousy took the Alarm, and put him upon a Resolution to rid himself of a Competitor, as soon as possible. He order'd him to be search'd for, and when he was found, to be

*Mauritius discover'd Himself, and five Sons murder'd at Chalcedon.* carry'd to *Chalcedon*, where his five Sons were first murder'd before his Face : He beheld that dreadful Tragedy with a Spirit resign'd entirely to the Will of the Almighty, saying, *Just art thou, Oh Lord, and Righteous in all thy Judgments.* 'Tis said, he was so far from repining at his Affliction, that a Nurse having hid one of his younger Sons, and expos'd her own to perish in his stead, he would not suffer that kind Fraud to succeed, but discover'd it, and then willingly held out his Neck to the Executioner. Thus dy'd the Emperor *Mauritius*, in the 17th. Year of his Reign. *Peter* his Brother was also put to Death, together with *Com-*

*Mauritius's Resignation to Providence* *mentiolus*, *George*, the Son of *Philippicus*, and others. The Empress *Constantina*, with her three Daughters took Sanctuary in a Church, and the Patriarch and People would not let them be taken thence by Force.

*His Brother Peter murder'd.* The Tyrant than try'd what Dissimulation would do, and by fair Words entic'd them out of their Sanctuary ; then he shut them up in a Monastery, and contrary to his Promises and Assurances of Safety, murder'd them.

*His Wife and three Daughters put to Death.* *Theodosius*, *Mauritius's* Eldest Son, had been sent by his Father in the beginning of the Troubles to *Chosroes*, King of *Persia*, to inform him of his Danger, and desire his Assistance, in Return for the good Offices he had done him. *Phocas* dispatch'd away Messengers to stop him ; and these overtaking him at *Leneacta*, near *Nice*, Murder'd him there. The Youth desir'd them to give him Time to receive the Holy Sacrament, and then taking up a Stone from the Ground, he struck it vehemently against his Breast, saying, *Lord Jesus, thou knowest I never injur'd any Man: However, deal with me as it pleases thee, and Glorifie thy Power.* At these Words the Murderer struck off his Head. Such was the deplorable Fate of the good Emperor *Mauritius* and his Family, and is a dreadful Instance of God's Judgment on the Sin of Avarice, so Heinous in its self, and so

*His Fate, a Judgment on him for his Avarice.* Offensive to the Almighty, who, with a Bountiful Hand,

Hand, scatters his Blessings on the Race of Men, that A.D. 602. not many Virtues can make amends for the one Vice of Covetousness; Odious in a Private Person, but Abominable in a Prince; destroying the very End of Monarchy, to restrain Oppression and reward Merit and Virtue.

## C H A P. VIII.

*From the Usurpation of Phocas, to the Death of Heraclius.*

*Containing the space of Thirty Nine Years.*

*Phocas.*

WE have related how the Tyrant *Phocas* rais'd himself from the Command of a Company of Soldiers to be Lord of the Roman Empire by Rebellion and Paracide. That he swam to the Throne through a Sea of Blood, and butcher'd his old Master, a Pious, Merciful Prince, his Wife, and eight Innocent Children, to make room for himself and his Posterity in the Imperial Seat.

The first Man that we Read of, who Congratulated this cruel Monster on his Promotion, is Pope Gregory. His Statue and his Wives were receiv'd by the Citizens of Rome with loud Acclamations, and Gregory order'd them to be set up in the Oratory of St. *Casarius* the Martyr. He wrote a fawning Letter to him, and knowing that he was both a Traytor and a Murderer, a Rank Rebel red with the Blood of the whole Imperial Race; He began his Epistle with, *Glory to God on High*, and tells him, *He rejoyc'd, that God out of his Mercy had rais'd his Piety to the Sovereignty*: He wrote to the

603.

Pope Gregory the 1st  
that Congratulates  
the Tyrant  
Phocas on  
his Advancement.  
Gregory  
Flatters  
him.

A.D. 603. Empress in the same Strain, both of his Letters so scandalous for their Flattery and Falshood, that they are an eternal Proof of his Dissimulation and Impiery. He rail'd at the Emperor *Mauritius*, as much as he flatter'd *Phocas*. Having the Memory of his late Sovereign in Abhorrence for his supporting the Patriarch *John* in his new Title of Universal Bishop, as has been hinted elsewhere. *Gregory* proceeded so far in his Opposition to this Innovation, that he order'd *Sabinian* his Resident at *Constantinople* not to Communicate with *Cyriack*. And *Phocas* finding the Patriarch not so ready to Complement and Applaud him in his Villany, to be reveng'd on him, countenanc'd the Bishop of *Rome* in his Claim of Precedence, which was enough to deserve from him all that he cou'd say in his Favour, if what *Baronius* says in his Annals be true, that *Mauritius*, with all his good Qualities, *deserv'd to Die for his Disobedience to the Pope*. The Tyrant dreading a Storm from the East, for dealing so inhumanly by *Mauritius*, *Chosroes's* Benefactor sent Ambassadors to renew the Peace with the King of *Persia*: *Chosroes* detesting the very Name of the Usurper, renounc'd his Friendship, and declar'd War with him, a War so fatal to the Eastern Empire, that 'twas the beginning of its Dissolution. He was giv'n to the *Romans* for a Curse, and his Reign answer'd the ends of Providence, being one continu'd Series of Misery and Calamity, an innumerable Multitude of Men and Beasts perish'd by Pestilence and Famine. Dearth, Plagues and War on every side o'erwhelm'd the Eastern Provinces, sweeping the *Romans* from the Earth, till her Face was almost left bare.

*Phocas sides with the Pope against the Patriarch of Constantinople.*

*Baronius's false Reasoning.*

*Chosroes declares War with the Usurper.*

*Narses, Mauritius's General seizes Edeffa, and joyns the Persians.*

*Narses and the Persians Defeat Phocas's Armies.*

*Narses, Mauritius's General in the East, seiz'd Edeffa, and joyn'd with the Persians that invaded the Usurper's Territories: The Tyrant made his Brother Domitian General of all his Armies, and sent Germanus into Asia to oppose Narses, and the Persians, who gave him Battle, kill'd him, and defeated his Forces. Leontius had his Command giv'n him. He fought the Persians with no better Success, except the saving of his Life. Phocas in a Rage order'd him to be led in Chains like a Slave, to Punish him for his ill Fortune. The Usurper finding he cou'd not subdue Narses and his Con-*

Confederates by Force, endeavour'd to betray him by A.D. 603.  
 Flattery and fair Promises: He Swore he should be safe  
 in his Person and Goods, assur'd him of his Favour,  
 and represented to him by his Agents how Inglorious it  
 was for him to make War upon his own Country,  
*Narses* being a Man of Honour, believ'd him, desert-  
 ed the *Persians*, who however took *Daras*, over-ran all  
*Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, and return'd home with a vast *Narses be-*  
 Booty. No sooner was *Narses* in the Tyrant's Power, *tray'd by*  
 than breaking his Oath, he commanded him to be Burnt *Phocas's*  
 alive, at which the *Romans* were mightily offended, and *Dissimula-*  
 began to repent of their late Change. *tion, and*  
*Burnt a-*

The Usurper in the second and third Year of his Reign, *live.*  
 liv'd in continual Fear of *Theodosius's* Resurrection from  
 the Dead, for 'twas too sure that his own bloody Hands,  
 or his Agents, had sent him to the Grave. However  
 there was a Report that he was still Living, and out  
 of this Report the Usurper made a Plot, for which  
*Romanus* a Patritian, *Theodorus* Præfect of the East.  
*Helpidius*, *Germanus* and his Son, *John*, *Ziza* a Patri-  
 tian, *Theodosius* and others of the first Quality were  
 Executed. The Prison was so crouded with the No-  
 bility, whom he fear'd or suspected that many of 'em  
 dy'd for want of necessary Room to Breath, which so  
 affected a Noble Matron, that she gave him a House to  
 make use of for securing the State Prisoners. While  
 he was letting out the best Blood of the *Romans* in *Phocas's*  
*Europe*, *Chosroes* made the Provinces of *Asia* overflow Cruelty.  
 with a Crimson Deluge: He wasted *Palestine* and *Phæ-*  
*nicia*, routed the Army the Tyrant sent to oppose him,  
 destroy'd *Galatia*, *Paphlagonia*, and made Excursions *Chosroes*  
 as far as *Chalcedon* on the *Propentis*, opposite to *Con-* *destroys the*  
*stantinople*. *Phocas* raging all the while with insatia- *eastern*  
 ble Fury against the Nobility and Commonalty of his *Provinces.*  
 Realms, and the Pestilence, conspir'd with Tyranny and  
 War to rid the World of Mankind.

On the 12th. of March dy'd Pope Gregory, having sat  
 in the Chair of St. Peter's 13 Years 8 Months, whom a *Pope Gre-*  
 Modern Author of the *Roman History* styles a *Vigilant* *gory dies.*  
*Active, Tractable Person*. But we desie him in the whole  
 Story of his Life to give us one Instance of his Tracta-  
 bility. He was on the contrary, an Imperious, Stub-  
 born, Obstinate Prelate; and his Vigilance and Acti-



A.D. 604. vity was in nothing more conspicuous, than his Zeal, for advancing the usurp'd Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, for which Reason chiefly the Popish Annals give him the Sirname of *Great*. In the sixth Year of his Pontificate, he sent *Augustine* the Monk into *Britain*, to Convert the *Saxons*. He was, 'tis true, very industrious to make Converts, and therein his Successors have been as Vigilant and Active as himself, for which they had more than one Reason, and the good of Souls we have cause to believe to be the least with them. He wrote several Treatises; and this must be said in his Honour, that he was the last Bishop of *Rome*, who thought Preaching one of the Duties of his Office.

*Sabinian*, the Pope's Apocrifary, or Resident at *Constantinople*, was Chosen to fill his Vacant Chair. And we cannot forbear observing, that the Residency for the Apostolick Vicar in the Imperial Court, was a Post of so high Dignity, that the next Step was the Papacy; The seven last Popes having been all of them Apocrifaries at *Constantinople*. We are told, that Pope *Sabinian* was kill'd by the Rabble, for his Extortion and Covetousness; his Predecessor appearing to him in a Vision, to Denounce that Judgment of God upon him, for so crying a Sin.

605. *Sabinian* dy'd the Year following, and *Boniface III.* succeeded him. He was also an Apocrifary; and while he remain'd in the Tyrant's Court, by his Complacency to him, and cajolling him in the midst of his Murders, he gain'd so much upon him, that out of Respectment for *Cyriac* the Patriarch's reproving and resisting him, he confer'd on him the Title of *Universal Bishop*, in Prejudice of the Patriarch.

This is all the Right the Bishops of *Rome* have to the Universality of the Church Monarchy. But they ever caught greedily at any thing that gave them the least Colour of Right to cover their Ambition and Lust of Temporal Power.

606. The next Year this Pope dy'd, and after the See had been vacant 10 Months, *Boniface IV.* was chosen in his room, to whom the Usurper gave the famous Heathen Temple built by *Agrippa*, call'd the *Pantheon*, which *Boniface* Consecrated, and Dedicated to the Virgin *Mary* and the *Martyrs*: But there was no Body, be-

sides

*Sabinian*  
succeeds  
him, and  
is kill'd by  
the Rabble  
for Extor-  
sion.

*Pope Boni-  
face suc-  
ceeds Sabinian, and  
is made  
Universal  
Bishop by  
the Tyrant  
Phocas.*

sides the Pope, who corresponded with the Tyrant. A.D. 607.  
 His own Relations, *Priscus*, that marry'd his Daughter,  
 abhor'd his Cruelty and Lewdness, which render'd him  
 unworthy the Friendship of any Man, the Bishop of  
*Rome* excepted. His Subjects of all Ranks and De-  
 grees hated him, and their general Hatred produc'd a  
 general Defection in a few Years. *Priscus* wrote to *Priscus*,  
*Heraclius* the Patritian, Governor of *Africa*, that he dis- *Phocas's*  
 own'd his Relation to him, and desir'd him to dispatch *Son in Law*  
 away his Son *Heraclius*, with an Army sufficient to *invites He-*  
 punish him for his Vices and Tyranny. *Phocas* knowing *raclius to*  
 nothing of the Conspiracy, proceeded in his Abomina- *set to a*  
 ble Courses, till he was ripe for Destruction. *Benofus*, *Phocas*.  
 a Man of his own rough Disposition, he made General  
 of the East, to make Head against the *Persians*. As he  
 was on his way to the Frontiers, he was recall'd to *Antioch*,  
 by an Insurrection of the *Jews* in that City, who  
 hated *Anastasius* the second Patriarch of that Church,  
 for his Zeal in Converting their Brethren to the Chri-  
 stian Religion. They rose upon him, Dismember'd and  
 Murder'd him the 21st. of *November*, dragging his Body  
 about the Streets in a most filthy inhuman Manner. *Bo-*  
*nosus* try'd to reclaim them by fair means, which prov- *Bishop of*  
 ing ineffectual, he attack'd them and drove 'em out of *Antioch*  
 the City. *dismem-*  
*ber'd by the*  
*Jews, and*  
*slain.*

The Usurper the same Year appearing in the Cirque,  
 the *Prasini*, who did not love him ever since he first ap-  
 pear'd there, upbraided him with his Drunkenness, and  
 told him, he had just now come from raking off the  
*Gabosta*, a Bowl of the largest Size. *Phocas* enrag'd  
 at the Railery of the Multitude, order'd his Officers to  
 lay hold on them. Some he Beheaded, others he Dis-  
 member'd, put them into Sacks and threw them into the  
 Sea. The *Prasini*, in as great a Rage as himself, set  
 Fire to the *Prætorian* Court, and freed the Prisoners. The  
 Tyrant terrify'd at their Fury, contented himself now, *Phocas or-*  
 with a slight Punishment, ordering them only to be all *ders the*  
 disarm'd; and perceiving he was the Object of every *Prelates to*  
 Man's Hate, he commanded the Prelates to make a Ca- *make a Ca-*  
 non, that all those Soldiers who dy'd fighting in De- *non, that*  
 fence of their Prince, should be Honour'd as Martyrs. *all Soldi-*  
 But they could not be persuaded to comply so far with *ers who die*  
 a wicked Prince, having, it seems, not yet heard of our *fighting for*  
 Martyrs. *their*  
*Prince*  
*should be*  
*honour'd*  
*Martyrs.*

A.D. 608. Modern *English* Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, and verily believ'd, that the Crown of Martyrdom was as much due to those that fought against a Tyrant, as those that fought for him.

The Conspiracies that were on foot to deliver the World from such a Monster as *Phocas*, began the next Year to break out in the Court it self. *Theodorus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, *Helpidius*, General of the Artillery, *Phocas* de- and others, consulted how they might kill him in the tested. *Hippodrome*. The Plot was discover'd by one of the Conspirators. *Anastasius*, the Treasurer, and all those that were concern'd in it, were put to Death, together with the Informer.

However, *Heraclius* having a good Army to support him, and being assur'd of the Prayers and Assistance of the whole Empire, a few of *Phocas's* Creatures excepted, went on with his Design in *Africa*, where his Son was saluted Emperor, and embark'd with his Forces aboard a Fleet provided for that Purpose. Another Body of Troops was to march by Land, under the Conduct of *Nicetas*, the Son of *Gregoras*, *Heraclius's* Lieutenant.

'Tis reported that the younger *Heraclius* made an Agreement with *Nicetas*, that he, who had the Fortune first to defeat *Phocas*, and make himself Master of *Constantinople*, shou'd be Emperor. *Heraclius* had the advantage of a quicker Passage, and arriving at *Abidos*, kindly receiv'd such Noblemen as had been banish'd by *Phocas*. The Tyrant hearing his Competitor was betroth'd to *Eudoxia*, the Daughter of *Rogatus* an *African*, who was with *Epiphania* her Mother at *Constantinople*, secur'd them both, and shut 'em up in a Monastery. His Brother *Domitius*, whom he order'd to defend the Coasts of the *Hellepont*, on News that *Heraclius* was arriv'd at *Abydos*, deserted his Post and retir'd to *Constantinople*. In the mean time *Heraclius* proceeded to *Heraclea*, and from thence towards the Imperial City. In the Haven of *Sophia* he engag'd and defeated the Usurper, who fled to Court, where one *Photinus*, whose Wife he had ravish'd, broke in with a Party of Soldiers, drag'd him from his Throne, pull'd the Imperial Robe over his Ears, cloath'd him in a black Velt, bound him and led him in Chains to *Heraclius*, who said

*Engages  
Phocas's  
Fleet in the  
Haven of  
Constanti-  
nople.  
Defeats  
Phocas*

*Arrives at  
Abidos.*

*Heraclius  
goes on  
with his.  
Is Saluted  
Emperor.  
He em-  
barks his  
Troops in  
Africa.*

said to him, *Is it thus that thou hast govern'd the Commonwealth?* The Tyrant answer'd, *Do thou govern it better if thou can'st.* Heraclius in a Rage struck him, commanded his Hands and Feet to be cut off; then his Arms and Privy Members, and at last his Head. The Soldiers took up his Trunk and burnt it in the Forum of the Oxe, a Market-place so call'd.

Such was the just Fate of the Traytor and Tyrant Phocas, in the eighth Year of his Reign. He was a Man of mean Stature, Deform'd, of a terrible Aspect: He was addicted to Wine and Women, Mistrustful, Perfidious, Cowardly, Cruel and Coverous: He knew nothing of Tenderneſs or Pity: He was a Murderer and a Heretick, and abominated by all Men, but the Bishops of Rome, who highly Honour'd and Careſs'd him. His Wife *Leontia* was the only Woman in the World, that was a fit Match for ſuch a Maſter, ſhe being as wicked and as ugly as her Husband, with the Tyrant, his Brother and Kindred, were put to Death.

### Heraclius.

AFTER which *Heraclius*, the Deliverer of his Country, was made the Father of it by Office, as he had already been by his Actions. He was Proclaim'd Emperor, and Crown'd by *Sergius* the Patriarch. *Priscus* the Elder *Heraclius*, and the Chief of the Nobility, aſſiſting at the Solemnity, he himſelf ſet the Crown on the Head of *Eudoxia*, and conſumated his former Marriage.

Heraclius  
Crown'd.

There were great Expectations in the Empire, that on this Revolution her Affairs would mend. The Romans had conceiv'd an high Opinion of the new Emperor's Worth, and had not Patience to ſtay till he had ſet'd the Government, which he found in a diſorder'd Condition. They expected that the *Persians*, and other their Enemies, ſhould be driven out with the ſame Eaſe that they enter'd their Territories, not conſidering, that the Miſchiefs caus'd by one Tyrant in a ten Years Reign, very often endamage the Affairs of the Commonwealth ſo much, that a Succeſſion of ten



A.D. 609. good Princes can scarce make Satisfaction to the People.  
*The Persians take Edeffa.* The *Persians* continu'd to ravage the East, took *Apamea*, and notwithstanding the miraculous Fortifications of *Edeffa*, they master'd it, routed a Party of *Romans* that oppos'd them, and came as far as *Antioch*. The *Scythians* and the *Avari* invaded *Europe*, and brought *Heraclius* into great Difficulties before he was well fix'd in his Seat. The old Legions were so chang'd, that 'tis said, there were not above two Soldiers remaining on the Muster Rolls of the many Thousands that rebell'd against *Mauritius*. The rest being struck by the avenging Hand of the Almighty, fell on several Occasions, as an Example to future Armies, to beware how they lift up their Hands against the Lord's Anointed, a Term, which good Princes and none else are worthy of. Their Places were fill'd by *Heraclius* with new-raisd Troops, and *Crispus* made their General.

611. In the following Year he was sent into *Cappadocia*, which the *Persians* again invaded; yet for want of sufficient Strength, he could not prevent the Enemy's roving up and down the Province, rising and wasting, till their Avarice and Cruelty were satiated; then they return'd into their own Country, carrying off with 'em much Booty, and many Prisoners, whom they kept for Slaves, or sold into Slavery.

612. In the second Year of his Reign, the Empress was deliver'd of a Son, who was first call'd *Heraclius* and afterwards *Constantine* the Younger. She dy'd the Year following; and as her Corps were carrying thro' the Forum with much Funeral Pomp, a strange Girl, by accident, happen'd to spit on the Herse, for which Offence she was seiz'd and burnt to Death. The *Saracens* now

*The Saracens grow Formidable*

*Lemigius, Exarch of Ravenna, kill'd by an Insurrection of the People.*

began to grow Formidable, and to be much talk'd of. They invaded *Syria*, robbing and spoiling wherever they came; yet the Emperor continu'd still at *Constantinople*, Sollicitous to secure the Imperial Dignity in his Family. He created his Daughter *Epiphania*, born before his Son *Constantine*, *Augusta*, and the next Year declar'd his Son, *Augustus*, who was Crown'd by *Sergius* the Patriarch. In *Italy*, the Exarch *Lemigius*, a Patritian, whom *Heraclius* sent to succeed *Smaragdus*, immediately after he came to the Crown, was kill'd in an Insurrection of the People, provok'd by his Pride and Extortion.

The

The next Year *Confinius*, Duke of *Naples*, contrary A.D. 614. to an Oath of Allegiance he had taken to the Emperor, seiz'd that City, and garrison'd it for his own Use. *E. Eleutherius*, *Lemigius's* Successor in the Exarchate, on his Arrival at *Ravenna*, severely punish'd the Authors of his Predecessor's Murder. From thence he march'd to *Naples*, took it, put the Duke to Death, and plac'd another over it. *us succeeds him.*

The Exarch, while he liv'd at *Constantinople*, was esteem'd a Man of great Wisdom and Virtue. He was Patriarch and Lord Chamberlain: Had behav'd himself with eminent Fidelity and Probity, but *Agilulfe*, King of the *Lombards*, who maintain'd that Nation in a flourishing Condition, happening to die not long after his entering on his Government, the Affairs of those People were a little embroil'd, and he had nothing to fear from them. Those in the East were in such Confusion, that he had no reason to apprehend any Disturbance from thence, which were Temptations he could not resist. The Sovereignty of *Italy* was a fair Prize, and seem'd easy to be obtain'd. To engage the Soldiers, he paid them their full Pay; and by his Bounty and Liberality got the good Will of the Army. *Deus dedit*, Bishop *Eleutherius* of *Rome*, who succeeded *Boniface IV.* dying at the same time, he thought 'twould be a good Opportunity to secure that City for himself, while the Citizens were busy about the Election of a new Pope. *us aims at the Sovereignty of Italy.*

In his way thither he receiv'd News, that *Boniface V.* was chosen Pope, and that all things were quiet in the City; so desparing to take it by Surprise, he told the Soldiers in plain Terms, what he intended, and by Promises and Flattery prevail'd with them, to consent that he should assume the Title of King. He then proceeded towards *Rome*, intending to make himself Master of the City by Force: But as he was marching forward, the Soldiers repenting of their Treason to their lawful Sovereign, abhor'd the Man that had been the Occasion of it, rose upon him at *Luceoli*, kill'd him, cut off his Head, carry'd it to *Ravenna*, and sent it to the Emperor. In his room *Heraclius* plac'd *Isaacius*, a Patriarch. *The Soldiers rise against him, and kill him.*

*Isaacius* succeeded him in *Exarchate*, *Adalwald*, Son of *Agilulfe*, began his Reign over the *Lombards* after his Father's Death. His Mother *Theodelinda*. *King of the Lombards*

A.D. 614. *delinda* being declar'd Regent during his Minority, *Heraclius*, about the tenth Year of his Reign, sent *Eusebius* in an Embassy to the Regent. The Ambassador residing at the Court of *Pavia*, watch'd his Opportunity as the young King came out of his Bath, and was dry, to give him a Dose, that turn'd his Brain, and made *Poyson'd by* him doat and be mad by turns. *Eusebius*, in his Fren-  
*the Roman* zy, to render his Government Odious, persuaded him,  
*Ambassa-* that his Nobility were Factionous, and ought to be slain.  
*der.* *Adalwald*, in effect, put 12 of them to Death. The  
*Runs Mad.* rest, knowing Self-Preservation is the first Principle of  
*Is dep's'd* Nature, and that a Man's Allegiance to himself and his  
*by his Sub-* Country, is the most binding, depos'd him and his Mo-  
*jects.* ther, and chose *Arioald*, Duke of *Turin*, who had Mar-  
*Arioald* ry'd his Sister, to be their King.  
*chosen*  
*King.*

*Isaaci* the Exarch, and *Honorius*, *Boniface* being dead, Bishop of *Rome*, joyn'd in with a Faction that were for restoring *Adalwald*, whose Divine Right to the Crown, as Heir to *Agilulfe*, was a strong Argument with the Pope in his Favour, tho' a few Years before, *Gregory* the Great had been of another Opinion, in the Case of *Phocas* and *Mauritius*: But the Bishops of *Rome* like the *French* King now reigning, talk of Liberty, or Absolute Power, as it serves a present Turn. Neither *Isaaci*'s Arms, nor the Pope's Epistles, could remove *Arioald* from the Throne, to which the Suffrages of the People had advanc'd.

He continu'd for many Years in the Possession of the Sovereignty; and when he Dy'd, the Nobility complimented his Queen *Gundeberg*, as they did *Theodelinda*: They referr'd the Choice of a new King to her, and she chose *Rotharis*, Son of *Agon*, Duke of *Brescia*, with whom *Isaaci* making War, receiv'd a terrible Overthrow, and lost several Cities which he had taken from the *Lombards*, who being satisfy'd with their Victory and their Conquest, left the Exarchs quiet in their Government, till the Reign of *Luitprand*, above seventy Years afterwards.

Before we go on with the Relation of the *Persian* War, which was all this while carrying on with various Success, we shall give a short Account of the State of the Church in the West, where the Bishops of *Rome* daily introduc'd one Novelty or another in Matters of Faith,

*The State of the Church.*

Faith, Worship or Discipline, tending all to advance the Authority and Revenues of their See. *Deus dedit* order'd, that Godfathers and Godmothers should not marry: *Boniface V.* that Churches should be Sanctuaries for Theives: *Honorius* was a *Monothelite*, a Sect that imagin'd Christ had but one Will; an Opinion very much favour'd by the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*.

*Churches made Sanctuaries for Theives.*

The *Lombard* Princes were most of 'em *Arians*; yet they did not persecute or frown upon their Catholick Subjects, except such of 'em as were Tyrants; and even some of them were too Politick to make any Part of their People their Enemies to please their Priests, when 'twas no Advantage to themselves. *Honorius* put an end to the Schism that the Patriarch of *Aquileia* had caus'd in the Church ever since he oppos'd the Pope in the Business of the *Tria Capitula*. He held the See about twelve Years, and was succeeded by *Severinus*, whom the Exarch *Isaacius* Confirm'd after the Election of the People. *Severinus* dy'd in little more than a Year, in whose Place *John IV.* was chosen. He liv'd somewhat above a Year, and then dying, *Theodorus*, a Native of *Jerusalem*, was Elected to sit in the Chair of *St. Peter*. This Pope so warmly oppos'd the Heresie of the *Monothelites*, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the Reign of the present Emperor *Heraclius*, that he wrote the Sentence of their Condemnation with Ink, mingl'd with the Consecrated Wine.

*Severinus chosen Pope by the People, Confirm'd by the Exarch.*

He held the Pontificate eight Years, and we must leave him in it, to turn to the Business of the East, which is of such Importance, and so full of illustrious Actions, that the Reader would have been impatient to have met with any thing to interrupt his Curiosity in the course of so glorious a History. However the Reign of *Heraclius* is not always equal. The beginning of it he wasted in Domestick Cares, about settling the Succession on his Family; the latter end of it he trifled away in Disputes with Priests about Controversies in Religion. The middle is indeed Active and Shining, and gives one a lively Image of the old *Roman* Spirit and Fortune.

In the 6th Year of his Reign, his Courage not yet being rous'd out of the Lethargy in which he lay lull'd

by



A.D. 615. by the new Pleasures of a Crown, or quite taken up with the Cares of his Family. He sent Embassadors to

Heraclius *Chosroes* King of *Persia* to beg a Peace, offering to offers to pay him an Annual Tribute. The *Persians* had lately pay Chof- taken *Damascus* the strongest City between *Antioch* and roes Tri- *Jerusalem*, and their King was so puffed up with his Succ- cess, that he rejected *Heraclius's* Proposals, disdaining bulc. to give him any Reason for continuing the War. The

*Chosroes* rejects his Offer.

Takes Je- rusalem.

90000 Christians Sold for Slaves to the Jews. Who put them to Death.

Heraclius marries his Neice. 616.

The Persians break into Africa, and Besiege Carthage.

These Calamities were look'd on as so many Judgments on the Emperor for committing Incest with his Neice *Martina* whom he Marry'd and caus'd her to be Crown'd by the Patriarch *Sergius*. The next Year the *Persians* like a Torrent broke thro' *Syria* and *Palastine* into *Egypt* and *Lybia*. bearing down all before them till they came to *Carthage*, where they met with a brave Resistance from the *Roman* Garrison; and being over laden with Spoils return'd Home, treating the Provinces in their retreat, with the same cruel manner they us'd 'em when they advanc'd.

The Empire was now in a most deplorable Condition; the *Romans* knew not whither to fly from the Rage of the Enemy. The poor *Africans* wander'd to *Alexandria*, where the *Nile* happen'd that Season not to

Bless

Bless the neighbouring Lands with his usual Deluge, A.D. 616, and the Citizens were before almost starv'd by a Famine. The Multitudes that the *Persians* drove thither increas'd the Dearth, and those that fled from the Sword Perish'd by want. The Enemy left part of their Forces to block up *Carthage*, which was surrender'd to them in the following Year according to some Authors, and particularly the Writer of the *Roman History*, whom we have had occasion to mention, who also tells us, *They Pillag'd Alexandria*; but they neither enter'd that City, nor can we find any Warrant from Authentick History, for him to report that they took *Carthage*, which continu'd in the Possession of the *Romans* till the *Saracens* Conquer'd it above threescore Years afterwards; and himself owns in the beginning of his next Chapter, that, *Heraclius lost nothing in Africk of what Belisarius Conquer'd*.

*Heraclius* as if he had been stupid or insensible of Shame, receiv'd all these Affronts without daring to resent them. He contented himself with the pompous Titles of *Roman Emperor*, *Pater Patriæ*, and the safe Triumphs of the *Circus*, without shewing himself solicitous for the Safety of his Subjects, the Glory of the Empire or his own Honour, by Revenging the Majesty of a Monarchy that had for many hundred Years given Laws to *Asia*. His Wife was deliver'd of a Son, whom he call'd *Heraclionas*, and the addition of one Prince more of his Race, to secure to it the Succession of the Crown, was enough, in his Opinion, to make amends for the wast of his Provinces. The young Prince was created *Cæsar* by *Constantinus Augustus* his elder Brother. And in the eighth Year of his Reign, he sent other Embassadors to purchase Peace of *Chosroes* upon whatever Terms he pleas'd to impose on him, which should be accepted also as a full return for all the kind Offices the good Emperor *Mauritius* had done him. The *Barbarian* grown Insolent with his Success, haughtily told them, *That he would not forbear making War up- on Heraclius, till he Renounc'd his Crucify'd Saviour and Ador'd the Sun, the God of the Persians*. Yet either mollify'd with the Ambassador's Prayers, or waiting to see what effect his Answer would have on the Emperor, the *Persian* lay quiet all the next Year. However

617.

618.

*Heraclius offers again to purchase Chosroes's Friendship. Chosroes requires him to renounce Christianity.*

619.

He.

A.D. 619. *Heraclius* as a just Reproof of his Negligence and Laziness, had his Hands full nearer Home. *Chagan* King of the *Avari* enter'd *Thrace*: To divert him, Embassadors were dispatch'd to desire an Interview, and the Emperor on promise of safe Conduct, came to the Place appointed, where instead of meeting the King, he found some of his Soldiers, who fell upon his Guards, dispers'd them, took all his Equipage, and himself with much difficulty escap'd to *Constantinople*. The *Avari* loaded themselves with Booty, and then return'd to their own Country. In the Year ensuing *Chosroes* hearing nothing from *Heraclius*, order'd his Generals to invade *Galatia*, where they took *Ancyra*, and carry'd away some more Thousands of his Subjects into Captivity. The Cries of the Widows, Fatherless and Orphans, at last pierc'd the Ears of the Emperor. He awoke as out of a Dream, shook off the idle Ornaments of a Court, put on his Arms, and exerting the Vigour of his Imperial Genius, prepar'd to Revenge his own Honour and God's Glory, which *Chosroes* had trampled under Foot.

*Heraclius*  
*in Danger*  
*to be slain*  
*by the*  
*Avari.*  
620.

*Heraclius*  
*prepares*  
*for War*  
*with Per-*  
*sia.*

621. The next Year he prevail'd with *Chagan* to conclude a Peace with him, that he might not leave an Enemy at his Back. He rais'd a mighty Army consisting as well of *Huns*, *Avari* and other Barbraous Nations, as of his own Subjects. The Spoils of the East were a tempting Argument to perswade Men to list under his Banner; but he wanted Money for their present Pay. The Patriarch and Clergy of *Constantinople* readily lent the Church Plate to supply him, and other Churches follow'd their Example. The Emperor appointed Commissioners to receive their Gold and Silver and bring it into the Treasury, where 'twas Coin'd and laid up for the use of the Army. He made his Son *Constantine Augustus* Governor of *Constantinople*, ordering *Sergius* the Patriarch, and *Borus* a Patritian, a Man of eminent Wisdom and Experience, to direct and assist him. He again sent to *Chagan* exhorting him to keep his Word and Oath, and not disturb his Dominions in his Absence; and the Year following set forward for *Persia*, in the Easter-Holidays. In his March he Train'd and Disciplin'd his Men to prepare them for Action, many of them being new rais'd Troops Raw and Unexper-  
enc'd.

*Constantine*  
*his Son made*  
*Governor*  
*of Con-*  
*stantino-*  
*ple.*

622.

In the mean time *Saex* General of the *Persian* Army, A.D. 622: was come as far as *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*, and to amuse *Heraclius* sent to invite him to a Treaty. The Emperor at his Desire met him, and trusting too much to flattering Discourse, sent Seventy of his Nobility with him on an Embassy to *Chosroes*. But the false *Persian* bound them and led them into *Persia* like so many Slaves. *Chosroes* dealt by him as he deserv'd, he Commanded him to be Flead for having seen *Heraclius*, and not brought him away his Prisoner. The *Romans* were thrown into Prison and barbarously us'd there. In the Place of *Saex*, *Chosroes* put *Sarbaras* at the Head of his Army. The Emperor still advancing towards *Persia*, his Soldiers falling out among themselves, he took a great deal of Pains to reconcile them one to another, and animate them against the Common Enemy. When he arriv'd at the Borders of *Armenia*, he understood a Body of *Persians* were posted there to dispute his Passage. These his Forlorn engag'd, defeated, took the Commander in chief, and brought him to his Presence. Winter drawing on he made a Feint, as if he intended to retreat and take up his Quarters in *Pontus*. By this Stratagem he deceiv'd the *Persians*, and got an Opportunity to fall into their Territories. The King's General in *Galatia* and *Cilicia*, perceiving his Master's Dominions were like to be the Seat of the War, quitted the Empire and march'd Home to defend them. *Heraclius* met him, gave him Battel, obtain'd a signal Victory, and took his Camp and Baggage.

*The Treachery of the Persians.*

*Heraclius's Forces beat the Persians from their Posts.*

*He routs the Persian Army.*

The Season being far advanc'd he retir'd into *Armenia*, dispers'd his Troops into their Winter Quarters, and went himself to *Constantinople*.

Early in the following Spring he cross'd the *Euxine*, and pass'd into *Asia Minor* to make head against *Sarbaras*, whom *Chosroes* had order'd to waste the *Roman* Empire. He once more sent Embassadors to the *Persian* King to desire Peace, which the Barbarian insolently deny'd. His Pride was now grown so rampant, that thinking himself above the race of Men, he claim'd equality with the Gods, and as a God commanded his Subjects to adore him. However *Heraclius* finding all his Offers rejected, resolv'd to prosecute the War with Vigour, and hearing the King lay with 40000 choice Men

623.

*Chosroes once more refuses to treat with Heraclius.*



A.D. 622. Men at *Gazacum* in the Province of *Atropatia* in *Media*, he enter'd the *Persian Territories*, detach'd a Party of *Saracens* to get Intelligence, who charg'd *Chosroes's* Scouts, took some of them Prisoners and brought 'em to the Emperor, the rest escap'd to their Camp. The King being inform'd of *Heraclius's* approach, immediately took Horse and fled, destroying all the Fruits of the Earth in his Flight that his haste would permit him to spoil. The Emperor proceeded farther into his Dominions, took *Gazacum*, where was the Temple of the Sun and the Treasure of *Craesus King of Lydia*. In

*Chosroes  
flies before  
him.*

*The Persi-  
an King's  
Vanity and  
Pride.*

*A Temple  
built to  
him.*

*He is wor-  
ship'd as a  
God.*

*Heraclius  
burns his  
Temple.*

*Marches  
Victorious  
thro' Per-  
sia.*

this City he found the Image of *Chosroes* erected in the midst of a Palace, in imitation of the Vault of Heaven, with the Sun, Moon and Stars about him, and Ministering Angels attending on his Divinity. Machines were also discover'd, by which he could imitate Rain and counterfeit Thunder. *Heraclius* abhorring the daring Impiety of his Enemy, burnt the Idol, the Temple and the City to Ashes; and the Divinity of this mock God vanish'd before him as his Manhood fled from him, with Terror and Amazement. Then *Heraclius*, which never *Roman* Emperor had done before, wav'd the Imperial Standard in the Heart of the *Persian* Dominions, and bore the *Roman Eagle* thro' the Kingdom of *Cyrus* as far as the Streights of *Media*, Destroying and Spoiling all Places through which he past, dealing to the *Persians* the hard measure they had dealt to his Subjects without any Provocation. Thus he march'd like a Conqueror to the inmost Provinces of *Persia*, till Winter coming on, As the Custom was in those Times, he spent three Days in Prayer and Praises to God for a Blessing on his Arms, and then open'd the Gospels, a Ceremony much us'd by Christians; The Superstition of that Age making them fancy they should find there, as at an Oracle, Directions how they should proceed; and the Emperor imagin'd 'twas ordain'd him to Winter in *Albania*, so he turn'd back towards *Armenia Major*. In his retreat he was incommoded by the *Persians* who laid several Ambushes for him. However he got clear of them all, and carry'd off the greatest Booty the *Romans* ever brought out of *Persia*. The Frost was the severest Enemy he had to deal with, and his Prisoners wanting Necessaries to defend themselves from the violent Cold,

were

were the most pinch'd by it. *Heraclius* out of Compassion to his Fellow Creatures set them all at Liberty, being no fewer than Fifty Thousand, which so affected them, that they pray'd as he had given them Liberty, so he might deliver all *Persia* from the Destroyer of Mankind, the Tyrant *Chosroes*. His Troops he Quarter'd up and down in *Albania*, and the Greater *Armenia*, to be ready against the next Campaign; at which time *Chosroes* sent *Sarablacas* with the Flower of his Army to fight him in *Albania*, and order'd his other General, *Sarbazanes*, to follow *Sarablacas*, and support him in the Execution of his Commission. The Former durst not give *Heraclius* Battle; he contented himself with seizing some Posts that lay convenient to annoy him in his March.

624.

*Sarbazanes* not being come up, *Sarablacas* waited for his Arrival; and the Emperor, to draw him to an Engagement, before the two Armies were join'd, advanc'd towards the Frontiers of *Persia*. His Soldiers tir'd with the Fatigues of the last Campaign, began to mutiny, especially the *Lazians* and *Abasgians*, who positively refus'd to march. These Delays gave *Sarbazanes* time to draw near *Sarablacas*; and now the Romans apprehending the ill Consequence of their Junction, beg'd the Emperor's Pardon with Tears, and desir'd him to lead them against *Sarablacas*. *Heraclius* accordingly try'd all the Ways he could think of to draw the *Persian* General to a Battle; but finding he warily avoided it in expectation of the coming up of the other Army, the Emperor left them both, and march'd directly towards *Chosroes* himself. Two Romans deserting to the Enemy, assur'd him, that *Heraclius* made off, out of Fear of engaging; which Advice coming at the same time, that he receiv'd News of *Sain*, another General's Approach with more Forces, he resolv'd to engage, before *Sain* came up to share the Glory of a Victory. *Sarbazanes* had join'd *Sarablacas*, and both of them follow'd the Emperor, who, perceiving they encamp'd near him, fac'd about and prepar'd for a Battle. The *Persians* trusting to the Report of the Deserters, imagin'd, *Heraclius* was flying out of Fear, and as in a disorderly Pursuit fell on the Romans tumultuously. The Emperor improving their Mistake easily defeated them, killing

*Heraclius*  
leaves a-  
other *Pers-*  
ian Army.

A.D. 624. many, and *Sarablacas* among the rest. The *Persians* however lost not their Courage, but being animated by the Arrival of *Sain* and his Troops, they rally'd and follow'd the *Romans*, who were under no small Consternation, marching into the Territories of the *Hunns*, or *Tartars*, inhabiting the Modern Kingdom of *Astracan*, and the Regions on the *Caspian Sea*.

The *Lazians* and *Abasgians* now ran from their Colours out of a Pannick Fear, which encourag'd the *Persians* to pursue them with more haste and a better Will. *Heraclius* animated his Soldiers by representing to them, *That they were fighting the Lord's Battles, making War with Infidels and Idolaters; and they would die the Death of the Righteous, if they perish'd in this Cause, the Defence of their Faith, their Country, and their Prince.* He then drew them up in Battalia, and offer'd the Enemy the Combat. Both the *Roman* and *Persian* Armies stood in view of each other a whole Day, without striking a Stroke. At Night *Heraclius* remov'd and march'd towards *Perfarmenia*, a Part of *Armenia* so call'd, because 'twas always annex'd to the Crown of *Persia*. The *Persians* follow'd him, and thinking by a shorter Cut to overtake him, they found themselves entangl'd in Woods, and bemir'd in Fenns, which gave the Emperor time to gain Ground, and reach the Borders of *Persia*. As soon as they were disengag'd out of their Marshes and Thickets, they persu'd him hoping to recruit their Army in their own Territories; and that *Heraclius*, who, they fancy'd fled out of Fear, would be easily put to Flight. But the Emperor on the contrary charg'd them with such Fury, that he overthrew all the *Persian* Forces, and oblig'd *Sarbazanes* their General to leave his Arms behind them. He plunder'd their Camp, where his Soldiers found an inestimable Booty, and took a vast Number of Prisoners. After this he scour'd the Provinces of *Persia*, rov'd up and down at Pleasure, till Winter came on, and then Quarter'd his Troops in the Enemy's Country.

*Routs two  
other Per-  
sian Ar-  
mies.*

625.

As in this Year he ravag'd the Western and Northern Parts of *Persia*, so in the next he persu'd his Conquests in the Eastern and Southern Provinces, Plundering and Spoiling them, till his Men were almost born down by the Weight of their Booty: He then led them

them by the Mountain *Taurus* into *Syria*. Stopping at A. D. 625, *Martyropolis* and *Amida*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of *Constantinople*, how he had succeeded in his Expedition, where the News was receiv'd with Transports of Joy, answerable to the Greatness and the Glory of his Actions.

He permitted his Soldiers to spend some time in Quarters of Refreshment: But hearing *Sarbazanes* was moving towards the Frontiers of his Empire, to revenge the Spoil he had committed in *Persia*, he sent some Troops to oppose him in the direct Road, and himself past the *Nymphius*, Forded the *Euphrates* to the Amazement of the Enemy, took the City of *Samosata* in *Comogena*, past the River *Sarus*, secur'd the Bridge and the Forts about it, and there encamp'd. *Sarbazanes* follow'd him, overtook him at the Passage of the *Sarus*, encamp'd on the other side of the River, on a Piece of Ground facing the Bridge. The *Romans* had been so Fortunate of late, that they could not endure to be insulted by the *Persians*. A Party of 'em, contrary to the Emperor's express Commands, ventur'd over the Bridge and attack'd the Enemy. These, *Sarbazanes* had certainly cut to pieces, if the Emperor in Person had not advanc'd to their Relief, and by his Words and Example, animated his Soldiers to repel the Enemy, who were forc'd to retire, and in the Night they broke up their Camp and departed, leaving the Emperor free Passage into their Territories.

*Chosroes* grown desperate by so many Misfortunes, in Revenge took away the Plate out of all Christian Churches throughout his Dominions; and to vex *Heraclius*, oblig'd all his Catholick Subjects to embrace the *Nestorian* Heresie. He compar'd his own Fortune against the *Romans*, with that of his Ancestors, and was ready to make away with himself, finding what he lost by the Comparison. So often had his Armies been beaten by a People over whom the Successors of *Cyrus* were wont to Triumph, and himself was forc'd to hide his Head in Obscurity, and fly before a *Roman* Emperor, whose Predecessor *Valerian*, Lord of many more Mighty Nations than *Heraclius* govern'd, bow'd his Neck for a Foot-stool to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, when he mounted his Horse. He blush'd to think that

*Chosroes*  
extreamly  
mortify'd.



A.D. 626. he alone should be the only *Persian* King whom the *Romans* could master, and enrag'd at so many Affronts, resolv'd next Year to make a powerful Effort, and revenge himself at once for 'em all.

He thought, if he could transfer the War into the Heart of the Empire, his own Kingdom would be the more easily clear'd of the Invaders. He sent Ambassadors to the *Chagan*, or King of the *Avari*, to engage him to make a Diversion in *Thrace*. He levy'd a vast Army of all Nations, as well Bond Men as Free. The choicest of these Forces he committed to the Conduct of *Sais*, ordering 50000 Men of *Sarbazanes's* Army to joyn *Sais's*, and march against the Emperor. *Sarbazanes* with the rest of the Forces, was to proceed to *Chalcedon*, and from thence pass over to *Constantinople*, where the *Chagan*, a Perfidious *Hunn*, promis'd to meet him. The *Barbarian*, as he had given the *Persian* Ambassadors assurance he would do, rais'd an Army of *Hunns*, *Sclavi* and *Gepidae*, invaded *Thrace*, and lay down before *Constantinople*, where we must leave him slowly carrying on the Siege, for want of Experience in such sort of Actions, and see how *Heraclius* behaves himself in the East.

The Avari  
at the Insti-  
gation of  
Chosroes  
invade  
Thrace,  
and Besiege  
Constanti-  
nople.

He had Intelligence of the Division of the *Persian* Armies and accordingly he divided his own. He gave the Command of one Body to *Theodorus*, his Brother, ordering him to make Head against *Sais*. A Second he sent to relieve *Constantinople*, and march'd at the Head of the Third into *Lazica*, to raise more Forces. He also dispatch'd away an Embassy to procure Aid of the *Chazari*, or Eastern *Turks*, who broke into *Persia* thro' the *Caspian* Gates, and pierc'd as far as the Province of *Androega*. *Zebilus* their Captain had an Interview with *Heraclius* in his March from *Lazica*. The *Turk* concluded a Treaty with him, left his Son as an Hostage for his Performance of the Articles, and to Command the Auxiliaries, no less than 40000, with which he supply'd the *Roman* Army.

The Turks  
assist He-  
raclius.

Theodo-  
rus, He-  
raclius's  
Brother de-  
feats *Sais*,  
the Persian  
General.

In the mean time *Theodorus* met *Sais* with the Flower of the *Persian* Troops, for that reason call'd the *Golden Company*, and gave him Battle. 'Tis reported, that a violent Storm of Hail fell in the Instant on the *Persians*, and distrest them so much, that the *Romans* easily routed them; and well they might, when they had a Miracle

Loſt  
Sea  
of W  
Fear  
Spir  
ſo for

cle on their side. *Sais* was so barbarously treated by *A.D. 626.*  
*Chosroes*, for his Misfortune, that he dy'd of pure  
 Grief: after his Death the King inhumanly insulted his  
 Corps, his Resentment following him to his Grave.  
*Sarbazanes* besieg'd *Chalcedon*, and the *Avari* block'd up  
*Constantinople* by Sea and Land. The *Roman* Annalist  
*Baronius* tells us, that at last the City was reliev'd by the *A fabulous*  
 Miraculous Appearance of a Lady, issuing out of the *Story of*  
 Gate of *Blachernæ* with a Train of Eunuchs towards the *Baronius.*  
 Besiegers Camp. The *Barbarians*, by her Mien and At-  
 tendance, thinking it had been the Empress *Eudoxia*,  
 (who by the way had been dead above twelve Years)  
 coming in the Absence of her Husband to treat for the  
 Besieg'd, made a Lane for her to pass freely, intending  
 to fall upon the Soldiers that came forth with her.  
 But observing that she had no Guards, nor took the  
 way to the General's Tent, they follow'd her; and  
 when they had almost overtaken her, she disappear'd.  
 The Pursuers, like so many mad Men, fell from Words  
 to Blows, and destroy'd one another, till Night parted  
 them. The next Morning the Commander in Chief  
 inquiring into the Matter, and seeing he had lost above  
 half of his Men, rais'd the Siege and departed. At the same  
 time the *Barbarian* Fleet in the *Euxine*, was overtaken  
 by a Tempest, and few of their Ships escap'd. *Baro-*  
*nius* reports this Miracle as so much Gospel, from the  
 Authority of *Cedrenus* a Monk, who wrote in the  
 Eleventh Century. But 'tis more probable, that the  
*Avari*, as other Authors relate, after they had in vain  
 lay'n before the City 10 Days knowing little of the *The Avari*  
 Art of Besieging Towns, drew off, rifl'd and wasted the *return*  
 Country about it, and retreated homewards with their *home.*  
 Booty. However, *Sarbazanes* would not quit the  
 Siege of *Chalcedon*. He Winter'd on the Coasts of the  
*Euxine*, and laid most of the Neighbouring Towns in  
 Ashes.

*Chosroes's* Despair was heighten'd at the News of these  
 Losses and that *Heraclius* despising the Rigor of the *The Turks*  
 Season, persu'd him in his own Dominions in the *Desert He-*  
 of Winter. The *Turks*, either out of Treachery, or *raclius.*  
 Fear, deserted the Emperor; and this kept up *Chosroes's*  
 Spirit till he had seen the Effect of his last Attempt to repel  
 so formidable an Invader. He mutter'd all the Forces he

A.D. 626. could get together, and made one *Razastes*, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, their General. These were his last Hopes.

*Heraclius* destroying all before him, was advanc'd as far as the Province of *Camaitha*. Thither *Razastes* pursues him, not doubting but to put an end to the War by the Death of the Conqueror, he had such a good Opinion of his own Strength. *Heraclius* nothing discourag'd, Detach'd a Party, under the Command of *Beanas*, to observe the Motions of the *Barbarians*. This Detachment fell in with the Band that guarded the *Persian* Standard, kill'd all the Guards except 26, and brought away the rest Prisoners, whom they presented to the Emperor, together with the Head of him that Commanded them. Among the Prisoners was *Razastes's* Armour-Bearer, who inform'd *Heraclius*, that his Master expected a considerable Reinforcement, and then intended to fight him. The Emperor resolv'd to prevent him, and attack'd him before the other Forces had joyn'd him. He never shew'd more Personal Bravery than in this Engagement. He kill'd three of the *Persian* Officers with his own Hand; and so glorious an Example could not but shew the Troops he commanded the way to Conquest. Tho' the *Persians* stood it out all Night, the *Romans* were in the end Victorious. They kill'd *Razastes* and most of his under Officers, few of the Common Soldiers escaping. The Emperor lost no more than 50 Men. The Plunder of the Slain and the Prisoners, were the Victors Reward. Among the other Spoils was found *Razastes's* Shield and Armour, all of Massy Gold. *Heraclius*, to strike the more Terror into *Chosroes*, and oblige him to withdraw his Troops out of the Empire, immediately after the Victory bent all his Thoughts how to get him into his Power. He pass'd the River *Zaba*, and kept his Christmas at *Jesdemon*, a Royal Seat belonging to the Kings of *Persia*. From thence he remov'd to *Rusa*, another of the King's Houses, which he demolish'd, and then took up his Quarters at *Beclam*, where *Chosroes* had lately lodg'd. Here he found Variety of strange sorts of Animals, and other Rarities, worthy the Magnificence of the *Persian* Court. He learnt here, that *Chosroes* lay at *Dyspagarda*, another of his Palaces of Pleasure, using his

*Heraclius's* Personal Bravery.

Overcomes a Royal Army of *Persians* with the loss of 50 Men only.

Pursues *Chosroes*.

Endeavour

Endeavours to get another Army on Foot. Thither he A.D. 626. perſu'd him; and tho' he miſt the *Barbarian*, he found *Seizes his* his Treafure; the Standards formerly taken from the *Treafures*. *Romans*, and ſeveral Captives carry'd away by the *Persians* from *Edeſſa*, and other Places whom he releas'd. *Chof-* Chofroes roes himſelf eſcap'd thro' a Hole in a Wall, fled with his *efcapes thro* Wife and three Daughters to *Seleucia*, a Caſtle beyond a Hole in *Cteſiphon*, where he hid, till he thought the Danger was a Wall. over. To this, and all his other Royal Manſions the Emperor ſet Fire, as he ſaid, *To let Chofroes feel what he did when he deſtroj'd the Roman Cities*. Thus was the Proud Monarch of the Eaſt, who lately pretended to ſit Enthron'd as a God among the Stars, forc'd like a Thief to ſhift from place to place; and he that ſome Months before could not travel, attended by his Servants, only five Miles a Day, could now ride above five times as many with his Wife and Children.

627.

While he lay in the Caſtle *Seleucia*, ſome of *Sarbazanes's* Enemies inſinuated to him, that he might ſooner have taken *Chalcedon*, if he had not kept a Correſpondence with the *Romans*. He, giving Credit to their Suggeſtions, wrote to *Chardarichus*, the next Officer in Command to the General, to kill *Sarbazanes*, and return home with his Army. By chance a Party of *Romans* took the Courier, that was ſent with the Letter, on the Borders of *Galatia*, and carry'd him to *Conſtantino Auguſtus* at *Conſtantinople*, who diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to *Sarbazanes*, to deſire him to attend him on a Matter of the laſt Importance to him. The General came, and the young Prince ſhew'd him *Chofroes's* Letter, which ſo enrag'd the *Persian*, that he made Peace with the Patriarch in the Emperor's Name, and wrote in the King's Letter, That with himſelf 400 other Officers ſhould be ſlain. On his Return to his Army he ſummon'd a Meeting of his Officers, and 'twas agreed to read the King's Letter to all the Soldiers, and to demand, if 'twas reaſonable that all thoſe Perſons ſhould die. They all abhor'd *Chofroes's* Cruelty, and requir'd their Generals to conclude a Peace, that they might not be moleſted in their Retreat.

*A Conſpi-  
racy againſt  
Chofroes.*

*Heraclius*, Victorious as he was, condeſcended even now to offer the *Persian* King Propoſals for a Treaty between them, which the *Barbarian* reſected; and this



A.D. 627. help'd to set his Subjects more against him. What contributed chiefly to his Ruin, was his attempting to set Siroes, his up *Mardesanes*, his youngest and darling Son for his Son rises a- Partner in the Throne. *Siroes*, the Eldest, appeal'd to gainst him. the *Satrapæ*, or *Grandees of Persia*, of whom Twenty two declar'd for him; and *Heraclius* wrote to him to set all the *Roman* Captives free, and persue his Father. *Siroes* did as he advis'd him, took *Chefroes* and his Sons, Imprison'd his Father and his Brethren, order'd the former to be fed with Bread and Water, to be thrown into a Dungeon, and have Links of Iron fasten'd about his Neck. He sent several of the *Satrapæ* to insult him, and spit in his Face; and having kill'd all his other Sons in his sight, Commanded him to be shot to Death.

Throws  
him into a  
Dungeon.  
Kills his  
Brethren in  
his Sight.  
Has him  
shot to  
Death

628.  
Concludes  
a Peace  
with He-  
raclius.  
Heraclius  
returns in  
Triumph to  
Constan-  
tinople.

*Siroes* presently sent to the Emperor to notify his Advancement. He made a perpetual Peace with him, releas'd all the *Roman* Captives particularly *Zacharias*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and restor'd the Wood of the Cross, as also all that his Father had taken from the Empire, which were several Provinces and Cities.

The Emperor, after the Conclusion of this Treaty, having setl'd the Affairs of *Armenia* and *Syria*, return'd in Triumph to *Constantinople*. The Citizens hearing of his Approach, went forth in innumerable Crouds to meet him, singing Songs of Praise, and shouting, as if they would rend the Vault of Heaven with their loud Acclamations of Joy. His Son *Constantine* accompany'd with the Patriarch, fell at his Feet, whom he welcom'd with Tears of Joy, Kissing and Embracing him.

Indeed, the *Romans* could not enough Praise their Victorious Emperor, for delivering them from the Fear of a *Persian* Yoak. His Conquests were the more Remarkable, because he made War at a time when the *Roman* Legions were thin, the Treasury exhausted, and the Reputation of the Empire sunk so low, as to be rather an Object of Contempt than Envy. He in a few Years recover'd what himself and his Predecessors had lost in many, and reveng'd all the Indignities the *Romans* had receiv'd from the *Persians*, rais'd the Credit of the Empire, and asserted the Majesty of the *Augusti* in a Country where the old Consuls and the first Emperors

perors never durst appear, or never but with Disgrace A.D. 628. and Ignominy.

Happy had it been for his own Fame, and for his Subjects Good, if this Action had been his last, and his Reign had ended with his Victories; the remaining Part of it, is a Series of Disputes and Controversies in Matters of Religion. The Mighty Emperor, who lately led his Armies against the Powers of the East, now sits contentedly with Priests and Monks, disputing about Points of Doctrine, while Mahomet, the Grand Enemy of his Religion, is at the Head of his Troops, setting up a Monarchy, that in the Course of Time shall put an end to that of Rome.

Heraclius turns his Thoughts on Religious Disputes. Mahomet grows

Before we proceed farther in the History of Heraclius, it may not be improper to give some Account of

the Rise and Progress of this Impostor, whose Blasphemous Tenets began to get Ground in Asia, where at last they Triumph'd over the Faith of Christ, which was first planted in that part of the World. His Birth and Breeding have been often related; so we shall only mention that his Father was a Pagan, and his Mother a Jew; that he serv'd a rich Arabian Merchant, who dying, he marry'd his Widow, by which means he acquir'd the Possession of a great Estate; and his Ambition having no End, he resolv'd to employ his Wealth to the enlarging his Power. He had seen that no Authority was so Arbitrary and Incontrollable, as that which was stamp'd with the Seal of Heaven, and pretended to a Divine Right. His Birth was too well known for him to claim the Sovereignty by Succession, and therefore he thought of another way to render his Person Sacred, and his Government Lawful. None was so likely to prevail with the People, as by setting up a new Religion, and to provide for pleasing the Lustful Apperites of Mankind. To gain Profelites among all Parties, he made Batiras, a Jacobite Heretick, a Sect of the Eutichians; Sergius a Nestorian Monk; and some Jews, his Confidants in his Design, by whose Assistance he compos'd his Alchoran, a Medley of impertinent Enthusiastick Notions, which was adapted to the Humour of the Christian Hereticks and the Jews. He Crown'd the Work by promising to those that believ'd in him a new Paradise, where they should live in the Enjoyment of

His Rise.

The Alchoran made by a Jacobite Heretick, a Nestorian Monk and Mahomet.

Cæle.

A.D. 628. **Cœlestial Beauties, and an Eternal Youth.** This tempting Doctrin was embrac'd by most of the Robbers and Vagabonds of *Arabia*, who willingly believ'd what they wish'd, and follow'd *Mahomet* as a Prophet. His Paradise of Love was to be the Reward of all that dy'd fighting for the Propagating of his Faith, which made his Followers Bold and Fearless, running upon Danger as the shortest way to a Heaven that would make amends for all their Toils, if they perish'd; and if they succeeded, they enrich'd themselves with the Spoils of their Enemies. The Impostor soon got a numerous Band of these *Arabians* together, with which he subdu'd the rest of his Countrymen; and put all to the Sword that would not Believe and Worship as he did.

*The Story of Mahomet's Pigeon.* The Story of the Pigeon is well known to all sorts of Readers, and is therefore needless to be repeated. 'Tis enough to hint, that he pretended the Bird, he had instructed to peck at his Ear, was the Arch-Angel *Gabriel*, whom God frequently sent on Messages to him.

The *Arabians*, the most inconstant Nation in the World, in a little while began to grow Mutinous, especially the Wisest and Noblest amongst them. *Mahomet* apprehensive of the Danger he was in, fled from *Mecca*, where he resided, to *Medina* in *Arabia* the Happy the 16th of July 622. And from this *Hegira*, or Flight of their Prophet, the *Turk's* *Era* commences: He Reign'd at *Medina* several Years afterwards, Marry'd several Wives, and continu'd spreading his Blasphemies and enlarging his Dominions till his Death.

629. *Heracilius goes to Jerusalem. Celebrates the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Banishes the Jews. Puts them to the Sword at the Instigation of the Clergy.*

In the Year 629 *Heracilius* went in Progress to *Jerusalem* and the East, to restore the Patriarch and the Holy Wood, which he had brought with him out of *Persia*. Being arriv'd there, he bore the Cross in his own Hand into the great Church on the 14th of September, upon which Day the Feast of the *Exaltation of the Cross* was appointed to be Celebrated ever after. He banish'd all the *Jews* from that City and prohibited them by an Edict to come within ten Miles of it. Afterwards at the instance of the Clergy he put 'em all to the Sword, contrary to his Oath.

From

From *Jerusalem* he proceeded to *Edeffa* in *Syria*. A.D. 629.  
 Here he gave Audience to Ambassadors from the Kings  
 of the *Indies* and the *Franks*, who sent to Compliment  
 him on his Successes, and to Court his Friendship. He  
 expell'd all the *Nestorian* Hereticks out of *Edeffa*,  
 where they were grown so strong and presumptuous,  
 that they had turn'd the Catholics out of their Churches.  
 At *Edeffa* he had some Conversation with *Anastafius*, the  
 famous Protector of the *Jacobites*. The Emperor pro-  
 mis'd he would make him Patriarch of *Antioch*, provi-  
 ded he would renounce his Errors, which he did, but  
 still was as rank an Heretick at bottom as ever. He  
 cunningly put the Question to *Heraclius*, Whether  
 there were one or two Wills in *Jesus Christ*. The Em-  
 peror not being so well vers'd in the Controversie, as *A-  
 nastafius*, refer'd the deciding of it to *Cyrus*, Patri-  
 arch of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius* of *Constantinople*. *A-  
 nastafius* desir'd no more of him, knowing those two  
 Prelates to be infected with Jacobite Principles; a  
 Sect, that in opposition to the Doctrin of the Trinity,  
 never made but one Sign of the Cross in Baptism, to *Heraclius*  
 shew the Unity of Person in the Godhead. *Cyrus* and *turns Mo-  
 Sergius* answer'd, That *Christ* had no more than one Will. notholite.  
 The Emperor believ'd them, and from that time pro-  
 fess'd the Heresie of the *Monotholites*.

Thus instead of endeavouring to suppress a new and  
 dangerous Religion, set up in Defiance of the Name of  
*Jesus*. He busi'd himself about Disputes in his own,  
 and was industrious to make Converts to a new Schism. *Siroes*  
 While *Heraclius* was in the East, he heard of the Death kill'd by  
 of *Siroes*, King of *Persia*, who was kill'd by *Adhezir*, Adhezir  
 his own Son. *Adhezir* enjoy'd the Crown seven Months, his own  
 and then was himself murder'd by *Sarbazanes* or *Sarba- Son.*  
*ras*. Him the *Persians* slew eight Months after: Then Who is  
*Borana*, the Daughter of *Chosroes* Govern'd the King- slain by his  
 dom seven Months, and in the 20th Year of *Heraclius's* General.  
 Reign was succeeded by *Isdigerda* or *Hormisda* IV. with *Borana*,  
 whom the *Saracens* made War. *Chosroes's*  
 Daughter,  
 Queen of  
 Persia.

The next Year *Mahomet* dy'd, leaving only one  
 Daughter behind him, he having no other Issue survi-  
 ving him by all his Wives. His Kinsman *Ebubechar* suc-  
 ceeded him in the Sovereignty of his new Kingdom. 620.  
 And in the following Year the *Saracens* broke into dies. 631.  
*Persia*, 632.



A.D. 632. *Persia*, drove out *Hormisda* and their Captain or King. *Ebubechar* succeeded him. He conquers *Persia*, and drives out *Hormisda* the last King of the Line of *Artaxerxes*. *Ebubechar* was the first *Caliph* of the Race of *Mahomet*, that sat on the Throne of *Cyrus*. *Hormisda* was the last King of the Line of *Artaxerxes*, whose Kingdom was now a Prey to an upstart Nation, that possess'd it many hundred Years, and at last was turn'd out by the *Tartars*, a People as Barbarous as themselves.

*Ebubechar* having entirely subdu'd the *Persians*, turn'd his Arms on the *Romans*. He sent an Army in the Year ensuing to invade *Palestine*. They kill'd the Governor, seiz'd the City of *Gaza* and all the adjacent Towns. The next Year *Ebubechar* dy'd, and left his Dominions to *Omar*. He routed *Ali*, *Mahomet's* Son in Law, who aspir'd to the Supreme Dignity. had taken *Bosra*, the Capital City of *Arabia*, and brought both of the Kingdoms, so call'd, under his Obedience.

*Omar* march'd into *Syria*. Against him the Emperor sent *Theodorus* his Brother. Him the *Saracen* defeated, and forc'd to fly to *Heraclius* then lying at *Edeffa*. The Emperor in his room made *Boanes* his General, and joyn'd *Theodorus Sacellarius* in Commission with him. They would have had a numerous Army, if their Master's Orders had been obey'd; yet *Heraclius* was so terrify'd at the Report of *Omar's* advancing to give them Battle, that he fled to *Jerusalem*, remov'd the Cross and what else was valuable in that City, to *Constantinople*. *Boanes* and *Theodorus* were each at the Head of a great Body of Forces, and were order'd to joyn, that they might be the better able to oppose *Omar*. *Boanes* lay at *Damascus*, and *Theodorus* at *Edeffa*. The former should have remov'd to the Frontiers, but hearing the *Saracens* were coming down upon *Damascus* and *Phenicia*, he staid where he was, and sent to *Theodorus* to assist him. The latter impatient to engage the *Barbarians*, was routed; and then *Boanes's* Soldiers mutinying, renounc'd *Heraclius* and chose their General for their Emperor, upon whom the *Saracens* fell with their wonted Fury and destroy'd him and all his Men. *Damascus* and all *Phenicia* they easily subdu'd in the following Year, and push'd their Conquests as far as *Ægypt*. When the *Saracens* were on their March towards *Alexandria*, *Cyrus* the Bishop enter'd into a Treaty with them, and they promis'd to spare the Country for a

633.

634.  
*Omar* his  
Successor,  
defeats  
*Theodorus*, *Heraclius's* Brother.

635.  
*Boanes*,  
*Heraclius's* General chosen  
Emperor  
by his Soldiers.  
Himself  
and his  
Men cut  
off by the  
*Saracens*.

636.

Yearly

Yearly Tribute of 200000 *Denarii*. Upon which the A.D. 636.  
*Saracens* retir'd and joyn'd the *Caliph*, who had be- 62501.  
 sieg'd *Jerusalem*.

The *Citizens* made a resolute Defence; and *Omar*  
 finding 'twould take up time to reduce them, de-  
 tach'd a strong Party to conquer *Syria*, where *Sergius*,  
 a *Roman* Captain opposing them, lost his Life. The  
 whole Province was subdu'd in this and the next Year. 637.  
*Antioch* surrender'd: And *Jerusalem*, after she had for The Sara-  
 more than two Years held out against the Conquerors, cens con-  
 receiv'd them on Honorable Terms. The Emperor quer Syria,  
 refusing to continue the Tribute for *Aegypt* and *Alex- Jerusalem, Pa-*  
*andria*, the *Saracens*, in the 28th Year of his Reign, lestine, A-  
 seiz'd that Rich and Populous City and Province which had lexandria,  
 been considerable Members of the *Roman* Empire, e- and A-  
 ver since the Days of *Augustus*. gypt.

Thus in a few Years did this new Monarchy over- 638.  
 run *Persia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Palestine* and *Aegypt*,  
 the *Saracens* every where spreading the Infection of  
 their damnable Errors; and those their Arguments, the  
 powerful Temptations of Sense, could not Conquer their  
 Arms forc'd to be Profelytes to their Religion; some  
 out of a Desire of Novelties, others for the License of Mahome-  
 their Law, and more out of Fear renounc'd the Faith tism  
 of Christ, and embrac'd that of *Mahomet*. flourishes.

What can be said for the Emperor *Heraclius*, who all  
 this while was entirely taken up with Matters of Con-  
 troversie, Publick Festivals and Divertisements, as if  
 his Dominions had been in profound Peace? He had  
 put himself at the Head of the *Monothelites*, and in the 639.  
 Year ensuing Publish'd his *Ecthesis*, or Confession of *Heraclius*  
 Faith in favour of that Heresie, to which the Bishop only minds  
 of *Rome* refus'd to submit; and the Emperor himself Controver-  
 finding he could not gain his Point, disown'd the Ec- ses.  
*thesis* a Year after, declaring he was betray'd into it 640.  
 by the Insinuations of *Sergius*, who dy'd about this 641.  
 time. Himself did not long survive the Patriarch; for He dies.  
 in the following Spring he departed this Life. The  
 Distemper that kill'd him was a Dropsy, attended  
 with a Circumstance, which was look'd upon as a  
 Judgment on him for his incestuous Marriage with his  
 Neice. Every time he had occasion to make Water  
 his Urine flew up in his Face.

He

A.D. 641. He Reign'd almost One and Thirty Years ; and had the Beginning and End of his Reign been equal with the Middle he had without dispute been one of the greatest Princes that ever wore the Imperial Crown.

*The Inequality of his Life and Allions.*

But to consider him as he was in the first 10 or 12 Years of his Sovereignty, busying himself wholly about providing for his Family, Courting the *Hunns* and Begging the *Persians* to give him Peace ; Can we imagine 'tis the same Man, whom for the next seven or eight Years we find leading his Armies in Person, even to the Bounds of *India*, spreading the *Roman* Ensigns in the Royal Seats of *Chosroes*, keeping his Court in his Houses, and driving him from Hole to Hole, till he turn'd him out of his Throne ? Can we again believe this Conqueror is the same Man, who for the last ten Years of his Life is idly wasting his time in Sports and Feasts, or busying his Head with Speculations of Divinity ? What shall we say of a Life so Irregular and Unequal, but that the Hearts of Kings are in the Hands of God, whose *Paths are unsearchable, and his Ways past finding out ?*

## C H A P. IX.

*From the Death of Heraclius, to the  
Restauration of the Western Empire,  
by Charlemagne.*

*Containing the Space of One Hundred Sixty  
One Years.*

## Constantine III.

THE Roman Empire was now brought into a narrow Compass. In *Asia* it consisted of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Cyprus*. In *Europe* it retain'd only *Thrace*, *Greece*, Part of *Italy*, and the Islands in the *Mediterranean*. In *Africk* it kept what was recover'd in the Reign of *Justinian*; and tho' this is a small Portion compar'd to the Nations subject to the Monarchy of *Rome* in the first Century, yet the Provinces all together still made up an Empire, that under a good Administration might have been Formidable, and maintain'd the first Dignity of the World. But her Fate press'd hard upon her, and Homebred Factions and Foreign Invasions soon ravish'd from her a good Part of the little she had left.

*Constantine III.* succeeded his Father *Heraclius* in the Imperial Throne, and gave great Hopes of making his Subjects Happy in his Virtue. He was generous, a Friend to Merit, and detested all kind of Baseness and Immorality. This made *Martina* his Mother in Law Odious to him; and she, as well to secure her own Grandeur as to advance her Son, poyson'd the Emperor, by the Consent of *Pyrrhus* the Patriarch, a *Monotheite*, after he had Reign'd four Months and odd Days.

*Hera-*



## Heracleonas.

**C**onstantine left two Sons, whose Names were *Constans* and *Theodosius*. But *Heracleonas*, his Brother, by means of his Mother *Martina* and the Patriarch *Pyrrhus*, step'd into the Throne, where he sat six Months. The Senate abhorring both him and his Mother for the Murder of *Constantine*, about the latter end of *December* depos'd him of his Sovereignty, order'd his Nose to be slit, and *Martina's* Tongue to be cut out. They also depos'd the Patriarch *Pyrrhus*; and *Paul*, another *Monothelite*, was chosen Bishop in his stead; who, instructing the young Prince *Constans* in his Grandfather's Heresie, made him protect those Hereticks as he had done, to the great Detriment of the Catholick Church.

## Constans II.

**C**onstans, the Son of *Constantine*, and *Gregoria*, the Daughter of *Nicetas*, came to the Crown on the deposing of his Uncle *Heracleonas*. In the beginning of his Reign, *Mauritius*, Governor of *Rome*, revolted, but was reduc'd by *Isaicius* the Exarch. The Rebel fled to a Church for Sanctuary, out of which he was taken by Force, and his Head struck off, as he was leading in Chains to *Ravenna*. The Exarch *Isaac* two or three Years before having occasion for some Money, very freely seiz'd on the Pope's Treasures, gave Part of them to his Soldiers, and Part to the Emperor; for which, says the Popish Authors, he was miraculously punish'd; but how, or when, we have no Account of. He dy'd in the second Year of *Constans's* Reign, and *Theodorus Calliopas* was made Exarch in his room. We meet with nothing memorable in *Italy* for several Years; and whatever Events happen'd in the East, the Greek Historians are so succinct, or careless, that we are forc'd to pass from the second Year of his Reign to the sixth, which is too remarkable, by the *Caliphs* Conquering what the *Romans* still held in *Lybia*, and the South-

Southern Parts of *Mauritania*, *Hubba*, one of *Omar's* A.D. 647. Lieutenants, beat the *Præfect Gregory*, who had seiz'd on the Government of *Africa* without the Emperor's Authority, Expell'd the *Romans*, and forc'd the *Africans* to become Tributaries to the *Saracens*. From this time the Emperors of *Constantinople* never were in any Condition to assert their Title to what they lost in *Africk*; and the *Saracens* got such footing in the Country, that they have kept it ever since. The next Year *Muavia*, another of *Omar's* Lieutenants, Conquer'd *Cyprus*; and in that which follow'd, he took and destroy'd *Aradus*, an Island and City near the Coasts of *Phœnicia* in the *Syrian Sea*. Thus the *Greek Emperor's* Dominions diminish'd dayly, till at last they were driven up to a Corner in *Thrace*.

*Constans* about this time put forth an Edict call'd the *Typus*, declaring that to preserve the Peace of the Church, he forbid all Bishops, Priests or other Religious Persons, to meddle with the point touching the *Will or Wills of Jesus Christ*. The Patriarch *Paul* procur'd this Edict to silence the Bishops in the West, who were violent against the *Monothelite* Heresie; but it had a quite contrary effect. For Pope *Theodorus* call'd a Synod, Condemn'd the *Typus* and Excommunicated *Paul* the Patriarch, not so much to vindicate the *Catholick Faith* as to oppose the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and assume to himself and his Church a Power Superior to the Emperors. *Martin* who succeeded *Theodorus*, in another Synod condemn'd *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, together with other Bishops, the *Ecthesis* and *Typus*; for which he highly incur'd the Emperor's Displeasure; and *Constans* imagining that *Theodorus Galliopus* had not been so industrious as he expected he should be, to get the Popes to comply with his Edict, recall'd him and made *Olympius* Exarch, with Instructions by Flattery or Threats, to prevail with the Bishop of *Rome* to receive the *Typus*.

The *Saracens* from *Africa* invaded *Italy* soon after the arrival of the new Exarch. *Olympius* drove them to their Ships, and follow'd them to *Sicily*, where they committed dreadful Wast, and then retir'd. They harass'd the Exarch, that out of meer Trouble and Fatigue, he dy'd in the second Year of his Government.

A.D. 650. *Constans* order'd *Theodorus Calliopas* to return to *Italy* as *Exarch*. And to shew he did not spare the Pope out of any respect to the *Papacy*, when he found he could not oblige him to comply with the Emperor's Laws by fair means, he null'd him out of his *Exarch*.

651. Pulls Pope Martin out of the Church. Sends him to Constantinople. Law by fair means, he pull'd him out of his Church in the third Year of his Pontificate, and sent him to *Constantinople*. *Baronius* affirms, That the Men who were order'd to seize him were stricken Blind. But that is as credible as the other parts of his Annals which has any relation to the Pope's Sanctity or Authority. *Theodorus* shipt him for *Constantinople*, from whence the Emperor the next Year Banish'd him into the *Penitick-Cheremisco*, where he Dye'd in Misery.

652. He is Banish'd and Dies in Misery. Baronius makes this Pope a Saint. Eugenius made Pope while Martin was living.

In the following Year *Muavia* took *Rhodes*, destroy'd the famous *Colossus* a Brazen Statue of the Sun, seventy Cubits in height, erected by *Chares* Disciple of *Lyfip-*

563. *pus.* It was thrown down by an Earthquake 1300  
*The Sara-* Years before, about 60 after 'twas first Built. The  
*cens take* *Rhodians* were forbidden by the Oracle to raise it ;  
*Rhodes,* however they never durst presume to touch the Metal,  
*Destroy the* thinking 'twould have been Sacrilege. *Muavia* sold  
*Colossus.* it to a *Jew*, who loaded 900 Camels with the Brass of  
the Statue, which was so tall that a Ship with her Masts  
up might sail between its Legs, which extended cross  
the Haven.

654. *Musvius* finding 'twas so easie to Conquer Cities and Provinces, resolv'd to try his Fortune upon *Constantinople* it self, and in the 13th Year of *Constan's* Reign, he fitted out a Fleet at *Tripolis* in *Phanicia*, to Transport his Soldiers from *Asia* into *Europe*. There were then in that City two Christians Brothers, the Sons of a *Graccian* Trumpeter, who understanding the Fleet was prepar'd for an Expedition against their Sovereign *Constans*, open'd the Prison-Gates and set at Liberty the  
Chri

Christian Captives, whom they perswaded to attack the *A.D. 654.*  
*Mahometan* Governor or *Ameras*, and burn the Ships,  
 which they effected; and the Trumpeter's Sons seizing  
 a Ship made their Escape. *Muavias* order'd *Abulathar*  
 his Admiral, to repair the Fleet and seek out the Chri-  
 stians. Pursuant to his Orders the *Saracen* fitted out  
 a Powerful Navy, with which he engag'd the *Romans* *They fit out*  
 on the Coasts of *Lycia*. *Constans* was aboard in Per- *a Fleet.*  
 son, yet the *Saracens* got the better of the Christians.  
 The Emperor shifting his Cloaths was convey'd out of  
 the Ship he was in, by one of the Trumpeter's Sons in- *And over-*  
 to another. And making an early Retreat he reach'd *came the*  
*Constantinople* in safety. *Christians.*  
*flies.*

In the Year following *Constans* to recover the Honour *655.*  
 he had lost, enter'd the Territories of the *Sclavi*, took  
 some Prisoners and so return'd. In the mean time the  
*Saracens* continu'd their Depradations, and would have  
 brought the Emperor into much greater straits, had they  
 not been diverted by Divisions among themselves. *Os-*  
*man* the third *Caliph* of the *Mahometans*, Publish'd the  
 Law of the *Saracens*, being a Comment on the *Alcho-* *The Caliphs*  
*ran*, containing many Ordinances for Pilgrimages, Fasts, *or Kings*  
 and Prayers which the *Caliphs* were to Read and Ex- *of the Sa-*  
 pound to the People twice a Week. *Ali* who was still *racens o-*  
 Living and Reign'd over a small Portion of the King- *blig'd to*  
 dom his Father in Law possess'd, to gain more Parti- *Expound*  
 zans. Publish'd his Explication of his Father's *Alchoran*, *their Law.*  
 which was less Severe than *Osman*'s, and had the Effect  
 he desir'd. Many *Arabians* join'd with him, by whose  
 Assistance he reduc'd all *Arabia* under his Obedience.  
 Against him *Osman* sent his Son *Mahomet*, whom *Ali*  
 Defeated and Slew. Which was the reason that in the  
 fifteenth Year of the Emperor's Reign, he was oblig'd *656*  
 to recall *Muavia* his General out of *Phenicia* to oppose *Osman*  
*Ali*. *Muavia* fearing *Constans* would attempt to reco- *and Ad-*  
 ver part of the Provinces he had lost, humbly offer'd *ditions.*  
 to Treat, and Pay him a Yearly Tribute of One Thou- *The Sara-*  
 sand Crowns of Gold, a fine Horse and a Slave. The *cens say*  
 Emperor without considering what Reasons induc'd him *Constans*  
 to make these Offers, was glad to accept of them; and *Tea-*  
 consented to a Peace on those Conditions, quitting to *Constans*  
 the *Saracens* his Pretensions to the Provinces they had *quits the*  
 Conquer'd. If *Constans* had improv'd the Divisions in *Conquer*  
 the



A.D. 656. the new Empire of the *Saracens*, he might with no great difficult have put a stop to the further Progress of their Arms; but he was too busie about advancing the Monothelæ Hereſie, to think of Subduing thoſe inveterate Enemies of the Faith of Chriſt.

Muavia  
kills Ali.  
657

Is choſen  
Caliph.

While *Muavia* was preparing to make War upon the new Sect of the *Mahometans*, *Oſman* the third *Caliph* dy'd, and the whole Nation of the *Saracens* were divided about the Succeſſion. Thoſe of the Sect of *Oſman*, declar'd for his General *Muavia*. The Favourers of *Ali's* Sect were for *Ali*. *Muavia* having made Peace with *Conſtans*, march'd againſt his Competitor, who was grown Powerful, and *Muavia* was oblig'd to make uſe of Fraud to deſtroy him. He hir'd an Aſſaſſin to Murder him, which he did as he was at Prayers in a *Mosque*, and then *Muavia* eaſily ſeated himſelf in the Throne of *Mahomet*. Tho' the Sect of *Haly* or *Ali* is to this Day maintain'd in *Persia* and other Nations where *Mahomet's* Religion is profeſt.

The Biſhop  
of Raven-  
na pretends  
to Prece-  
dence above  
the Biſhop  
of Rome.

The  
Latin-Ser-  
vice and  
Organs firſt  
enjoy'd.

660

About the ſame time Pope *Vitalian*, *Eugenius's* Succeſſor, receiv'd a terrible Mortification; for as the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* pretended to be above that of *Rome*, becauſe his City was the Metropolis of the Eaſt and the Imperial Seat; ſo the Biſhop of *Ravenna*, Countenanc'd by the Exarch, began to diſpute Precedence with the Pope for a like Reaſon, *Ravenna* being the Governour of *Italy's* Place of Reſidence, and conſequently claim'd to be firſt in Spiritual Degree as ſhe was in Temporal. We ſhall hear more of it in this Pontificate. For the Popes of *Rome* have more than once ſhewn that they would rather let the whole World Perish, than part with one Article of their uſurpt Pre-rogative. In *Vitalian's* Time Organs and the Latin Service were firſt enjoy'd in Divine Worſhip.

The Truce continu'd between the *Romans* and *Saracens* till the Nineteenth Year of the Emperor *Conſtans*. When *Muavia* order'd his Fleet and Army to make an Attempt on the Iſland of *Sicily*. But before we proceed to the Rupture of the Truce, we muſt look back on the Emperor, who the laſt Year committed an Action that will render his Name infamous to all Ages. His Brother *Theodoſius* by his Virtue and Bounty, had gain'd the Love of the People, who hated *Conſtan's* Vices

Vices and Negligence. To prevent any Insurrection in Favour of his Brother, the Emperor order'd him to be Shav'd, and compell'd him to take Orders. He receiv'd the Cup from his Hands in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; yet his Jealousie could not be satisfy'd with what he had done. While *Theodosius* Liv'd, he fancy'd he shou'd not sit safe in the Throne : To secure himself and his Posterity in the Possession of the Sovereignty, he caus'd his Brother to be Murder'd. But if his Fears Tormented him before, his Guilt rackt him afterwards with more intollerable Pains. He fancy'd he saw his dead Brother by Day and by Night, and in his Dreams the Vision appear'd holding out a Cup of Blood, bidding him *Take and Drink it*. Being thus perpetually haunted by his Remorse at *Constantinople*, the City began to grow odious to him. He therefore resolv'd to quit it, and leaving his Wife and his three Sons behind him, he embark'd for *Sicily*. When he was got aboard his Pinace he turn'd back towards the City, and spat at it in Indignation.

Constans  
forces his  
Brother  
*Theodosius*  
us to turn  
Monk.

Causes him  
to be Mur-  
der'd.

Leaves  
Constanti-  
nople.  
Spits at it,

The Emperor's Voyage to *Sicily* broke *Muavia's* Measures. While he remain'd there, the *Saracens* did not infest the Island ; but *Italy* was involv'd in new Troubles, occasion'd by *Aripert*, King of the *Lombards*, dividing his Territories between his two Sons *Gundebert* and *Peritarid*, who were expell'd by *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneventum*. *Grimoald* murder'd *Gundebert* and seiz'd his Dominions by the Treachery of *Garobald*, Duke of *Turin*, whom *Gundebert* order'd to go as his Ambaffador to *Grimoald*, and desire Aid against his Brother. *Peritarid* fearing the same Fate, fled to *Clotaire*, the third King of the *Franks*, who sent him home with a potent Army, which *Grimoald* entirely defeated.

The Emperor thought now was the time for him to fall upon the *Lombards*, while they were at Variance among themselves. The next Year he equip'd the Imperial Fleet at *Sicily*, put aboard a numerous Army, and sail'd with them to *Tarentum*. He march'd towards *Beneventum*, where *Grimoald* had left his Son *Remoald*, when he remov'd to *Pavia*, the Seat of the *Lombard* Kings. *Remoald* immediately dispatch'd away *Sesuald* against the his Governor, to inform his Father of the Danger he was in, and to desire Succours. *Grimoald* made what

961.

Goes in  
the  
Lombards

A D. 661. haste he could to muster his Forces to oppose the Romans, ordering *Sesuald* to return and give his Son notice, that he would soon come to his Relief. The Messenger by chance fell into the Enemy's Hands, who brought him before the Emperor. *Constans* demanding who he was, and whence he came; *Sesuald* boldly answer'd, *From Grimoald, to acquaint his Son, whose Governor he was, that the King was marching to relieve him.* He order'd him to go to the Walls and tell *Romoald*, That there were no Hopes of Succours from his Father. Instead of which he bad him Be of good Courage, for the King would soon be there with a powerful Army to assist him, praying him to be kind to his Wife and Family, for he expected to be murder'd by their cruel Enemies. *Constans* enrag'd to see him dare his Power, Commanded his Head to be cut off and hung into the Town. *Romoald* order'd his Men to bring it to him, Wept over it, Kiss'd it and decently Bury'd it. The Emperor very well satisfy'd with this notable Action, broke up from before the City, and retir'd to *Naples*. *Transelmund*, Duke of *Capua*, charg'd his Rear, and did him some Damage, which made him hasten his Retreat. *Saburrus*, an Officer of his Court, perceiving the Emperor and all about him were in great Fear of *Grimoald*, offer'd with 200000 to give him Battle. *Romoald* pray'd his Father, that he might undertake this Champion of the Romans. *Grimoald* consented. The Armies engag'd, and the Fight was a long time doubtful, till *Arnelingus*, a Lombard, *Grimoald*'s Armour-Bearer struck down one of the Romans from his Horse, took him up on the Point of his Spear and held him aloft over his Head, as if he had been an Infant. The Romans, or rather Greeks, for so Historians began to call the Eastern Emperors and their Subjects, seeing what sort of Men they had to deal with, took to their Heels. The Lombards in the Chase slew *Saburrus*, and most of his Men.

The Romans  
routed.

662.

663.

Constans  
visits  
Rome.

Such was the Issue of *Constans*'s Expedition into Italy, where he spent the two following Years: In the latter, being the Twenty Third of his Reign, he resolv'd to visit Rome. He was receiv'd by the Pope and the rest of the Citizens with extraordinary Joy and Magnificence. 'Twas a new thing for them to see an Emperor. *Vitalian* the Bishop, the Senate, the Clergy

and

and the People met him 5 Miles out of the City. He was so well pleas'd with their respectful and affectionate Behaviour, that he threaten'd to remove the Imperial Seat to *Rome*, and sent for his Wife and Children; but the Citizens of *Constantinople* would not suffer them to leave the *Hebdomum*. *Constans* himself soon alter'd his Mind; he staid scarce a Fortnight in *Rome*, took away all the rare Monuments of her Antiquity and Majesty that were portable, rob'd the Churches of the Brass, with which some of their Coverings were plated, and then return'd to *Naples*. He remain'd there a few Months miserably oppressing the Inhabitants of that City and *Calabria*, by his Severity and Impositions, breaking into their very Churches to Rob them of their Vessels of Gold or Silver. From thence he cross'd over to *Syracuse*, and there kept his Court till his Death.

*Riftes the  
Romans  
and Itali-  
ans.*

'Tis reported, that he carry'd more Wealth out of *Italy*, than the *Barbarians* had done in several Invasions.

The next Year *Lupus*, Duke of *Forum Julii*, or *Friuli*, renounc'd his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, King of the *Lombards*; who being unwilling to lead his own Forces against him, hir'd *Chagan* King of the *Hunns*, whose Kings were all so call'd, to invade his Territories, promising to give them to him for his Encouragement. The *Hunn* readily accepted of the Terms, and enter'd *Friuli* with a strong Army. *Lupus* defended his Dominions like a brave Prince; but at last he was overpower'd and slain. The *Hunns*, like the other *Barbarians*, were mightily pleas'd with the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Country. *Italy*, they thought, was much better than the cold Regions on the *Danube*; and they did not care to leave it. They rov'd up and down in the Province, Plundering as well the Subjects of *Grimoald*, as the People of *Friuli*. The King by his Ambassadors desir'd *Chagan* to withdraw his Forces. The *Hunn* told them plainly, *He would not so easily quit a Country which he had Conquer'd by his Arms and the Blood of his Subjects*. *Grimoald* resolv'd to drive him out of his Dominions; and to do it effectually, made use of a Stratagem. Knowing his Army was not so numerous as the *Hunns*, he musterd his Troops before *Chagan's* Ambassadors, and order'd them for two or

*The Hunns  
in Italy.*



A.D. 665. three Days together to march before him in different Liveries. The Ambassadors taking them for so many distinct Armies, inform'd their Master, that *Grimoald* was coming against him with a mighty Power; upon which *Chagan* immediately retir'd into his own Country.

They retire  
665.

*Muavia* in the mean time refus'd to pay the Tribute agreed on by the Emperor's Treaty with him, and sent his Son *Fezid*, more Famous for his Performances in Poetry, than in Arms, to invade *Bithynia*. He proceeded as far as *Chalcedon*, and took *Armorium* in *Phrygia*, Garrison'd it and retreated with his Booty. But the Year following *Constans* sent one *Andrew* to recover it, who by Night got his Men over the Walls and put all the Garrison to the Sword.

666.

The Danger of the Eastern Provinces did not make the Emperor one jot the more kind to those in the West. He continu'd to impoverish the People of *Africk*, *Italy*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia* by heavy Taxes, sparing neither Clergy nor Laity, till his Government became intolerable, which *Saporus*, Præfect of *Armenia* observing, Rebell'd, in the 27th Year of his Reign, sending

667.

*Sergius*, the *Magister Militum*, or General of his Army to *Muavia*, to implore his Assistance. At the same time arriv'd *Andrew* on the same Errand, in behalf of the Emperor. The *Saracen* gave Audience to them both. *Sergius* promising much more than his Master could perform, gain'd his Point. *Muavia* declar'd for *Saporus*: But before he could get his Army ready to joyn the Usurper's, *Saporus* fell off his Horse by an Accident and broke his Neck. *Andrew* happen'd to seize *Sergius*, whom he immediately hang'd.

*Saporus*  
usurps in  
*Armenia*.

Breaks his  
Neck.

The Emperor did not long survive his good Fortune. No Warning could make him forbear his Tyrannical Administration. He was universally hated by his People; and on the 15th of *July*, in the Twenty Seventh Year of his Reign, the same *Andrew* knockt his Brains out in a Bath at *Syracuse*, with a Vessel, out of which the Servants belonging to the Bath us'd to pour Water. The History of his Life is the best Character we can give him. 'Tis too black to be shewn in little: When the Course of his Vices is interrupted by Action, it takes off something of the Deformity of the Picture. He was

668.  
*Constans*'s  
Brains  
knockt out  
by one of  
his Ser-  
vants.

Lustful,

Lustful, Cruel, Covetous, a Heretick, a Parricide and A.D. 668. a Tyrant; and 'tis more a Wonder how his People suf- *His wicked*  
fer'd him so long, than that at last they knockt him on *Character.*  
the Head. He left three Sons, *Constantine*, *Tiberius*  
and *Heraclius*. The Elder was declar'd *Augustus* by Constan-  
his Father, when he departed from *Constantinople*; and time IV.  
as soon as he heard of the Death of *Constans*, he as- *succeeds*  
sum'd the Sovereign Authority. *him.*

### Constantine IV.

THE Citizens of *Syracuse*, and the Officers of the  
Army there having the Memory of the late Em-  
peror in Abhorrence, would have none of his Race to *Mizizius*  
Reign over them. They therefore nam'd one *Mizizius* *usurps.*  
an *Armenian* to be Emperor. *Constantine*, on News of  
his Usurpation, equipt a Fleet and hasten'd thither to  
suppress him. *Mizizius* was a handsome effeminate  
Fellow, and had been drawn in to assume the Imperi-  
al Dignity much against his Will. *Constantine* easily  
reduc'd the Rebels, and put the Usurper to Death. *Is put to*  
*Death.*

For Princes seldom consider, whether those that take  
their Sovereignty on them, do it to please themselves, or  
others. 'Tis a Crime which they rarely pardon, the  
most Generous of 'em having no Mercy for a Rival;  
so Irresistable are the Charms of Power.

The Emperor, when he went to *Sicily*, was so young,  
that the Down on his Chin was scarce visible; but stay- *669.*  
ing there almost two Years, he return'd with a perfect *Why Con-*  
Beard; and the Citizens of *Constantinople* perceiving *stantine is*  
it, gave him the Sirname of *Pagonatus*, the Bearded. *styl'd Pa-*  
Soon after his Arrival he found himself involv'd in new *gonatus.*  
Troubles; for the Nobility that favour'd his two Bro-  
thers, *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, whom he had made his  
Colleagues in the Empire, demanded to have them  
Crown'd. They met at *Chrysopolis* to attend on the  
two new Emperors at their Coronation. *Constantine's*  
Ministers by fair Words got them to come to *Constan-*  
*tinople*; and the Emperor having his Brothers in his *He cuts off*  
Hands, cut off their Noses to prevent their Usurping, *his Bro-*  
the Crown being forbidden to Mutilated Persons. But *thers Noses.*  
this not satisfying him, he afterwards put 'em to Death; *670.*  
*Puts 'em to*  
*so Death.*

A.D. 670. so bloody and base an Action, that we may well question, whether he deserv'd what Pope *Leo II.* said of him, *That he was Crow'n'd by the Hand of God.* About this time *Vitalian*, Bishop of *Rome* dy'd, whose Successor was *Adeodatus* a Monk, taken out of the Cloyster and put into *St. Peter's* Chair. *Maurus*, Bishop of *Ravenna* now carry'd his Dispute with the Pope so high, that he excommunicated him, and refus'd to be subject to him. But *Domnus*, who succeeded *Adeodatus*, was too hard for him, and forc'd him to truckle to him, as his Spiritual Lord; a Conquest much more pleasing to the Bishops of *Rome*, than to Triumph over the *Flesh*, or the *Devil*. The present Emperor had one good Quality among many others, which in some measure made amends for his Cruelty to his Brethren. He heartily espous'd the Catholick Cause, and seem'd extreamly concern'd to see the Church so much troubl'd by the *Monothelite* Heresie, as will appear in the Sequel of his History. *Carthage*, and some Places on the Coasts of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* were still in the Possession of the *Romans* and the *Spanish Goths*. Into which the *Saracens* broke, in the Emperor's third Year, and carry'd away eighty thousand Captives. The next Year they made a Descent on *Sicily*, took *Syracuse*, Plunder'd it, and brought off what was most valuable. In the Winter they past into *Cilicia*, making mighty Preparations at *Smyrna* to besiege *Constantinople*, which they attempted in the following Spring.

The Bishop of Ravenna excommunicates the Bishop of Rome:

671  
The Saracens carry 80000 Captives out of Africk.

672  
Besiege Constantinople.

Are forc'd to retire:

673

The Emperor was now in a Condition to receive them; all Mutinies were suppress'd and Usurpers remov'd; his Subjects began to conceive Hope of his Virtues, and chearfully list'd to serve him; the *Saracens* seiz'd the Borders of *Thrace*, as far as the *Hebdomum*, the Imperial Palace in the Suburbs of the City. They lay between the *Golden Gate* and the Promontory of *Cyclobium*, within a League of the City; and here the Emperor engag'd them with such Resolution, that after 5 Months fruitless Attempts to master the Haven and Town they were forc'd to retire to *Cyzicum*, where they laid up till the Spring; then they return'd to the Siege, and continu'd it with great Obstinacy four Years; some Authors say seven.

The War was carry'd on with various Success on A.D. 673. both sides; and we are told, the *Romans* were preserv'd by the Art of *Callinicus*, an *Egyptian* Mathematician, *Callinicus* who invented a sort of Wild-Fire, call'd *Græcus Ignis*, *invents a* which would burn under Water, and very much in- *Wild-Fire* commoded the *Saracens*, of whom 30000 were kill'd in *call'd Græ-* one Engagement. At Land, *Florus*, the Emperor's Ge- *cus Ignis;* neral in *Asia*, gave Battle to *Suphianus*, *Muavia's* Lieu- tenant in *Syria*, and slew most of his Army. Their Navy was in the Winter cast away near the *Syllæan* Promontory; and the following Year the *Saracens* fitted out a Fleet of 170 Sail, against whom, *Bamba*, King of the *Goths* in *Spain* order'd his Admiral to make Head. 674 The *Goths* gave the Infidels Battle, burnt and took most of their Fleet.

Yet all these Losses did not abate the Insolence of the *Saracens*. They persv'd their Design on *Constanti-* nople; and perhaps had at last distress'd it, had they *The Maro-* not been diverted by an Irruption of the *Maronites*, or *nites too* *Mardites*, who seiz'd on the Mountains of *Libanus*, *here for the* and so strongly fortify'd themselves there, that they *Saracens;* were safe against all Attacks: They made Excursions to the Gates of *Jerusalem*: Multitudes of Slaves, whom the *Mahometans* had made so in their Conquests, came in to them, and in less than a Year they became terrible to the Infidels, who found themselves reduc'd to a Necessity of begging Peace. 675

Instead of persuading *Constantine* to listen to a Treary, had his Ministers advis'd him vigorously to assist the *Mardites*, who were a sort of Christians, in all Probability *Palestine*, *Syria*, and the Provinces the *Saracens* had subdu'd in *Asia*, might have been reunited to the Empire: But this Opportunity, the fairest that Providence ever put into the Hands of the Christians to recover the *Holy Land*, was lost thro' the Avarice of the Courtiers, and the Vanity of their Prince. *John* a Patritian, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, in the 9th Year of his Reign, concluded a Truce for Thirty Years between his Master and *Muavia*, on Condition the *Saracens* paid a yearly Tribute of 30000 Pounds of Gold, 500 Slaves and as many fine Horses. 676



**A.D. 676.** On the Conclusion of this Truce, *Chagan*, King of the *Hunns*, sent Ambassadors to buy *Constantine's* Friendship, as the *Caliph* had done. which he purchas'd at a very easie Rate; for the Reputation of the *Roman Arms* was not so high, as to make 'em difficult to be appeas'd when they were angry. The *Saracens* forc'd the *Mardites* to submit: However, they did it on Honourable Terms. Their Civil and Religious Liberties were to be maintain'd, for which they agreed to pay a small Tribute; tho' little as 'twas, they thought it a great one, being very poor and miserable. They, to this Day, inhabit the Country about *Libanus*, so wretched, that the *Turks* have not thought it worth an entire Conquest, tho' the Bishops of *Rome*, whose Lust of Power is as violent as that of Money, have been at some Trouble to pervert them to their Idolatry, valuing themselves always more on the Number of their Votaries and the Antiquity of their Worship, than on the Purity of their Doctrin, or the Sanctity of their Lives.

676

*Constantine makes War with the Bulgari.*

The next Year the *Bulgari* mov'd in a Hostile manner towards the Frontiers of *Thrace*. The Emperor in Person went against them with a Fleet and Land Forces, upon which they retir'd into their own Territories, securing themselves in their Fastnesses. *Constantine* persud'd them, and besieg'd them to no Purpose. The *Romans* not succeeding in their Enterprize, the *Bulgari* grew more bold, especially on the Emperor's leaving the Army. He was taken ill of the Gout, and oblig'd (for his Health's sake) to go to the Baths of *Mesembria*. On his retiring, 'twas rumour'd about, that he fled; and his Soldiers, without examining into the Truth of the Report, ran away. The *Bulgari* fall'd out upon them, charg'd their Rear, kill'd many, persud'd the rest into the Empire, enrich'd themselves with good Booty and return'd home.

*The Romans woysted.*

678

*Constantine pays the Bulgari Tribute.*

*Constantine* in the following Year bought his Peace with them, agreeing to pay them an Annual Tribute. To such a contemptible State was the Majesty of the *Roman Emperor* reduc'd, that this Prince, tho' the greatest that sat in the Imperial Throne from *Heraclius's* Reign to the Dissolution of the Empire, was forc'd to become Tributary to a Crew of Vagbonds.

This

# Chap. IX. Constantine IV.

477

This Emperor *Constantine* is spoken very favourably A.D. 678. of by the *Roman* Writers, because he sided with the Pope in opposition to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who was a *Monothelite*. These Historians are the best in the World for putting a Gloss on the worst Actions; or rather than fail, to assert bold Untruths. They tell us, that *Constantine* did not put his Brothers to Death, but made them his Collegues in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, which is like the rest of their Assertions in the Affairs of Religion, contradictory to what they themselves affirm in other Places. For if the Emperor order'd their Noses to be cut, they could not assume that Dignity; and if they were living, how comes it we hear no more of 'em before nor after?

This Year Pope *Agatho*, who on the Death of *Domnus* was Elected to Govern the See of *Rome*, prevail'd with the Emperor, being himself very well inclin'd to it, before he apply'd to him about it, to call the 6th Oecumenical or General Council, which met at *Constantinople*, and open'd the 17th of *November*, in the 13th Year of *Constantine IV*. It consisted at first of 166 Fathers; but before the Session broke up, near 280 sat in that Assembly. The Pope's Legates assisted in it, and several Western Bishops. 'Tis worthy our notice, that *Agatho* writes to the Emperor to excuse the Ignorance of his Clergy in the Knowledge of the Scriptures, and the Languages that could not afford one Man of all the Swarms of Priests in *Italy* that understood the Bible, or the Latin Version, which oblig'd the Pope to send for a Divine out of *England*. His Deputies to the Synod in the same Letter are also desir'd to be excus'd in that Point. We may well imagine, that if the Light of the Gospel was in this Age so obscure to the Clergy, the poor Laity must of Course be involv'd in worse than *Cimmerian* Darkness; and we ought not to think it strange, that the Bishops of *Rome* could impose so much on the People of Christendom, who knowing nothing of the Christian Law, were forc'd to believe as they were told, that it consisted in the Pleasure of the Pope. The Eastern Bishops were not quite so illiterate as their Brethren in the West; they knew the Laws of God and Man so well, that without considering that the Bishops of *Rome* might hereafter pretend to Infallibility,

679  
The Fals-  
hood of  
Popish  
Authors.

680  
The 6th  
Oecumeni-  
cal Council  
sat at Con-  
stantino-  
ple.  
The Igno-  
rance of the  
Clergy.

A.D. 680 *The Synod excommunicates Pope Honorius, tho' he was dead, for his Heresie.* bility, as they did already to Universality. They excommunicated pope *Honorius*, tho' he was dead, for his professing the *Monothelite* Heresie, which they condemn'd together with the great Patrons of it. *Sergius* and *Pyrrhus*, Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Cyrus* of *Alexandria*, and others. The Severity of the Synod towards the *Monothelites*, exasperated the *Eutychians* of *Asia* and *Africk*: They grew the more obstinate the more their Friends were oppress'd. *Macarius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, refus'd to subscribe to this Council: And the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Alexandria* are said even now to retain something of the *Eutychian* and *Monothelite* Heresies, tho' the latter declin'd daily in the Empire after 'twas condemn'd by the Synod, which far till the *September* following. The Emperor by an Edict confirm'd the Decrees of the Council, and the Pope gave it the Sanction of his Authority. Three or four

681

682  
*The Papal Chair vacant 19 Months.*

683

684

Months after the Session broke up *Agatho* dy'd, and the Apostolick Chair remain'd Vacant nineteen Months, occasion'd by the scandalous Intrigues and Divisions carry'd on by the Competitors. At last in *August*, in the 16th Year of *Constantine*, *Leo II.* was Elected. He held the Pontificate scarce a Year; and then dying, was succeeded by *Benedict II.* to whom the Emperor remitted the Payment his Predecessors us'd to pay at their Promotion. However, tho' he forgave the Money paid for Confirmation, he reserv'd the Right of Confirming, and some of *Benedict's* Successors renew'd the Payment of the Fine, which was of no long Continuance.

All this while the *Roman* Emperor's Dominions enjoy'd more Quiet than had been known there for twenty Years past. The *Saracens* and *Lombards* religiously observ'd the Truce each Nation had concluded with the Empire. But when the *Romans* began to hope for happy Days, God, who for their Sins had condemn'd them to a Foreign Yoak, by his Providence interrupted the Course of their Happiness. *Constantine*, in the Seventeenth Year of his Rein, fell sick, and perceiving his End approaching, declar'd his Son *Justinian*, whom he had by the Empress *Anastasia*, his Colleague. His Promotion was approv'd by the Senate, in whose Presence *Constantine* gave his Son such wholesome Advice, that had he been so wise as to have heark-

end

en'd to it, he might have continu'd his People in the A.D. 684. Felicity they enjoy'd. *Constantine* surviv'd the Advance-Constantment of his Son but a few Weeks, and then he resign'd time dies. his Soul to God, and his Crown to *Justinian II.* having 685 Reign'd Seventeen Years and some odd Months.

*Justinian II.*

THE new Emperor was Sixteen Years old when he came to the Crown ; a Prince weak both in Body and Mind, unworthy the high Station to which he rose, by the right of Succession to his Father's Possessions, a Claim that never was more Fatal to a State, than 'twas now to the Remainders of the *Roman* Empire. For tho' the *Romans* soon discover'd the Incapacity of their Prince, at a Juncture when their Religion and Liberty were at Stake ; yet he was the Son of *Constantine*, they had receiv'd him for their Sovereign, and while his Government was any thing tolerable they obey'd him. His Father left him his Dominions in Peace ; and that Peace secur'd by Treaties and Alliances, which had for many Years been exactly observ'd by all Parties. The *Romans* possessing the best Ports in *Europe* and in *Asia*, began to flourish by their Industry ; and the Nations that had injur'd them, thought it more for their Interest to Court than Offend 'em.

*Jezid*, Son of *Muavia*, who Reign'd after his Father, was depos'd by the *Barbarians*, for his Love of Pleasure and Letters. *Abdelmelech* succeeds him ; and on *Jezid the Son of Muavia, depos'd for his Love of Letters.* *Justinian's* Accession to the Throne, he sent Ambassadors to Congratulate him, offering to relinquish *Africk*, and furnish the Emperor yearly with such a Sum of Money and Quota of Men, if he would undertake to repress the Inroads of the *Mardites*. *Justinian* undertook it, for which he was to have two Thousand Crowns a Day, with a Horse and a Slave, and to share with the *Caliph* the Tribute paid by *Cyprus* and *Iberia*. Pursuant to this Treaty, *Magistrinus* was sent into *Palestine*, to oblige all the Subjects of the Empire to lay down their Arms. These *Mardites* and their Confederates ravag'd the Territories of the *Caliph* to the Confines of *Armenia*, and did incredible Damage to the *Saracens*.



A.D. 686. *Saracens.* *Magistrrianus* disarm'd no fewer than 12000 of them, whose Service was wanted when the War broke out between *Justinian* and *Abdelmelech*. The

687.

*Justinian makes an Inglorious Expedition against the Bulgari.*

next Year having as he thought secur'd himself from any Attempts of the *Saracens*, he attack'd the *Bulgarians* contrary to the Treaty between his Father and that Nation. He seiz'd several Forts in their Country, and rais'd vast Contributions. The little Opposition he met with, made him Careless and Presumptuous, which the *Bulgari* perceiving, they Muster'd all their Forces, advanc'd to give him Battel when he least expected it, and oblig'd him to restore all that he had taken, on Condition they suffer'd him to retreat without any Molestation. However he march'd back to *Constantinople* in as much Triumph as the ancient Emperors were wont to return to *Rome*, from the Conquest of Barbarous Nations.

*Two Popes Elected at once.*

*Pope Benet*, whom we have formerly mention'd, dy'd in little more than a Year, and *John* the fifth was chosen Bishop in his room, to whom *Peritarid* who was restor'd to the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, presented a Silver Staff or Crosier. After the Death of *John* there was a Schism in the Church, occasion'd by the Election of two Popes at once, *Peter* chosen by the Clergy, and *Theodore* by the Soldiery, which dissention was at last appeas'd by the choice of *Conon* in the first Year of *Justinian's* Reign. He Liv'd but eleven Months; and when he Dy'd *Theodore* seiz'd again on *St. Peter's Chair*; he was oppos'd by *Pascal* Arch-Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, and both of them by *Sergius* the first, who pretended to a Canonical Election. *Theodore* and *Pascal*

*John Platon Exarch.*

however had their Partizans. The former Brib'd the Exarch *John Platon* to his side, by a good Sum of Money. *Pascal* dying in a few Weeks and *Theodore* soon

*Three Popes together. Bede at Rome.*

after, *Rome* that for some time had three Popes, was oblig'd to be content with one. *Sergius* sent for Venerable *Bede* from *England*. He order'd the *Agnus Dei* to be Sung, and violently oppos'd the Council of *Trullo*, Summon'd by *Justinian* to regulate Matters of Disci-

*The Council of Trullo d'forn'd by the Pope.*

pline. 147 Bishops sat in the *Trullo*, a Hall of the Imperial Palace so call'd, and past 102 Canons, to all which the Pope dissented because he had no hand in calling the Synod. From this Dissention and the Animosity about

about the Patriarchs of *Constantinople's* pretending to Pre-A.D. 687.  
cedence or even to Equality with the Popes, arose the  
great breach between the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches The great  
Breach be-  
tween the  
Greek and  
Roman  
Churches.  
that continues to this Day. The Emperor sent to  
*Italy* to have the Pope brought to *Constantinople*, but the  
Soldiers would not let him be taken from his See.  
However they could not always protect him, for we  
are assur'd he Liv'd seven Years in Banishment. His  
Chair being all the while fill'd by *John* the sixth, who  
succeeded him legally when he Dy'd in the beginning  
of the Eighth Century. *Sergius* was accus'd of Adul-  
tery, and when he could not bring sufficient Proofs of  
his Innocence, we are told, a Child of nine Days old  
open'd his Mouth and pleaded for him. But such a  
Miracle as this is a Trifle in comparison of what the  
Popish Annalists would have us believe in favour of the  
Papacy. We have thought fit to hint at these Occur-  
rences in the Church, that we may no more be inter-  
rupted by them in this Century.

We shall now go on with the History of the Emperor  
*Justinian* the second. He was not so much discourag'd  
by his Success in breaking the League with the *Bulga-  
ri*, but he resolv'd to try his fortune with *Abdelmelech*,  
*Caliph* of *Syria*. He had a good Pension from the *Sara-  
cens*, and the *Caliph* was willing enough to pay it.  
Having some Competitors at Home that disputed the  
Sovereignty with him, when he had settled the Af-  
fairs of his own Territories, he did not much care whe-  
ther he continu'd Tributary to the Emperor or not, and  
perceiving he was a weak Prince, permitted his Subjects  
to Insult the *Romans*. The young Emperor to Re-  
venge the Affronts he had receiv'd, without demand-  
ing Satisfaction, equipp'd a mighty Fleet, rais'd a power-  
ful Army, and resolv'd to begin a War with *Abdelme-  
lech*, pretending the Mony that was Paid him for his  
Tribute, was not good; being not Stamp'd with his  
own Image.

The *Saracen* finding he was in earnest preparing for  
a Rupture, endeavour'd by his Embassadors to appease  
him, offer'd him all manner of Satisfaction. *Justinian*  
mistaking his Caution for Fear, refus'd to hearken to  
an Accommodation. Blindly running himself upon  
Dangers, which involv'd Christendom in Difficulties.

*Justinian  
forces the  
Saracens  
to a Rup-  
ture.*

A.D. 687. and Distresses, that the Christians could never overcome. Distrusting the Fidelity of his own Forces he hir'd 30000 *Sclavi*, a Nation that always were in Enmity with the *Romans*; yet these he distinguish'd from his Legions by particular Marks of Honour, calling them, *His People*. The *Saracens*, frighted at the News of his vast Preparations, by their Embassadors, Earnestly Beseech'd him not to break the League, calling God to Witness, by the Interposition of whose most Sacred Name it had been confirm'd. *Justinian* was still deaf to all Entreaty; he past over into *Asia*, and advanc'd towards the Borders of their Dominions. *Mohamed* or *Mahomet*, *Abdelmelech's* General, Posted himself on their Frontiers to defend the Passage into their Country. *Mahomet* carry'd the Rolls of Parchment on which the Treaty were Written, on the Top of a Spear, to put the *Romans* in mind of the Injustice of their Cause. The Emperor Engag'd and worsted him. *Mahomet* finding he was like to be beaten out of the Field, when his Arms were useless, try'd what his Policy would do. He knew the *Sclavi* were Mercenaries who serv'd the *Romans* purely for their Pay. He presented their Captain with a Quiver inlaid with Gold, and by promising his Men much more Pay than *Justinian* gave them, 20000 of these Auxiliaries deserted to the *Saracens*. The *Romans* who were now the weaker, fled from the *Barbarians*; and the Emperor when he came to *Leucate*, to Revenge the Treachery of the *Sclavi*, order'd those of that Nation who continu'd with him to be Murder'd, together with their Wives and Children, and their Bodies to be flung into the Sea. On the News of this Disgrace, *Sabbatius* Governor of *Armenia*, as much of it as remain'd in Possession of the *Romans*, deliver'd it up to the *Saracens*.

692.

The next Year which was the seventh of *Justinian's* Reign, the Infidels made an entire Conquest of *Persia* to the Borders of *India*, Ravag'd the Roman Provinces, wasting all with Fire and Sword, carrying off a prodigious Booty, and an infinite Number of Captives.

We have been as exact as we could in the course of this History, to mark the Years in which every Event happen'd in the order of Time; but we have lately found great Difficulties in Chronology, occasion'd by the

Hires  
30000  
Sclavi.

Defeats  
Abdelmelech's  
General.

The Sclavi  
desert.

The Romans  
fly.

the difference in Historians, in these times of Darknes A.D. 692. and Confusion, who very seldom agree with one another and not always with themselves. *Justinian's* heat in the War was now quite cool'd; he tamely saw his Dominions destroy'd, and tho' he could not a Year or two before put up so slight an Affront, as to have Money paid him in forreign Coin, yet now he can patiently endure the Robbing and Spoiling his Territories; busying himself at *Constantinople* in Building and other Amusements, suffering his Servants to Oppress and Abuse his Subjects of all Ranks, even his own Mother did not escape them. *Stephen* a *Persian*, Surveyor of his Works, exercis'd that Office with so much Cruelty, that he put several poor Labourers to Death, and in the Emperor's Absence, whipt the Empress Dowager with Thongs; an Insolence he durst not have been Guilty of, Justinian's had he not been assur'd of her Son's Protection. *Justinian's* cruel Humour was heighten'd by the Instigation *Surveyor* so bold as of this *Stephen* and *Theodorus* a Monk, whom he took to Whip his out of his Cell to make him a Minister of State. Many Mothers principal Senators and Citizens were Imprison'd and their Estates Confiscated on little or no Provocation. *Theodorus* perswaded him to convert a Church dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, to a Theater for the use of the *Venetians*. *Justinian* not satisfy'd with this Profanation of the Lord's House, commanded *Callinicus* the Patriarch Justinian to Sanctifie the Work by Prayer. The Bishop with Tears forces the Patriarch to Consecrate a Theater by answer'd, *That Christians were wont to Pray at the Building, but not at the Demolishing Churches.* The Emperor crate a Theatre by forc'd him to obey him, and *Callinicus* us'd this Expression, *Glory be to God who suffers all Things both now and to Eternity.* *Theodorus* delighted in destroying the Nobility, many of whom he order'd to be hung up by His Minister's Cruelty. the Heels, and then burnt Straw under them to Torment 'em with the Smoke. All these infamous Acts of Violence and Injustice not being sufficient to satiate *Justinian's* Cruelty and his Ministers, *Stephen* and *Rufinus* an Officer of the Army, were appointed to close all their Enormities with a Massacre.

*Leontius*, who had commanded the Roman Troops in Armenia, and done very good Service there, was two or three Years before thrown into Prison, and releas'd He designs a general Massacre. that very Night the Citizens of *Constantinople* were to be



A.D. 692. Massacred. *Justinian* not only set him at Liberty, but made him General of *Greece*, and order'd him to imbarc his Forces and to be gone with them immediately. The Wind proving contrary he was compell'd to stay all Night, and had an opportunity to discourse his Friends on the Posture of his own Affairs and those of the Publick. Two of them Monks both *Paul* and *Gregory* represented to him, That he was suddenly taken out of Prison and put at the Head of the Army, with a Design to make him the Emperor's Drudge and then to destroy him. That now was the time for him to set up for himself, the Minds of the Citizens being alienated from their present Prince. *Peter* was an Astronomer, and while he was in Prison had foretold he should be Emperor. The General reflecting on their Reasons, found they had weight in them, and consented to put their Advice in Execution. He took with him his own Guards, and going to the Court of Guard, knockt at the Gate pretending the Emperor was come about some urgent Business. As soon as he was admitted, he seiz'd the Officers and Soldiers that would not join with him: Open'd the Prisons, Arm'd the Prisoners, led them to the Forum, and made Proclamation, That all who were Christians should meet at the Church of *St. Sophia*. Thither the People came, to whom the Patriarch Address'd himself in an Oration suitable to the Occasion, Saying, *This is a Day of the Lord's making*. The People with one Voice cry'd out, *Let the Bones of Justinian be dug up*; meaning that the Emperor who was Bury'd in Idleness and Luxury, should be brought forth. They then remov'd to the Circus, *Leontius* by a stratagem getting into the Palace, seiz'd *Justinian* and by break of Day brought him before the People, who Condemn'd him to have his Nose slit, and to be Banish'd to the *Pontick Chersonesus*; having first order'd him to be led thro' the City, his mutilated Nose bleeding all the way. A dreadful Example of God and the People's Justice on Bloody Tyrants. From this Punishment *Justinian* was Sirnam'd *Rhinotmetus*, or Cutoose.

But the Sins of the Romans were too many and too hainous to escape, with so short tho' severe a Judgment. *Justinian* the Instrument of God's Vengeance, has not yet ministred enough of his Wrath on a Rebellious People;

*Leontius*  
made Com-  
mander of  
his Forces.

*Leontius*  
seizes the  
Officers of  
the Guards.

*Summons*  
the People  
to the  
Church of  
*St. Sophia*.

*They Con-*  
*demn Ju-*  
*stinian to*  
*have his*  
*Nose slit.*

ple ; and tho' he is at present laid aside, we shall find A.D. 693. him return with greater Rage, and to provoke his Subjects by new Oppression to send him out of the World the same way that he had sent Thousands of his Innocent People.

He was Banish'd in the Tenth Year of his Reign. 694.  
His two Favourites *Theodorus* the Monk and *Stephen*, were drag'd thro' the Streets by Ropes ty'd to their Feet, and Burnt in the Forum of the Oxe. Then the *They choose* Multitude saluted *Leontius* Emperor. *Leontius* Emperor.

### *Leontius.*

IT seem'd reasonable that the Man who had deliver'd the People, should Rule over them ; and the first Year of his Reign being Blest with a general Peace, gave him an opportunity to settle his Authority.

In his second Year *Alidis* who succeeded *Mahomet* 695.  
in the Command of the Caliph's Army, Invaded the Empire, and return'd with great Booty. *Sergius* a Pa- 696.  
tritian, Governor of *Lazica*, revolted and betray'd that Province to the *Saracens*.

The next Year the *Mahometans* over-ran *Africk*, 697.  
which *Leontius* hearing, fitted out his Fleet, ship'd Forces aboard, and gave the Command of them to *John* a Patritian, who retook all the Forts and Castles the *Saracens* had taken, drove them out of the Country, and Winter'd there himself. The Year following the *Saracens* return'd with a mighty Navy and a numerous Land- 698.  
Army, beat *John* out of *Africa*, made themselves Masters of *Carthage*, and quite dispossess the Romans of *The Sara-*  
the few Places they held in that Part of the World. *cens take* *Carthage*.  
Where the very remembrance of their Dominion was in a few Ages forgotten, and the Christian Faith, which *The Ro-*  
once flourished from the Streights of *Ceuta* to the Nile, mans quite  
now only remain'd in a Corner of *Mauritania Tingitana* driven into  
in a small Portion of the Province at the Streights of *Africk*.  
Mouth, possess'd by the *Spanish Goths*, who ere long must  
follow the Fate of the *Romans*, and submit to the victo-  
rious *Saracens*.

A.D. 698. *John* and his Fleet touching at *Creet*, the Officers took Council among themselves how to prevent the ill Effects of *Leontius's* resentment for their abandoning *Carthage* and *Africk* to the *Barbarians*. The best way was; they thought to add Rebellion to their Disobedience, and choose *Apsimarius* one of their Generals to

be their Emperor. They saluted him *Augustus* by the Name of *Tiberius*. The Usurper immediately made *Leontius*, to *Constantinople*, and was admitted into the City by some Country Magistrates at the Wall of *Blacherna*. He surpriz'd *Leontius*, Cut off his Nose, and shut him up in a Cloyster in *Dalmatia*.  
*Apsimarius* surpris'd *Leontius*, Cut off his Nose and shuts him up in a Cloyster.

### *Apsimarius.*

And is saluted Emperor. Several Persons of the first Quality were, out of jealousy, Banish'd by the new Emperor, who made his Brother *Heraclius* General of the Army; and order'd him to hasten to *Cappadocia* to observe the Motions of the *Saracens*.

*Heraclius* invaded *Syria*, proceeded as far as *Samosata*, and as 'tis said, kill'd 200000 *Mahometans* in the second Year of his Brother's Reign. In his third, *Abdalla* General of *Abdelmelech's* Forces, to revenge this Affront enter'd the *Roman* Territories, Besieg'd *Antaradus* in *Phenicia*, but being unsuccessful in his Attempts on that City, he turn'd his Arms on one which was not so well Fortifi'd. He seiz'd *Mopuestia* in *Cilicia*, put a strong Garrison into it, and Conquer'd the greatest part of the Province.

In the following Year *Heraclius* defeated the *Caliph's* Forces in the same Province, Commanded then by one *Azar*, kill'd most of them, and sent the rest in Chains to his Brother. The Nobility of *Armenia*, encourag'd by *Heraclius's* good Fortune, rose on the *Saracens* their new Masters, put 'em to the Sword and address'd themselves to *Apsimarius*, for his Protection and Assistance. But before he could get an Army ready, *Moamed* enter'd the Province with some of the *Caliph's* Troops, suppress'd the Sedition, seiz'd on the chief Conspirators, and burnt them alive. The next Year *Azidus*, another of the *Caliph's* Generals, invaded *Cilicia*, took the Castle of *Sisium* and

699.  
700.  
  
701.  
  
Heraclius  
Apsimari-  
us's Bro-  
ther, fortu-  
nate a-  
gainst the  
Saracens.

702.

and demolish'd it. *Heraclius*, to put a stop to the Infidels, A. D. 702. gave them Battle, overthrew them and kill'd 12000.

*Apsimarius's* Arms being thus Prosperous abroad, he began to think himself safe enough from any Foreign Enemies. What troubl'd him most, was, his Jealousie of the Principal Persons at home. *Phillipicus* the Son of *Bardanes*, a Patritian, he banish'd into the Island of *Cefalonis*, tho' he had been very instrumental in his Promotion, because he dreamt one Night that he saw an Eagle hovering over his Head.

Hearing *Justinian* in his Exile had boasted, that he was sure he should live once more to reascend the Throne, he wrote to the Inhabitants of the *Pontick Chersonese* to kill him, or send him bound to *Constantinople*. *Justinian* having some Information of the People's Intentions, made his Escape, and fled to *Chagan*, King of the *Avari*, who receiv'd him very honourably gave him his Sister *Theodora* in Marriage; and yet in the end was prevail'd upon, by *Apsimarius's* Presents and Promises, to order the Guard he had given him for his Security, to murder him. The Treason was discover'd to him by his Wife. He kill'd those that *Chagan* had order'd to destroy him, and then fled to *Trebelin*, King of the *Bulgari*. In his Passage thro' the *Streights*, he met with a violent Storm, which threaten'd him and his Followers with present Destruction. Some of them entreated him to make a Vow to God Almighty, that if ever he was restor'd to his former Dignity, he would forgive his Enemies: He reply'd in a Rage, *God d'own me this Moment, rather than oblige me to spare one of them*. Indeed, such is the Temper of all Tyrants, and ought to be a Caution to a wise Nation, how they receive a wicked Prince, whom they have once expell'd. *Trebelin* swore he would see him restor'd, and gave him an Army of the *Bulgari* and *Sclavi* to assist him. With these he march'd to *Constantinople*, and for three Days together treated with the Citizens, from whom he receiv'd many fresh Indignities. Finding there were no Hopes of getting Admittance by Treaty, he crept thro' the *Aqueduct* with some of his *Romans*, and got into the Palace of *Blacher*. Which *Apsimarius* hearing, he sail'd away with all his Treasure to *Apolloneas*, at the Mouth of the *Euxine*, and left *Justinian* in Possession of the Imperial Power.



## Justinian II.

A.D. 702.

*Apſimarius releases Leontius, and ſys away with him. They are both taken and murder'd. Pfalm 91. 13.*

**A** *Pſimarius* in this Diſtreſs releaſ'd *Leontius*, and made him the Companion of his Flight, tho' he would not ſuffer him to be his Partner in the Throne. They were both betray'd into the Hands of their Enemy, together with *Heractius* and others. *Juſtinian* order'd the two former to be led in Triumph thro' the City. In the Circus he ſet his Feet upon their Necks: The Rabble changing with as much Eaſe as the Wind, cry'd *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Lion and Adder*, &c. When his insolent Revenge was ſatisfy'd by ſpurning his Adverſaries, he order'd them all to be beheaded. He put out the Patriarch *Callinicus's* Eyes, and baniſh'd him to *Rome*, which he knew was a Punishment worſe than Death. *Callinicus* having carry'd the Point of Precedence as high as any of his Predeceſſors, could not be more mortify'd, than to be compell'd to beg his Bread of the Pope.

704

The Emperor *Juſtinian* was reſtor'd juſt ten Years after he was depos'd; and we cannot forbear obſerving, that the Popiſh Hiſtorians reflect on *Apſimarius* and *Callinicus's* Miſfortunes as the Hand of God upon them for their Rudeneſs to the Pope: The Particulars are not mention'd; but in general, they tell us, the late Emperor was very unkind to *John VI.* who dy'd ſoon after *Juſtinian's* Reſtauration, in whoſe Place *John VII.* was choſen Pope. This Pontiff built a rich Chappel, and Dedicated it to the *Virgin-Mary*: He alſo put Images in Churches, and was the firſt that preſum'd in oppoſition to the Second Commandment, and the poſitive Law of God, to order, that Images ſhould be Worſhip'd; an infamous piece of Idolatry, at which the Eaſtern Church trembl'd, and all good Chriſtians held up their Hands with Amazement and Horror.

705.  
*Pope John viſits up Images in Churches, and orders 'em to be worſhip'd.*

*Justinian makes War on the Bulgari.*

*Juſtinian*, like other Tyrants, was never the better for Affliction: He renew'd his former impious Courſes. The firſt Act of Baſeneſs and Ingratitude he committed, was, in making War on *Trebelin*, his Benefactor. He march'd himſelf into his Territories at the Head of a numerous Army, who, depending on their Numbers,

grew

grew careless, and gave the Enemy Advantage by it. A.D. 705.  
 The *Bulgari* fell upon them unawares, routed them, drove them to their Camp, and forc'd *Justinian* to fly home in a light Ship, abandoning his Men and Baggage to the *Bulgarians*. He sent for his Wife *Theodora*, the King of the *Avari's* Daughter, and had her Crown'd with his young Son *Tiberius*. Every time he had occasion to blow his Nose, he fell into a violent Rage against his Subjects, and often order'd some of 'em to be put to Death, in Revenge of his being mutilated. Remembering the Usage he met with in the *Pontick Chersonese*, during his Exile, and that 'twas said, the Inhabitants design'd to murder him, or deliver him up to *Pontick Apsimarius*, he sent an Army thither, with Orders to make an Universal Massacre, without sparing either Age or Sex. Some, these *Russians* roasted alive; others they flung into the Sea: No less than Seventy Thousand of them were put aboard Ships to be transported to *Constantinople*, that the Emperor might have the Pleasure to behold their Deaths. All these Wretches were in their Passage cast away in a Storm, at which the Tyrant was extremely sorry, that he had lost the Satisfaction he had promis'd himself in the sight of the last Agonies of so many innocent People. He sent a second Army to lay all the Country waste, and destroy those of the Inhabitants that were left. The Remainder of these People, who by a shameful passive Principle had submitted their Country to the Cruelty of an inhumane Monster, at last were rous'd by the Call of Nature to defend their Persons and their Possessions and fly to their Forts, resolving to fall like Men, if they resist they must perish, and not die like Dogs. They renounced their Obedience to *Justinian*, and chose *Phillipicus*, whom *Apsimarius* had sent into Exile, for their Sovereign. Is put to flight. He orders the Inhabitants of the Chersonese to be massacred. They resist and choose Phillipicus Emperor.

*Phillipicus* was recall'd, and on his way to *Constantinople*, the Tyrant hearing one *Elias*, a Prince of that Country, was the chief Promoter of this Election, kill'd his Children in their Mother's Lap, she being then at *Constantinople*, and commanded his Cook, an *Indian*, to Ravish her. And yet this is the Prince of whom the late Author of the *Roman History* says, *He rose againe like the Sun with fresh Glories*. He provided more Forces

A.D. 705. Forces to reduce the People of the *Chersonese*, who fled to the *Chazari*, their Neighbours, and beg'd their Assistance. The Emperor's own Troops revolted to them, *Justinian's Army and Fleet desert to Phillipicus.* and *Phillipicus* having found means to joyn them, by the help of *Chagan*, furnish'd himself with a Fleet and sail'd to *Constantinople*. *Justinian's* Navy also submitted to him. The Tyrant impatiently expected News from the *Chersonese*; so insatiate was his Revenge and Thirst of Blood, and guess'd, that something ill had happen'd, by his having no Advice of the Event. He muster'd a Body of *Thracians*, and went as far as *Sinope* on the Coast, from whence he saw the whole Fleet making directly to *Constantinople*. He roar'd out for Grief and Indignation, and posted back as fast as he could; but *Phillipicus* was there before him, upon which he retir'd to *Damatrya*. *Phillipicus* sent *Elias* after him, and *Maurus* a Patritian, to seek out his Son *Tiberius*, with whom the Empress Dowager *Anastasia* fled to a Church, from whence the Child was taken, and his Throat cut on the Threshold of the Door. *Elias* seiz'd *Justinian*, cut off his Head in August A. D. 711. and presented it to *Phillipicus*, who sent it to Rome.

*His Son  
Tiberius  
kill'd.*

*His Head  
cut off.*

711

He Reign'd about seven Years after his Restauration; and by his Fury, or rather Madness, he left the Empire in such a distracted Condition, that it never recover'd it self, declining daily till its Dissolution. He had so sully'd the Throne by his Vices, that few honest Men would venture to sit in it after him. Those that had the Courage were soon weary of the Place, or driv'n out of it by new Pretenders, many of whom Misery and Despair, rather than Ambition, made bold. If by chance a good Prince made a short Interval of happy Days in the Empire, 'twas like the sick Man's Dream, a sweet and pleasing Delusion before the last dreadful Hour.

### *Phillipicus.*

THE new Emperor began his Reign with a very impolitick Action: He depos'd *Cyrus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and plac'd *John*, a Monk, in his Chair. He was a *Monothelite*, and had forerold *Phillipicus's* Advance-

Advancement; but assur'd him, 'twas on Condition he A.D 711. abolish'd the 6th general Council, to which he consent-  
ed. *John*, in the beginning of the Year ensuing, sum-*The Mono-*  
mon'd a Synod of such Bishops as were for his Turn; *thelite He-*  
and by this Assembly the *one single Operation of the resie just-*  
*Will in Jesus*, was decreed to be an Article of Faith. *fy'd by a*  
*Phillipicus* sent the Canons of his *Monothelite Council* *Council.*  
to Pope *Constantine I.* to be approv'd, ordering him to  
Confirm them.

This Pope succeeded *John VII.* except an Interval  
of 20 Days only, during which time *Sisinnius* sat in  
St. *Peter's* Chair and then dy'd. *Constantine* was very *Pope Con-*  
great with the late Tyrant *Justinian*: He made him a *stantine*  
Visit; and that wicked Emperor was withal so mean-*very great*  
spirited, that he kiss'd the Pope's Feet when he arriv'd *with the*  
at *Constantinople*. The Example of this Monster being *Tyrant Ju-*  
the first of that Kind we find in History. The Pope *stinian.*  
was stiff for Images; and the Emperor, who in his *Justinian*  
Heart worship'd the Devil, made no scruple to pay his *kiss'd his*  
Devotions to Idols, affronting the Majesty of Heaven. *Feet.*

*Phillipicus* remov'd all the Images out of the Eastern *Phillipi-*  
Churches, and commanded the Western Bishops to do *cus re-*  
the same. *Constantine* and the Popes that came after *moves Im-*  
him, stood obstinately by *John* the Seventh's Innovati- *ges out of*  
on. The Statue of St. *Peter* in Brass was magnificently *the Church-*  
Erected at *Rome*, and the Churches crouded with Ima- *es.*  
ges of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary* and Apostles, and  
even the *Roman* Legendary Saints. *Gregory II.* the Suc-  
cessor of *Constantine*, was more fierce for Images than *Pope Gre-*  
any of his Predecessors. 'Twas an Innovation of the *gory II.*  
Bishops of *Rome*. They had declar'd the Worship of 'em *fierce for*  
not only to be Lawful, but Necessary. They had defy'd *Images.*  
the Emperor's Authority, who interpos'd in the Matter,  
to prevent the *Romans* returning to Idolatry; and the  
Pope was resolv'd, tho' all *Italy* and the whole Empire  
were ruin'd by it, to call in the *Franks*, and any Barba-  
rous Nation, rather than Obey his Natural Lord, not-  
withstanding he desir'd nothing of him in the Point of  
Images, but what God Commanded.

While these Disputes troubl'd the Church, the *Bul-*  
*gari* invaded *Thrace*, and made Inroads to the Gates of  
*Constantinople*, meeting no Body to oppose them.



A.D. 713. In the Second Year of *Phillipicus's* Reign, as he attended at the Sports of the *Circus*, the *Prasini* being Victorious, invited him to Dine with him, which he did. After Dinner, when he was asleep on his Couch, one *Rufus*, with a Band of *Thracian* Malecontents, broke into the Armory of the *Prasini*, hal'd him out, and pluck'd out his Eyes. Upon this the People, who were weary of *Phillipicus*, on account of his Principles in Religion, met in the Great Church, and chose *Artemius*, Secretary of State, to be Emperor. He took the Name of *Anastasius II.* and was Crown'd by the Patriarch *John*.

*Phillipicus's Eyes pull'd out by a Party of Malecontents. Artemius chosen Emperor. Calls himself Anastasius II.*

*A worthy Prince.*

Had not the Corruption of the former Administrations taken too deep root in the very Foundation of the State, this Emperor might have been very instrumental in restoring it to its Ancient Vigour, and the flourishing Condition of the Empire of old *Rome*. He was a Man of Learning, and from his Youth had been bred up in Publick Business. But the Disease was too far gone to admit of a Remedy: The Stomach was sick, and sound Meat was Nauseous to it, which *Anastasius* soon found to his Cost.

### *Anastasius II.*

*Makes Leo General of his Army.*

714.

HE was very careful whom he promoted to Offices of Trust in the State, or the Army. *Leo an Isaurian*, a Man of great Abilities in War, he made General of his Army, and commanded him to march to the Frontiers, to defend the Empire from the Incurfions of the *Saracens*. He fitted out the Imperial Navy for the security of the Coasts, provided the Arsenal with all sorts of Arms and Provision. To please all Parties, he sent an Ambassador to the Pope with his Confession of Faith, which being Orthodox, the Prelate condescended to return his Compliment by dispatching away an Apocryfary to reside in his Court. The Enemy, on News of his Preparations to receive them, made no Attempts on his Coasts; and being loth to be at a vast Expence for nothing, he order'd his Fleet to sail to *Egypt* with the Land Forces that were on board, and endeavour to reconquer that Province. The Roman Generals laid

Seige

Siege to *Alexandria*; but for want of Warlike Provisions, broke up, reembark'd their Troops and sail'd to the Island of *Rhodes*. The Emperor knowing he had taken Care to supply them with all Necessaries, highly resent'd their raising the Siege of *Alexandria*. He sent *John* the Deacon and his Chancellor to them with a fresh Supply, and Instructions severely to reprimand the Officers for their Negligence or Cowardice. But alas, the Days of Discipline were over, and the Soldiers thinking themselves above Reproof, chose *Theodosius*, a Receiver in the Revenue, for their Emperor. Other Accounts inform us, that *Anastasius* hearing the *Saracens* had equip'd a Fleet on the Coasts of *Phenicia*, designing them for the Siege of *Constantinople*, he order'd his own to Rendezvous at *Rhodes*, and from thence to sail down to the Enemy to burn their Navy. The Sea-men at *Adramyttium* in *Phrygia*, refusing to obey his Commands, *John* the Chancellor, with more Heat than Prudence, having reprov'd them for their Disobedience, it set the Mutineers in a Flame; they fell upon him, slew him and forc'd *Theodosius* to assume the Purple. After which Insurrection, they resolv'd to go on in their Rebellion, and having drawn their Swords against their Sovereign, to throw away their Scabbards, they made as fast as they could to *Constantinople*. For six Months *Anastasius's* Fleet in that Haven defended it against the Revolters. At last *Theodosius's* Party began to prevail, and *Anastasius* fled to *Nice* in *Bithynia*, whither *Theodosius* persud'd him; on Promise of Security for his Life, he surrender'd himself, was shav'd for a Monk and shut up in a Monastery at *Thessalonica*, having Reign'd about two Years.

The Soldiers  
mutiny.

Theodosius  
chosen  
Emperor.

Anastasius  
shut up in a  
Monastery.

### *Theodosius III.*

THIS Emperor was so far from seeking the Honour to which he was advanc'd, that when he understood the Army had chosen him Emperor, he hid himself; but being upon search discover'd, he was forc'd to comply with their Election. He behav'd himself as those Princes generally do, who being sensible of the Duty of their Station, are more willing to part with

the

A.D. 714. the Sovereignty, than fond to maintain their Dignity by Force or Fraud ; he was ready to lay it down, when he saw the Affairs of the Empire were like to be embroil'd by his contending for the Supream Dignity.

Leo will  
not submit  
to Theo-  
sius.

Is saluted  
Emperor.

Theodosi-  
us resigns  
the Purple.

Three de-  
pos'd Em-  
perors  
alive at  
one time.

*Leo*, who commanded *Anastasius's* Army on the Borders of *Syria*, disown'd *Theodosius's* Sovereignty, pretending at first 'twas in favour of his Master *Anastasius*. He drew into his Party *Artavasdes* an *Armenian*, a Man of the greatest Interest in that Country, to whom he promis'd his Daughter in Marriage. He advanc'd with their joynt Forces as far as *Nicomedia*, where *Theodosius's* Son gave him Battle. *Leo* defeated the young Prince, himself and most of his Father's Friends being taken Prisoners. From thence the Generals proceeded to *Chrysopolis*, and every where in his March was acknowledg'd Emperor. *Theodosius* sent *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to inform him, that the Purple was forc'd upon him, and that she was willing to resign it on Security for his Life, which being granted, he was shav'd, and enter'd into Orders, together with his two Sons. The Remainder of his Days he spent in a Monastery at *Ephesus*, in Acts of Penitence and Devotion.

There were now living at a time three depos'd Emperors, *Phillipicus*, *Anastasius* and *Theodosius*, who Reign'd each about two Years, either forcibly or voluntarily : Each of them threw off the Imperial Robes to put on a Cowl. The last Emperor *Theodosius* was for Images. On the contrary, *Leo*, surnam'd *Isaurus*, from the place of his Birth, was a zealous Enemy of Idolatry, and his Zeal brought him into many Difficulties, as will be seen in the Course of his History.

## Leo II.

716

HE was Crown'd on the 25th. of *April* by *Germanus* the Patriarch, at which Solemnity he made a Confession of the Catholick Faith, and promis'd to defend it. He was scarce seated in the Imperial Throne, before *Masalmias*, a Prince of the *Saracens*, who had been one of the chief Instruments of *Leo's* setting up for the Crown

Crown Imperial, who had lent him his Troops, and A.D. 716. pretended very much to be his Friend, invaded the Empire, and besieg'd *Pergamus*. The Inhabitants had recourse to Infernal Mysteries for their Defence, and instead of putting their Trust in God, they made their Application to the Devil. They rip'd open a Woman with Child, boil'd the Fruit of her Womb, and dip'd their Hands in this execrable Sacrifice, for which abominable Deed the Almighty deliver'd them up to the Fury of their Enemies, and they were all kill'd, or made Captives. *An abominable Sacrifice.*

About this time the *Saracens* conquer'd *Spain*, and sent a Colony of *Jews* thither; which, notwithstanding the odious Tyranny of the Popish Inquisition, has ever since been kept up in that Kingdom. *The Saracens conquer Spain.* *Leo* oblig'd all of 'em within his Dominions to turn Christians. This accurs'd Race was so inveterate against our Religion, that many of 'em chose rather to burn their Houses and themselves in them, than to forsake their own.

717

In his second Year *Soliman*, Caliph of *Syria*, made a Descent into *Thrace*; but dying of Poyson, *Omar*, who was chosen in his room, continu'd in the Province all the Winter, and order'd his Fleets from *Alexandria* and *Carthage* to joyn him in the Spring. But *Leo* was prepar'd to receive them; and in the Year ensuing he forc'd him to raise the Siege of *Constantinople*, which the *Saracens* for above two Years had distress'd by Sea and Land. Their Fleets were all destroy'd by the Wild-Fire we have spoken of, and by Tempests. *The Saracens Fleet destroy'd by the Ignis Græcus.*

718

*Sergius*, Governor of *Sicily*, hearing *Leo* was in great Straits at *Constantinople*, saluted *Basilus* Emperor, assum'd the Sovereignty under him, placing and displacing the *Roman* Officers as he thought fit. *Leo* presently dispatch'd away *Paul*, belonging to his Household, to endeavour by fair means to reduce the Island. He wrote to the Inhabitants very kind Letters, which when they heard, they Deliver'd *Basilus* to *Paul*, who cut off his Head, and *Sergius* fled to the *Lombards*, who protected him from the Prosecution of *Paul*. *Sergius rebels in Sicily. Flies to the Lombards.*

719

The next Year the Empress *Maria* was deliver'd of a Son, to the general Joy of the Court and City. He was nam'd *Constantine* at the Font, and surnam'd *Copronymus*, because he bewray'd it at his Baptism. The same



A.D. 719. same Year *Anastasius II.* who was banish'd to *Thessalonica*, was perswaded by the Arch-Bishop of the City *II.* sets up again for the Sovereignty. to attempt recovering the Dignity he had lost. To this end he made his Escape, and apply'd himself to *Trebelin*, King of the *Bulgari*, for Succours. *Trebelin*, willing to embroil the Empire, lent him a considerable Army, with which he enter'd *Thrace*, and advanc'd to the Gates of *Constantinople*, imagining the Citizens would open them at his Approach. Instead of revolting to him, they prepar'd for a vigorous Defence, which the *Bulgari* perceiving, and that *Leo* was raising a numerous Army to drive them out of his Territories, they seiz'd on the Person of *Anastasius* and the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, deliver'd them to *Leo*, who commanded their Heads to be cut off, and permitted the *Bulgari* to return home.

*Is beheaded together with the Bishop of Thessalonica.*

720

*Constantine Copronimus Crown'd.*

In his fifth Year *Constantine* his Son was solemnly Crown'd by *Germanus* the Patriarch. Some time after he undertook an Expedition against the *Saracens* to defend his Eastern Provinces: But they were so embroil'd at home by Civil Dissentions, that they had no leisure to disturb the Empire, except some slight Descents on the Coasts of *Italy* we shall hear little more of them in this Reign.

*Leo heartily opposes Images.*

And now the Emperor began to set heartily about removing Images out of Churches, and endeavouring to put an end to Idolatry. The Popish Authors blacken him with all their implacable Malice for his Zeal against the Worship of Idols, which the Pope had commanded, and God and the Emperor forbidden. They endeavour to render the very Design of his opposing Images absurd, by boldly asserting sometimes, that he did it at the Instigation of two *Jews*, who, while he was but a Shepherd's Son in *Isauria*, had assur'd him, that he should ascend the Throne, and made him promise, when he was seated there, he would destroy Images. At other times we are told by them, that he did it, because they were an Offence to the *Saracens*, and that *Omar* the *Caliph* had upbraided his Christian Subjects with worshipping Images and praying to the Saints. But 'tis no Matter, whether he did it to please the *Jews*, or the *Mahometans*, either of which is ridiculous and incredible; or that either *Jews* or *Saracens* should take

*The Popish Authors give very ridiculous Reasons for it.*

so much Care of the Christians, as to be solicitous for the Purity of their Worship. 'Tis enough, that God himself declar'd upon Mount *Sinai*. 'Twas his Eternal Pleasure, *That Man should make to himself no Graven Image, nor the Likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth: That he should not bow down himself to them, nor serve them: For the Lord, his God, is a Jealous God.*

This Law justifies *Leo's* Severity against the Worshipers of Images, and is an Argument, that all the Popish Evasions of distinguishing between the Thing Representing, and the Thing Represented, will never get over. 'Tis easie for them to give ill Names, to call *Schismatick* and *Heretick*, to invent Lyes and Fables to maintain an ill Cause; but 'tis hard for them to put Truth to Silence, and set up the Pope's Inventions in Worship, in direct Opposition to the Laws of God, without provoking every good Man's Patience, and stirring him up, as often as he sees the Images of Christ or his Saints, ador'd to cry out Idolatry: For that the Papists are Idolaters, is as true as our Religion.

The Pope, in the Reign of *Leo II.* was arriv'd to such a height of Power, that he could not bear the Shew of Subjection, which was still paid to the Emperor by the Bishops of *Rome*; and *Gregory II.* resolving to throw off his Dependance on the *Roman* Empire, made his Zeal for Image Worship a Colour for his Rebellion. His first Step against the Emperor, his Sovereign's Authority, was, his stopping the Payment of his Revenues in *Italy*, after which he enter'd into an Alliance with the *Franks*, who, from the Foundation of their Monarchy by *Pharamond*, have been govern'd by a Race of Kings that have always been officious to meddle with Matters that did not belong to them, to involve the Kingdoms around them in War; and make their Advantage of the Divisions among their Neighbours, to enlarge their Dominions and Power. By giving good Words to all that courted their Friendship, and by Courting those that neglected them, they procur'd Credit from almost all the Nations in *Europe*, who, at one time or another, were deceiv'd by them. Thus by Fraud, rather than Force, they rais'd a mighty

*The Pope at this time very Powerful.*

*Gregory II. zealous for Image Worship.*

*Joyns with the Franks against his Sovereign the Emperor.*

*The Franks deceitful.*

A.D. 720. Kingdom out of a Corner of *Germany*; being so despicable a People, that their Name was scarce known in History in the fourth Century.

Charles  
Martell  
an Usurper.

725  
Paul the  
Exarch or-  
der'd to  
seize the  
Pope.

Gregory  
calls in the  
Franks,  
and Lom-  
bards, and  
Rebells.

The Lom-  
bards take  
Ravenna.

Paul reco-  
vers it.

726

The Champions of the Papacy pretend, that Pope Gregory was forc'd to fly to the Protection of *Charles Martell*, the *French* Usurper, who depos'd his King, *Childeric II.* and tho' he was loth to assume the Title of King, did what he pleas'd among the *Franks*. They tell us, *Leo* sent *Paul* to be Exarch of *Italy*, in the 10th Year of his Reign, with Orders to seize the Pope's Person; and if he could not apprehend him, to kill him by Poyson, or otherwise. But the Pope being inform'd of the Danger he was in, desir'd *Charles Martell* to protect him, and call'd in the *Lombards* to his Assistance, renouncing his Allegiance to his Natural Lord *Leo*. This Story is like the rest of the Popish Annalists. The Emperor did not by a publick Edict forbid the Use of Images, and the Worship of Saints and Relicks, till this Year; neither did the Pope summon the Synod of *Rome*, which made a Canon in favour of Images, till a Year, or as some Authors write, three Years afterward; which Canon being in Opposition to the Imperial Edict, made *Leo*, who was as jealous of his Authority as the greatest of his Predecessors, an inveterate Enemy to Gregory, especially remembering how out of Hatred to *Paul* he sometime before joyn'd with the *Lombards*, who, in his tenth Year, invaded the Exarchate, and took *Ravenna*, where *Paul* defended himself to the last Extremity, and then embark'd for *Venice*. *Luitprand*, King of the *Lombards*, having made himself Master of most of the Towns within the Limirs of the Exarchate, the Pope began to be allarm'd at the Progress of his Arms, to consider that so powerful a Master in his Neighbourhood would be worse than an Emperor at a distance: He therefore repented of his Intrigues with the *Lombards*, and now changing his Tone, wrote to the Duke of *Venice* to assist *Paul*, who, by the help of the *Venetians*, recover'd *Ravenna* the Year afterwards, took *Hildebrand*, *Luitprand's* Son. whom the King had made Duke of *Ravenna* and the Exarchate.

This Year, the Eleventh of the Emperor, was Famous for the Bishop of *Rome's* assuming the Sovereignty of that City, and the Territories about it. *Leo* put his

his Edict in Execution: His Officers every where A.D. 726-  
 pull'd down the Images of our Saviour, the Virgin *The Pope*  
*Mary* and the Saints, at which the Inhabitants, who, *assumes the*  
 by a long Practice of Superstition were grown fond of *Sovereign-*  
 their Idols, were highly offended, and breaking out *ty of Rome*  
 into a Tumult, ran to the Imperial Palace, kill'd some *A Tumult*  
 of the Emperor's Domesticks, but in the end were sup- *in favour*  
 press'd by his Guards. In this Insurrection the publick *of Images.*  
 Library, in which were 330000 Volumes, was burnt. *A Library*  
*of 330000*  
 Leo commanded the Chiefs of the Sedition to be *Volumes*  
 put to Death, which provok'd the Pope to such a *burnt in it*  
 Degree, that in Defiance of the Majesty of God and his  
 Vicegerent, he presum'd to declare, *That the Emperor* *The Pope*  
*ought not only to be Excommunicated, but no more to be absolves*  
*acknowledg'd as Emperor. He absolv'd all his Subjects* *Leo's Sub-*  
*from their Oaths of Allegiance, and forbad them to pay* *jects from*  
*Tribute.* On this Declaration, the Italians in all the *their Oaths*  
 Cities subject to the Greek Emperor, and in the Coun- *of Allegi-*  
 tries about them, rose upon their Roman Governors. At *ance.*  
*Ravenna* they slew Paul the Exarch and his Son. They *The Itali-*  
 pluck'd out the Eyes of Peter, Governor of Rome, and *ans rise a-*  
 kill'd *Exhilaratus*, Duke of Campania, together with *gainst his*  
 his Son. Above thirty Cities revolted from the Empe- *Govern-*  
 ror, and took an Oath of Fidelity to the Pope and his *Kills Paul*  
 Successors, whom they own'd for their Sovereign. Thus *the Exarch.*  
 was the Temporal Dominion of the Papacy begun by  
 the most profligate Rebellion that we read of in Histo-  
 ry. And the Popes first exercis'd their insolent Prero-  
 gative of deposing Princes on the Person of their lawful  
 Prince.

Leo on News of this Insurrection immediately dis- *Eutichius*  
 patch'd away *Eutichius* the Eunuch to take on him the *Exarch.*  
 Government of Italy. He arriv'd there the next Year, *727*  
 and negotiated his Affairs so well with *Luitprand*, that  
 he prevail'd with him to lend him his Troops to sup-  
 press the Pope's Rebellion. *Trafimund* Duke of *Spoletto*  
 at this time throwing off his Obedience to *Luitprand*,  
 the Lombard King was very ready to oblige the Ex-  
 arch, and in the following Year took *Sutrium* from the *728*  
 Church. For so the Pope's new Dominions were pre-  
 posterously call'd. Having reduc'd *Trafimund* he joyn'd  
 the Exarch's Army, and march'd directly towards Rome, *729*  
 in the fourteenth Year of Leo's Reign. Gregory afraid



A.D. 720. of his Sovereign's Resentment if he fell into his Hands, came forth and in a fauning flattering Discourse, persuaded *Luitprand* not to offer Violence to the Holy City. The *Lombard* contented himself with mediating a false Accommodation between the Pope and the Exarch, and then retreated. *Eutichius* was receiv'd very Honourably by the Citizens of *Rome*, and by the Pope who lately had thunder'd out his *Anathema's* against him. *Gregory* pretended to *Luitprand*, that his Submission was wholly owing to his respect for him: On the contrary, he car'd so little for *Leo*, he would not have stir'd one Foot out of the City on his Account.

*Gregory's*  
*bsol see.*

730

In the next Year *Charles Martell* sent *Pepin* his Son into *Italy* to be adopted by *Luitprand*, and the *Lombard* King in return of his Complement, assisted him to repell the *Saracens*, who invaded *Gall* to little purpose, or rather to their great loss, being overthrown by *Martel*, Mayor of the Palace. In the Year following *Leo* Marry'd his Son *Constantine* to *Irene*, Daughter to *Chagan* King of the *Avari*, who was first instructed in the Christian Religion, and Christen'd. The same Year dy'd *Gregory* the second; in his place was chosen *Gregory* the third who immediately dispatch'd away another *Gregory* with other Priests to be his Legates in the Imperial

731

*Pope Gre-*  
*gory III*  
*requires*  
*Leo to re-*  
*store Ima-*  
*ges.*

732.

*A Synod*  
*pos'd the*  
*Worship of*  
*Images.*

Court. He arrogantly requir'd *Leo* his Master to restore the Images that were taken out of the Churches, which Letter his Legate *Gregory* was afraid to deliver. The Pope excommunicated him for his Caution, and Summon'd a Synod in the Year ensuing, at which 93 Bishops assisted. They Voted that Images should be continu'd in the Churches, and further, That whoever oppos'd the Worship of Images, should be cut off as an infected Member from the Body of Christ, and remain Excommunicated.

*Leo* enrag'd at the Affronts he receiv'd from the Pope and his Rebellious Clergy in the *West*, fell more violently on the remainders of the Eastern Idolatry. All Images that were found were broken in Pieces, from whence the Orthodox Christians were ignominiously call'd *Iconoclastes*, or Image Breakers; and the Emperor to Chastize the Insolence of the Pope's Embassadors, threw them into Prison.

*The Pope's*  
*Agents In-*  
*prison'd*

The

The following Year he rigg'd out his Fleet intending A.D. 723. to Punish *Gregory*, Bishop of *Rome*, as an Arch-Rebel; but his Ships were dispers'd by a Storm in the Adriatick. All that he could do was to put a stop to the Payment of the Pope's Tribute in *Calabria* and *Sicily*, which were still in his Possession. About four or five Years afterward *Trafimund* Duke of *Spoletto* Rebell'd from the *Lombard* King, and implor'd the Protection of the Pope, who now had an Army on foot, and his Temporal Interest had quite swallow'd up his Spiritual. *Trafimund* was the Son of that Duke whom we mention'd formerly. He gave him the Castle of *Gallienfes* for his Friendship, and *Gregory* an old Priest but a young Prince, undertook to defend him from *Luitprand's* Justice. The *Lombard* seiz'd his Dukedom, and march'd towards *Rome*, sending Embassadors to the Pope to deliver up the Traytor, *Gregory* return'd for Answer, That 'twas not becoming his Character and Quality to betray a Person he had promis'd to Protect. Upon this, *Luitprand* took *Amelia*, *Orta*, *Bomarzo* and *Bleda*; besieg'd *Rome*, and oblig'd *Gregory* to implore Aid of *Charles Martell*, who interposing in the Quarrel, the *Lombard* drew off his Forces and retreated to *Pavia*. However he kept the four Towns he had taken from the Church.

The Pope  
has an Ar-  
my in his  
Pay.

In the mean while an Impostor appear'd in the East, calling himself *Tiberius* the Son of *Justinian*. As if his Right of Succession would have been any Service to him in the *Roman* Monarchy which was Elective; tho' the *Romans* had often a regard to the Imperial Family, in the Nomination of their Emperors. The *Saracens* assisted the Impostor, Invaded the Empire with an Army of 90000 Men, and having rais'd a great Booty, return'd.

739.  
An Impo-  
stor appears  
in the East.

There were some further Troubles about the Business of Images; *Agallian* and *Stephen* with a Naval Army attempted *Constantinople*; however the Emperor Triumph'd over all his Enemies but the two great ones of all his Enemies, the Devil and the Pope. For Idolatry still flourish'd in the West, and the Pope remain'd Sovereign of *Italy*, when he Dy'd in the Twenty sixth Year of his Reign, in the Year of our Lord, 741. There is nothing left as concerning this Prince that does not make him deserve

He dies.  
741.

A.D. 741. the Title of *Great and Good*; except that in the latter part of his Reign, the ill Usage his Dignity receiv'd in *Italy*, made him too severe towards some of his mistaken Subjects, several of whom he put to Death for Worshipping Images contrary to his Imperial Edict. *Germanus* the Patriarch he Banish'd for obstinately maintaining that damnable Error. We cannot vindicate Persecutions that are stain'd with Blood, and tho' he had a good Cause, yet we must own he sometimes carry'd his Resentments too far, perhaps out of a Pique against the Pope.

*He is too  
Bloody in  
his Zeal.*

### Constantine V. or Copronymus.

*Constantine his  
Son succeeds him.*

*Artavasdes an Armenian,  
Usurpes for  
Images.*

742.

**HIS** Son *Constantine* having been Crown'd in the Life Time of his Father, was universally acknowledged as Emperor, tho' he did not long enjoy his Authority without Interruption, for *Artavasdes* the *Armenian*, his Brother in Law, perceiving that a great Faction still continu'd in the City in favour of Images; thought if he could engage them on his side, he might slip into *Constantine's* Throne, while he was in *Asia* making successful War with the *Saracens*. He Re-establish'd all the Images in the Churches of *Constantinople*; secur'd *Constantine's* Children, and was Crown'd by *Anastasius* the Patriarch, who was now as violent for Images, as he had been against them in the Reign of *Leo Isaurus*.

*Constantine* heard the News of his Usurpation while he was in *Asia*, but it being in the Winter Season, he could not Transport his Army into *Europe* to suppress the Rebels; which gave the Usurper an opportunity to strengthen his Authority by several Artifices. He gave out that his Brother in Law was Dead, and when that was discover'd to be a Falshood, he prevail'd with the Apostate Patriarch, to swear he had heard *Constantine* declare, That he believ'd *Christ* was as much the Son of *Mary* and *Joseph*, as he was the Son of his Father and Mother. The Multitude easily giving Credit to their Bishop, in abhorrence of the Emperor's Blasphemy, resolv'd to adhere to *Artavasdes*; who order'd his eldest Son *Nicephorus* to be Crown'd; and dispatch'd away Em-

# Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Copronymus. 503

Embassadors to the *Caliph* of *Syria* to desire his Assistance. A.D. 742.

The same did *Constantine*: But the *Mahometan* instead of helping either of them, invaded the *Roman* Provinces in *Asia* the less. *Constantine* put to Sea the Summer following, besieg'd *Constantinople*, and so streightned the City, that the Inhabitants were forc'd to admit him. *Constantine takes* The Plunder of the Town he gave to his Soldiers to *Constantinople* chastize the Citizens for their Rebellion. He pluckt out *Artabasdes* and his Son's Eyes. Commanded *Anastasius* the Patriarch, to be carry'd thro' the Streets on an Ass with his Face to the Tail, yet afterwards he restor'd him to his Bishoprick. *Artavasdes and his Son's Eyes put out.*

This Year *Fezid*, *Caliph* of the *Saracens*, was persuaded by a *Jew*, which perhaps gave rise to the Story of *Leo's* being induc'd to it the same way, to destroy all the Images in his Territories. The *Mahometans* rais'd a hot Persecution against the *Christians*, by a Law Interdicted 'em the use of Wine, took away what Privileges they had, and granted more to those that turn'd to their own Religion; which in the course of Time very much diminish'd the Number of *Christians* in *Asia*. *743. The Caliph of Syria destroys Images. The Christian Religion decays in Asia.*

In the fifth Year of his Reign, *Constantine* having settled the Affairs of the State, which were in a distracted Condition, occasion'd by *Artavasdes's* Usurpation; cross'd the *Euxine* with an Army, enter'd the *Caliph's* Territories and took *Germanicia* in *Camogena*; defeated the *Saracens* in several Engagements, and brought away a good Booty. We must now look into the *West* to see how the Pope behaves himself in his Usurpt Sovereignty. *Gregory* the third Dying soon after the Emperor *Leo*, *Zachary* was chosen to fill the vacant Chair, and we must not omit to observe, That the Electors took care to choose a Man well Qualify'd for the Office, not a Meek, Charitable, Pious, Learned Divine; but a Proud, Imperious, Stubborn, Revengeful Priest; who might maintain the Honour of the Church; No matter whether he was a Man of Learning or not. This *Zachary* was so ignorant, that he Condemn'd the Learned *Virgilius* for holding *Antipodes*; yet to him *Pepin* got the Assembly of the *French* Nobility, to refer the Cause of *Childerick* the third, and himself. His Father *Charles Martell* refus'd to take the Title of King of the *Franks* upon him, who was no more than

*Pope Zachary scandalously Proud and Ignorant.*



A.D. 743. Mayor of the Palace; but his Son *Pepin* had more Ambition, and got some of his Creatures in the Assembly of the Estates, to put the Question, *Whether Childerick a Coward and a Fool, deserv'd to Reign over the Franks, rather than Pepin a Brave, Active, Prince.* The Assembly as 'twas design'd they should do, referr'd the Matter to the Pope and the Papacy; having great Obligations to *Pepin's* Father. *Zachery*, without hearing what *Childerick's* Friends could say for him, decides the Controversie in favour of *Pepin*, and orders *Boniface*, Bishop of *Mentz*, an *English-Man*, and the Apostle of the *Germans*, to Crown him. Which he did at *Soissons*, and *Childerick* the last of the Race of *Pharamond*, call'd *Merovingi*, from his Son *Meroveus*, was Shaven and put into a Monastery. *Pepin* the Son of *Charles*, beginning the Race of the *Carolingi*, which with several Interruptions continues to this Day in the *French* Throne. This happen'd in the Year of our Lord 752. three Years before which, the Emperor *Constantine* had a Son born, who was Christen'd by the Name of *Leo*; and in the following Year Proclaim'd *Augustus*. The Emperor rejoycing at the Birth of this Prince, resolv'd to try whether Heaven would bless his Arms as it had done his Bed. He pass'd over with an Army into *Asia*, and took *Melitena*, the Metropolis of the less *Armenia*. He also recover'd *Theodosiopolis*, a City built by *Theodosius* in the same Province, and return'd home in Triumph.

The next Year he invaded the Territories of the *Bulgari*, where he was defeated, lost many of his Men, and was forc'd to retire in disorder. He Reveng'd this Affront before his Death, as we shall relate in its proper place.

In the mean while the Affairs in *Italy*, both the *Lombards* and the Emperor's decline dayly, and the Pope's Power in its Youth grows and flourishes. *Hildebrand*, *Luitprand's* Grandson, had succeeded him in the Throne; but in a few Years the People depos'd him and chose *Rachis* Duke of *Frioul* for their King, who liv'd quietly about five or six Years, and then in the eighth Year of *Constantine Copronymus*, he invaded the Pope's Territories, thinking since the Bishops of *Rome* had no better Title to them than what they got by Rebellion, he might

Child-  
rick King  
of the  
Franks de-  
pos'd.

Shaven  
and put in-  
to a Mo-  
nastery.

752.

Constan-  
tine suc-  
cessful in  
Asia.

Hilde-  
brand  
King of the  
Lombards  
depos'd.  
Rachis cho-  
sen.

# Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Copronymus. 505

might lawfully possess himself of 'em, the Emperor not A.D. 752. being able to recover them. The Exarch was loath to let the Dominions of the Church be added to the Crown of *Lombardy*; hoping that the *Roman* or rather the *Greek* Emperors would one time or other, be in a Condition to put in their Claim to them; and 'twould be an easier Task to deal with the Pope than with the *Lombard* King. But he was in no Capacity to assist *Zachary*. *Rachis* besieg'd *Perusia*, and the Pope finding there was no likelihood of his defending himself by Arms against the *Lombard* Powers, made use of his Spiritual Weapons. He went to *Rachis's* Camp, and preach'd so closely to him on the Injustice of his making War upon a People who had done him no Wrong, that *Rachis* to shew his Penitence was sincere, shut himself up in a Monastery, together with his Wife and his Daughter. *Aistulphus*, *Rachis's* Brother took, the Crown upon him, and in the 12th Year of *Constantine's* Reign, broke in to the Exarchate and besieg'd *Ravenna*; perceiving that the Emperor look'd upon his Authority in *Italy* as in a desperate State, and gave his Territories over for lost; or he would not have suffer'd the Bishop of *Rome* to have bubl'd him out of the best part of them. *Eutrichius* defended the Place like a Soldier and a *Roman*, opposing Force to Force, and Stratagem to Stratagem; till seeing the Town was exhausted of Men and Provisions, and that there were no hopes of Succours, he shipt himself and his Equipage and sail'd to *Constantinople*.

Thus fell the Exarchate two hundred Years after *Narjes* drove the *Goths* out of *Italy*. *Aistulphus* having made himself Master of *Ravenna*, all *Italy*, except *Rome*, and its Dependancies, with a few Cities on the Coasts of the *Ionian* See, was in Subjection to the *Lombards*; yet their Glory and Power, though they seem to promise them a long Empire, are like the good looks of a Dying-Man. *Aistulphus*, as his Brother had done before, look'd with Envy on the Territories of the Church. *Zachary* was Dead, in his room *Stephen II.* was chosen, who Liv'd scarce a Week, and then Dying, *Stephen III.* sat in the Chair or rather the Throne of *St. Peter*.

A.D. 752, The Lombard King pretended that all the Cities and Country subject to the Exarch of *Ravenna*, was his by right of Conquest; and *Rome* of consequence must own him for her Lord. *Aistulphus* therefore enter'd the Dominions of the Church, requir'd the Payment of the Revenue due to the Emperor, took *Narnia*, and gave the Pope notice, that he expected he would submit to him as his lawful Sovereign, otherwise he would proceed against him and his Followers as so many Rebels. *Stephen* wrote immediately to the Emperor, to represent to him how inglorious 'twould be for him to suffer the Lombards to make an entire Conquest of all *Italy*. *Constantine* rewarding Good for Evil dispatch'd away an Ambassador to *Aistulphus*, desiring him to restore such Places as he had taken, and not to disturb the *Italians* further. *Aistulphus* reply'd, He would return the Emperor an Answer by an Ambassador of his own; and proceeded in his Conquests till he led his Army

to the Gates of *Rome*; from whence *Stephen* fled to *Pepin* the King of the *Franks*, who not so much out of Gratitude for his Predecessors absolving the *Franks* from their Oaths to *Childerick*, as out of Ambition to enlarge his own Dominions; readily undertook the defence of the Papacy, or rather the Conquest of *Italy*. For the Pope, who till now pretended to endeavour that the Exarchate should be restor'd to the Emperor, when he was in *France* chang'd his Tone, and came to an Agreement with *Pepin*, that the whole Exarchate should be added to the Territories of the Church; on condition that *Pepin* made this Donation to *St. Peter*, all his Sins were to be forgiven; and *Stephen* taking *Pepin* and his two Sons *Charles* and *Carloman*'s Oaths for the Performance of the Treaty, solemnly Anointed and Crown'd them, as also the Queen *Bertrade*, in July 754.

Thus was the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy* given by an Usurper *Pepin*, to a Rebel the Pope. And this Title is the best the Bishops of *Rome* have to Plead for their Sovereignty of the City. The next Year *Pepin* pass'd the *Alpes*, and oblig'd *Aistulphus* to restore the Exarchate and Cities taken from the Pope, to *Stephen*. After which he return'd to *France*.

754  
Pepin  
gives the  
Pope the  
Emperor's  
Dominions  
in Italy.

755

# Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Copronymus. 507

As soon as he was gone, the King of the Lombards A.D. 756. repenting of what he had done, in the following Year besieg'd Rome. Pepin who ow'd all to the Church, like a grateful Son, ran to the Assistance of the Pope; and once more forc'd Aistulphus to give up the Exarchate and all the Lands belonging to it, to the Bishop of Rome, to be held by him and his Successors for ever. Pepin left Fulrade an Abbot to see the Pope put in Possession of the Cities that depended on the Exarchate; and when that was done, the Abbot, by his Master's Order, deposited the Keys and the Articles of the Treaty with the Lombard King on the Altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, as Evidence of Pepin's Donation of 'em to those two Apostles. The Emperor Constantine's Embassadors to Pepin, were Witnesses of the Treaty; and tho' they protested against it in the Name of their Master, yet they had the Mortification, to see that neither Pepin, Aistulphus nor Stephen, took any Notice of 'em; nor was Constantine in any Capacity to assert his Right by Arms.

While these Things were Transacting in Italy, the Emperor to know the Opinion of the Catholick Church, in the Controversie about Images; Summon'd the seventh Oecumenical Council, which met at Constantinople in the beginning of the fourteenth Year of his Reign, and Consisted of 338 Bishops. This Synod, tho' regularly call'd, and full as any except that of Chalcedon; the Papists abhor, disown and treat as an unlawful Assembly; only because they condemn'd Images as Idols, and call'd their Worshipers, Idolaters. They also proceeded to the Condemnation of Germanus late Patriarch of Constantinople, and Johannes Damascenus, a Tool of the Pope's, who Wrote for Image Worship; and for Damascenus fear of the Emperor's Displeasure fled into the Wilderness. This Idolater was one of the first that began to Hammer out the Doctrin of Transubstantiation, which was not perfected till some Ages afterwards. He held that the Eucharist is not a Type, but is supernaturally chang'd like a Coal when 'tis Red hot. The Monks who were generally the Pope's Creatures, were Zealous for Idolatry; on which account many of them were kill'd, and one Stephen hang'd for Writing in Defence of it. In the 17 Year of Constantine, Pope Stephen III. dying, was succeeded by his Brother Paul I. who



A.D. 757. who began the famous Structure of the Church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. A Building that has by the superstitious Charity of the *Italians*, and the Art of their Masters in Architect and Painting, arriv'd to that Excellence, as justly to be esteem'd the most Magnificent, the most Rich and the most Regular Building in the World. *Aistulphus* did not long survive the conclusion of the Treaty with the Pope and *Pepin*: He was kill'd by a fall from his Horse, and after his Death *Rachis* would fain have thrown off his Cowl and taken up his Royal Robes; but *Desiderius*, Master of the Horse to *Aistulphus*, by the help of *Pepin* and the Pope, seiz'd on the *Lombard* Throne, where we must for a while leave him.

*Aistulphus kill'd by a fall from his Horse. Desiderius is chosen King of the Lombards*

The next Year the *Sclavi* plunder'd *Macedonia*; and the *Saracens*, tho' they durst not break out into an open War, committed all sorts of Acts of Hostilities on the Borders. But the Disputes about Matters of Religion, particularly Image-Worship, so much employ'd the Pens or the Swords of the *Greeks* (For we must begin to call them by some other Name than that of *Romans*;) that they either made a very slight Resistance against the common Enemy, or have left a very imperfect Account of it.

763 The Emperor in his Twenty third Year invaded the Territories of the *Bulgari*, for no other reason but because they had put to Death the Princes of the Royal House, and made one *Telesis* a private Man their King. He had certainly done more Service to the Church and State, if he had turn'd his Arms upon the Bishops of *Rome*, Rebels to his Dignity, and overturn'd the Foundations of their Tyranny. By which means the Purity of Worship might have been preserv'd among Christians.

For his Expedition against the *Bulgari*, he fitted out a great Fleet, and levy'd a mighty Army; ordering them to meet the Fleet at *Anchialus* a Sea-Port in *Thrace*, where they were to embark and sail up the *Danube*. The *Bulgari* hearing what Preparations were making to invade them, resolv'd to prevent the Danger, and make the Emperor's own Country the Seat of the War. They enter'd *Thrace* and advanc'd towards *Anchialus*, near which place the *Greeks* gave them Battel, and

*Constantine resolves to chastize them.*

## Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Copronymus.

509

and *Constantine* obtain'd a compleat Victory. The same A.D. 763.  
 Year the *Turks* made an Excursion from their Cold Re- Defeats  
 gions on the *Caspian Sea*, into *Armenia* and *Asia Minor*, them.  
 rifling alike the *Christians* and the *Mahometans*: Hav- The Turks  
 ing laden themselves with Booty, they return'd home. invade Ar-  
 menia.

The next Year *Constantine Copronymus* created his two  
 younger Sons, whom he had by *Eudoxia* his third Wife,  
*Cæsars*; and their youngest Brother *Nicetas*, *Nobilissim-*  
*us*. In the following Year he Marry'd his Son *Leo*  
*Augustus* to *Irene* an *Athenian* Lady, equally Famous  
 for her Beauty and her Wit, which render'd her wor-  
 thy of the Imperial Crown. The Emperor continu'd  
 warmly to profecure the Image-Worshippers, forbidding  
 them to be kept in private Houses, where the *Roman*  
*Christians* put 'em up instead of the *Penates*, the Hou-  
 shold Gods of their Heathen Ancestors. He Burnt the  
 Relicts of Saints, and Commanded that neither the  
 Virgin *Mary* nor the Apostles should be so call'd. He  
 oblig'd the Monks of *Ephesus*, to sell their Monasteries  
 and Marry the Nunns. A few such Princes would have  
 rooted Idolatry and Superstition out of the Church of  
 Christ.

764

764

Constan-  
 tine Burns  
 the Relicts  
 of Saints.  
 Forces the  
 Monks of  
 Ephesus to  
 Marry the  
 Nunns.

The Bishops of *Rome* had by their Usurpation made  
*St. Peter's* Chair a tempting Seat, and no wonder the  
 History of the Papacy is full of Intrigues and Commo-  
 tions about the Succession to that See. After the Death of  
*Paul Toton* Duke of *Nepi* in *Tuscany*, enter'd the City  
 with an Army, and by force oblig'd the Electors to  
 choose his Brother *Constantine* a Layman, who was made  
 Clerk one Day, Subdeacon the next, and the third  
 Deacon. Then *Toton's* Soldiers guarded him to the *La-*  
*teran*, where he was Consecrated by *George*, Bishop of  
*Palastine*, and five other Bishops. He sat in the *Infalli-*  
*ble* Chair a Year and a Month, and then was expell'd  
 by *Christopher*, Deputy Governor of the City, and his  
 Son, who plac'd *Stephen IV.* in his Seat. *Constantine's*  
 Eyes were put out in the Twenty eighth Year of the  
 Emperor's Reign.

Constan-  
 tine a Lay-  
 man chosen  
 Pope.

His Eyes  
 put out by  
 Pope Ste-  
 phen IV.  
 768

Some Authors affirm he was Burnt alive; certain it  
 is, there was a great deal of Mischief done to procure  
*Stephen* the Popedom, whose Pontificalia were stain'd  
 with the Blood of his Opposers. He had pack'd a Sy-  
 nod of 90 Bishops, To decree that Images should be  
 ador'd.

A pack'd  
 Synod de-  
 cree that  
 Images  
 should be  
 ador'd.

A.D. 768. *ador'd* ; and repeal all the Acts of *Constantine* his Predecessor. He held the Papacy four Years, and was succeeded by *Adrian* I. in the thirty second Year of *Constantine Copronymus*.

772

About the same time that *Stephen* dy'd, *Pepin* King of the *Franks*, exchange'd this Mortal Life for an Immortal. He left four Sons, but divided his Dominions between the two Eldest, *Charles* and *Carloman* ; who Marry'd two Daughters of *Desiderius* King of the *Lombards*. *Charles* was Crown'd King of the Northern Parts of *Gaul*, and *Carloman* of the Southern. But he did not long enjoy his Kingdom, which upon his Death the *Franks*, was to descend to his Children. He had two Sons by *Desiderius's* Daughter, who fearing *Charles* intended to seize them and their Dominions, fled to her Father the King of the *Lombards*. *Desiderius* desir'd the Pope to take them into his Protection, and to Crown them. *Adrian* was well enough pleas'd to find the Papacy in such esteem, that 'twas render'd the Arbitrer of Kings and the Disposer of Kingdoms. However he was afraid of disobliging *Charles* King of *France*, the best support of the Pope's Infant Tyranny.

Charles  
Son of Pe-  
pin King of  
the Franks,  
succeeds his  
Father.  
Seizes his  
Brother  
Carlo-  
man's  
Kingdom.

The King of the *Lombards* finding he refus'd to undertake his Grandson's Cause, resolv'd to be Reveng'd both for that and for his Persecuting his Friends in *Rome* who had assisted Pope *Constantine*. He had also a Quarrel with *Charles* for divorcing his other Daughter ; and thinking *Adrian* was the weakest Enemy he invades the fell first upon him, Invaded the Exarchate and Besieg'd the Exarchate, *Ravenna*. The Pope immediately apply'd to his fast

Friend the King of the *Franks* for Assistance, and *Charles* Pope *Adrian* by his mighty Preparations, shew'd that he aim'd at something more than to Succour *Adrian*. He rais'd a vast Army, divided it into two Bodies and enter'd Italy. *Desiderius* on his approach shut himself up in *Pavia*, and sent his Son *Adulgise*, *Carloman's* Widow and her two Children to *Verona*, then one of the strongest Towns in *Lombardy*. *Charles* being Master of the Field, most of the Cities that he came before open'd their Gates to him. *Pavia* held out above a Year, and *Adulgise* made a Vigorous Defence in *Verona* ; but when he could resist no longer he fled to the Emperor *Constantine*, who kindly receiv'd him. *Charles* soon after took *Verona*, and

Charles  
Conquers  
Lombardy.

and with the City *Carloman's* Widow and her Children, whom he sent into *France*, where 'tis said they were honourably treated, tho' History is silent as to what became of them afterwards. *Pavia* follow'd the Fate of *Verona*. *Desiderius* for fear of the People's surrendering the Town without his Consent, deliver'd himself up to *Charles*, who order'd him to be shut up in a Monastery at *Leige*, where he dy'd; and with him the Kingdom of the *Lombards* expir'd in *Italy*, 205 Years after 'twas set up by *Alboin*. Before *Pavia* was surrender'd, *Charles* remov'd to *Rome*, wher he enter'd on *Easter-Eve*, in the Year of our Lord 774. He was follow'd by a Glorious Train of Persons of Quality. The Pope sitting on the Steps of the *Vatican* Church with his Clergy about him, receiv'd there the King of the *Franks*, who, wen he saw the Cross, alighted, and mounting the Steps kiss'd every one of them. At the Top of 'em the haughty Bishop stood, whom *Charles* Saluted, not by Kissing his Toe, but by embracing him, and then *Adrian* and his Clerks went before him into the Church. Singing merrily, as a Famous Author Phrases it, *Blessed is he that comes in the Name of the Lord*.

A.D. 772.

*Desiderius surrenders himself up to Charles. The Kingdom of the Lombards ends.*

774

*Charles receiv'd by the Pope at Rome with extraordinary Honours. Charles's Superstition.*

Horrid Blasphemy! To put the Holy Scripture to such a vile Use, and flatter a Man, that without any Provocation Invaded and Conquer'd his Father's Kingdom, for no other Reason, but for protecting his Nephews, the Sons of his Brother, against whom his future Conduct was a Demonstration that he had form'd evil Designs. *Charles*, like a true Bigot to the *Roman* Worship, visited all the Churches in a solemn Manner; and the fifth Day after his Arrival in the *Vatican* Palace, before the Judges and a numerous Assembly, he ratify'd his Father's Donation of the Exarchate to the Pope, ordering *Iterius*, his Secretary, to add a new Grant of *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the Territory of *Sabinum*, the Dukedoms of *Spoleto* and *Tuscia*, reserving to himself the Right of Sovereignty.

*He ratifies his Father's Donation to the Pope.*

*Gives other Territories to the Church.*

An unparallel'd Arrogance for him to presume to dispose of a Kingdom he had not then Conquer'd, and to which he had not the least Title in the World. particularly not to *Sicily*, which was entirely in Possession of the *Greek* Emperor, her rightful Sovereign, and so con-

tinu'd



AD. 774. tinu'd till the *Saracens* master'd the Island. He staid eight Days in *Rome*, and then return'd to the *Camp* before *Pavia*. The Success of his Siege we have already mention'd. Having subdu'd all *Lombardy*, he erected it into a new Kingdom, which consisted of all the Provinces in *Italy*, except *Beneventum* and *Friuli*, which he suffer'd to be enjoy'd by their own Dukes, paying Homage to him, the Dominions of the Church, *Apulia* and *Calabria*, which remain'd in the Emperor's Possession. He was Crown'd King of *Italy* at *Milan* by *Thomas* the Arch-Bishop, and then return'd to *Rome*, where to Compliment him a Synod was assembl'd, who gave Power to *Charles* and his Successors, To order Elections, Confirm Popes and give Investitures to Bishops; which Priviledge the Western Emperors held till the Reign of *Henry IV.* Emperor of *Germany*, three hundred Years afterwards. The Pope assuming to himself the whole Prerogative of the *Augusti*, confer'd on *Charles* the Honour of a *Patritian*, and then they parted very well pleas'd on both sides.

Crown'd  
King of I-  
taly at  
Milan,  
Has Power  
to Confirm  
Popes:  
The Pope  
makes him  
a *Patritian*.

We have seen by what means the Papacy and the French Monarchy rose to their extream Height together. The Pope acquir'd his Sovereignty by Rebelliou and Usurpation: The same way did the Kings of *France* take to settle the Race of the *Carolovingi* in the Empire of the West; and let us not think it strange, that two Monarchies so founded should be the constant Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression; the one resembling the great *Leviathan*, and the other the Whore of *Babylon*, so elegantly describ'd in the Holy Scriptures.

The Papacy  
and French  
Monarchy  
rose toge-  
ther by Re-  
bellion and  
Usurpation

During these Translations, *Constantine*, as if he was infatuated, neglected his Interest in *Italy*, and minded only his Wars with the *Bulgari*. In the Year before he dy'd he march'd against them with the Imperial Army, and oblig'd *Elerich* their King to sue for a Peace, which he obtain'd; but intending to break it, posted 12000 Men in Ambush to fall upon him in his Retreat. Some of *Elerich's* Courtiers, Pensioners to *Constantine*, gave him notice of their King's Treachery, who surpriz'd the 12000 *Bulgari*, and cut them off without the loss of one Greek or Roman. This Action, for that Reason, he us'd to call his Noble War. *Elerich* imagining his

Constan-  
tine's No-  
ble War  
against the  
*Bulgari*.

Coun-

Councils were betray'd to him, to know the Traytors, A D. 774. wrote to the Emperor, that being in danger of his Life at home, he resolv'd to throw himself into his Protection and fly to *Constantinople*, desiring him to name such *Bulgarians* as he thought he might trust with his Design. *Constantine*, who was glad to think he should have him in his Power, immediately recommended him to his Friends; when *Elerick* knew who they were, he put them all to Death. *Constantine* in a Rage to find himself cheated, tore up his Beard by the Roots, and made vast Preparations to revenge himself on *Elerick*; but before he could get all things ready, he was seiz'd with an Inflammation in his Thigh, which threw him into a Fever, and kill'd him in the Year 775. after he had *His Death* 775 Reign'd 34 Years 3 Months.

His History shews him to have been a Brave Active Prince; and had he not been born down by the Fate of the Empire, one that might have made as shining a Figure in Story as any of his Predecessors. He was Sober and Chast; yet the *Roman* Writers, particularly the Annalist *Baronius*, to detect whose Falshoods, more Volumes have been written than his own Voluminous Annals, rail at him as a Monster of Mankind. Another of 'em calls him the *Instrument of the Devil and of Antichrist*, the *Slave of all sorts of Impiety*; yet 'tis undeniable, that they had no Reason to speak ill of him, but that for which all good Christians love and honour his Memory, his Zeal for the Purity of Christ's Worship against Images and Relicks, which, from Superstition was grown up into rank Idolatry, and thus continues to this Day in all the Countries that acknowledge the Supremacy of the Pope, which together make up the Kingdom of Antichrist.

*The Popish Authors rail at him unjustly.*

## Leo IV.

**L**EO *Augustus*, the Fourth of that Name, succeeded *Leo his Son succeeds him* *Constantine Copronymus*, his Father. On his coming to the Crown, tho' he was as Orthodox in the matter of Images as his Father, yet he thought it would be most Prudent to Temporize a little, till he was settled in the Throne, and had secur'd the Possession of it

A.D. 776 to his Posterity. For this purpose, in his second Year he so wrought upon the Citizens of *Constantinople*, by his Bounty, his Moderation, the most Excellent of all Virtues in a Prince, and his obliging Temper. that they came to him and petition'd him to make his Son *Constantine* Emperor. *Leo* had what he desir'd; but dissembling with them, reply'd, *Constantine was his only Son, and he was afraid, lest their Minds might change hereafter, and they deliver him up to some Usurper, while he was yet an Infant, and not able to defend himself.* His Coldness made them the more warm. They assur'd him with Oaths they would be True to him; and when he dy'd, no Body else should Reign over them, if it pleas'd God his Son should live so long. They continu'd crouding to the Hyppodrome for several Days to make the same Demand: At last *Leo* seem'd to be overcome by their Importunity; yet he would not consent, till the Senate, the Army and the People took an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to him, and subscrib'd an Instrument like an Association to stand by him and his Heirs. On *Easter* Eve the Emperor with the Imperial Family went in Procession to the Church. The People were admitted, and their principal Leaders laid down the Paper they had Sign'd on the Sacrament Table, or the *Holy Altar*, in the Language of the *Romans*. Then the Emperor address'd himself to them thus, *Behold Brethren I grant you my Protection, and give you my Son for your Emperor: Receive him from the Church and the Hand of Christ.* The People all loudly answer'd with one Voice, *Be thou our Surety thou Son of God; from thy Hand we receive our Lord Constantine for Emperor, to Defend him and to Die for him, if Occasion requires.* The next Day the Patriarch *Nicetas* Crown'd young *Constantine Porphyrogenetes* so call'd, either from his wearing the Purple so young, being scarce five Years old, or because he was born while his Father and Grandfather were Emperors, or from the place of his Birth, in a Palace call'd *Porphyra*. The Solemnity of this Coronation, the Emperor's Speeches in behalf of his Son, and the Peoples Answers are the most unconstrain'd and unaffected of any we meet with in History.

Constantine his Son

Crown'd at the desire of the People.

A Month after *Constantine* was Crown'd, his Uncle *Nicephorus*, tempted by the Pomp of the Solemnity, conspir'd

pir'd against his Brother *Leo*, that he might have the same Honours as his Nephew. The Conspiracy was discover'd, and *Nicephorus* publickly beaten, shav'd and banish'd.

The next Year the King of the *Bulgari*, who some time before pretended to be in danger of being driv'n out of his Kingdom by his Subjects, was now really Expell'd, and fled to *Leo*, who honourably entertain'd him, had him instructed in the Christian Religion, which he embrac'd, was Baptiz'd, made a Patrician, and Marry'd to a Relation of the Empress *Irene*. There were now two Kings Refugees in the Court of *Constantinople*, the Kings of the *Lombards* and the *Bulgari*.

*Leo* sent an Army into *Asia*, which invaded the Province of *Germanica*, and took severalthousand Jacobite Christians Prisoners, who, by the Emperor's Order, were brought into *Thrace*, and had Dwellings assign'd them in the fourth Year of his Reign. In that which follow'd. he began to shew his Aversion to Image Worship, and confirm'd all his Father's Edicts against it; after which finding his Wife *Irene* and some Courtiers of her Faction had Images in their Apartments, he Expell'd them the Court. The next Year, which was the last of his Life and Reign, several of his Domesticks were put to Death for their Familiarity with the Empress. In September *Leo* dy'd, in the Thirtieth Year of his Age. The Manner of his Death is not left us with any Certainty in History; for who can believe what *Theophanes* a Monk, that had been persecuted by him or his Father for his Idolatry, or *Cedrenus* another Monk, copying from the former, write, That having taken a Crown which *Heraclius* had given to the Church, never to be us'd but at a Coronation, and wearing it without dreading the Consequence of his Sacrilege, one Day when he had it on, a Carbuncle rose on his Head, which was follow'd by a Fever, and the Fever by Death. 'Tis the Misfortune of all who write the History of these Times, that they are oblig'd to make use of Authors, who are notoriously Partial to the See of *Rome* and Favourers of Image Worship; and till the Heat of that Controversie is over, we know not



A.D. 779. whom to believe in the Characters of Princes, each side speaking as his Inclinations lead him to it.

### Constantine V. or Porphyrogenates.

Irene re-  
turns to  
Court.

Made Re-  
gent.

Favours I-  
dolary.  
Is recon-  
cil'd to the  
Pope.

THIS Emperor was but ten Years of Age when he began his Reign. His Mother *Irene* the Empress return'd to Court immediately after the Death of her Husband, and procur'd the Senate to declare her Regent, during her Son's Minority. However, there were a strong Party whom this Woman's Wit and Beauty could not Charm to comply with her. Her Virtue and her Principles in Religion were both suspected, and in less than two Months a Conspiracy was detected, form'd by the Chief of the Nobility to depose her, and advance *Nicephorus*, the Emperor's Uncle, to the Regency, or as some say, to the Throne. The principal Conspirators were Scourg'd and Banish'd: *Nicephorus* and all *Leo's* Brothers oblig'd to take Orders. On *Christmas* Day they gave the Communion to the People, and she together with her Son presented *Heraclius's* Crown again to the Church. This she did to ingratiate her self with her Party, who were the greatest Bigots to Superstition, and the rankest Idolaters in the East. Further to please them, she reconcil'd her self to the Pope, and by an Ediſt commanded, that Images should be reſta-  
blish'd and worship'd in all Churches. To strengthen her Interest she sent an Embassy to *Charles*, King of *France*, to demand his Daughter *Rotrude* in Marriage for her Son. *Charles* approv'd of the Match, and *Eliseus* an Eunuch, one of her Ambassadors, was left in his Court to instruct her in the Language, Manners and Customs of the *Greeks*. But *Irene* afterwards, either fearing her Son's Power by this Alliance would put an end to her own, or having it in her Thoughts to Marry *Charles* her self, broke off the Treaty.

783  
The *Slavi*  
forc'd to  
become Tri-  
butaries.

In the Third Year of her Son's Reign the *Slavi* invaded *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*. Against whom she sent an Army which drove them out of the Empire, retook what Booty and Prisoners they had taken, and forc'd them to become Tributaries to the Emperor: She also assisted *Adu'gise*, King of the *Lombards*, on the Death  
of

# Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Porphyrogenates. 517

of his Father, *Desiderius*, with Forces to recover his A.D. 783.  
Kingdom, which *Charles*, King of *France*, had usurp'd,  
and given to his Son *Pepin*, whom Pope *Adrian* had  
Crown'd King of *Italy*, *Adulgisè* landed in *Calabria*,  
and gave *Charles's* Army Battle. The *Greeks* fought it  
out with the *French* and *Lombards*, till they were most  
of them slain. *Adulgisè* fell into the Enemy's Hands,  
and was by order of the *French* Government torur'd to  
Death. This Year *Helpidius*, Præfect of *Sicily*, one of  
*Nicephorus's* Faction, rais'd some Troubles in that  
Island. *Irene* sent an Army to suppress them. *Helpidi-*  
*us* stood his Ground for a little while, and then fled to *Irene pays*  
the *Saracens* in *Africk*, who in opposition to *Constantine the Sara-*  
own'd him for Emperor, invaded the Empire and com- *cens Tri-*  
pell'd the Regent to pay them an yearly Tribute. *bute.*

While *Irene* was fond of her Son's Marrying *Charles's*  
Daughter, she so highly commended her Beauty to him,  
that the Youth, as soon as he was old enough to receive  
the Impressions of Love, grew enamour'd of her Idea,  
and was earnest to consummate the Marriage: But  
when his Mother broke it off, and oblig'd him to Mar-  
ry a Woman of mean Birth, and basely Educated, it  
gave him such a Disgust of her Conduct, that he never  
after could endure her.

789

In the Seventh Year of *Constantine's* Reign, his Mother  
summon'd a Council to meet at *Constantinople*. But the *The Citi-*  
Citizens and Soldiers understanding the Deputies were *zens of*  
pack'd for the Regent's Purpose; such as would restore *Constan-*  
Image Worship, they drove them out of the City as *tinople*  
fast as they arriv'd there, which oblig'd *Irene* to adjourn *will not*  
the Council to *Nice*, where the first General Council *suffer I-*  
sat. Three hundred and fifty Fathers out of the *Eas Irene's*  
and West met on this Occasion, and the Number of the *pack'd Sy-*  
*Italian* Bishops gave the Idolaters the Majority. They *nod to sit*  
decreed that Images should be made use of, but not *there.*  
be worship'd with *Latria*. The Pope's Agents were so *They meet*  
Rampant, that they would have as much Respect paid *at Nice,*  
to the Idols as if the Deity was visibly present, which *and favour*  
the Fathers would not allow, tho' they were most of *Images.*  
them *Irene's* Creatures, whom she had perverted to I-  
dolary, since she came to the Administration. She had  
turn'd out *Paul*, and made *Tarasius*, her Secretary,  
Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who, tho' he was convicted

A.D. 789. of Simony, is reckon'd among one of the Saints of the first Rank in the *Roman Legend*, purely on account of his declaring for Images. The Council was summon'd by his Procurement, but was never receiv'd by the Orthodox Christians. Seven Years after *Charles*, King of *France*, call'd a Council at *Frankfort*, where 300 Fathers assembl'd, who condemn'd Images and the Second Council of *Nice*. 'Tis said, *Charles* himself was so zealous an Enemy of Idolatry, notwithstanding he was as Superstitious as the rest of the *Roman Church*, that he wrote a Book against Image Worship in the same Trearise, blaming those that broke Images, or us'd them indecently.

The Council of Frankfort condemn Images and the Synod of Nice.

*Irene's* persecuting the true Orthodox Catholicks, (for they only deserv'd the Names of Orthodox and Catholick that obey'd God's Commandments, rather than the Pope's,) increas'd the Party of the Malecontents. Her Son was almost Twenty Years old; and as his Mother had her Flatterers who continually represented to her, that the Safety of the State was entirely owing to her Wisdom; so *Constantine* did not want his Favourites, who remonstrated, that he was now come to Years of Discretion. and 'twas fit for him to Govern his Dominions himself. *Constantine* listen'd to their Insinuations, and being offended at the Insolence of *Stauracius*, *Irene's* chief Favourite, enter'd into a Conspiracy with some of his Friends to depose his Mother from the Regency. *Stauracius* got Intelligence of the Design and inform'd *Irene*. The Empress order'd the Conspirators to be seiz'd, Whip'd, Shav'd and Banish'd. She her self took upon her to Correct the Emperor, whom she cuff'd with her own Hands, shut him up in a Chamber, and forc'd the Senate and the Army in *Thrace* to swear Allegiance to her self, which Oath was impos'd on the Soldiers in all the Provinces. The *Armenian Legions* were the first that refus'd to take it, and their Example was follow'd by all the other Legions. Those Quarter'd in *Thrace* forgetting their late Oath to *Irene*, peremptorily requir'd that the Emperor should have the sole Administration of Affairs. The same said the Citizens of *Constantinople*; and the Regent, to avoid the Fury of the People, was forc'd to produce her Son, who took on him the Government,

sent

## Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Perphyrogenates. 519

sent *Stauracius* into Exile. recall'd his own Friends, and A.D. 789. as to his Mother he was so tender, that tho she had deserv'd ill of the State and himself, yet with great Respect he led her out of the Palace to another she had built in *Eleutherium*, where she had laid up an immense Treasure, which he suffer'd her to enjoy. *Irene depos'd from the Regency*

He began the Exercise of his Imperial Authority with an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*: He also made War with the *Saracens*. What Success he had is not easie to affirm. Some Authors tell us, he was Victorious: Others, that he was beaten both by the *Saracens* and the *Bulgari*. His Mother, as cunning as she was wicked, had set Persons about him, who, by perpetually importuning him to be kind to her, endeavouring to work on his Passions by Arguments drawn from Nature and Duty, so far wrought upon him, that in less than two Years he permitted her to return to Court, and to her former Station there.

The *Armenian* Legions abhorring the Domination of *Irene*, sent one *Alexius* to *Constantine* with their humble Advice and Petition that he would Reign alone. *Constantine*, instead of answering their Request, commanded *Alexius* to be Whip'd, Shav'd and Imprison'd. Encourag'd by his Mother's Presence and Authority, as also by the Prædictions of *Pancratius* the Astronomer, he again enter'd *Bulgaria*, was overthrown and sent home without his Baggage, which the *Bulgari* took with all the Spoils of his Camp.

The same Year he turn'd off his Wife Mary the *Armenian*, and Marry'd *Theodecta*, one of his Mother's Maids, whom she recommended to him on purpose to render him more odious. From that time she began to contrive how she might rid her self of such a Competitor in the Sovereignty. She was afraid of the *Armenian* Legions, against whom as so many Rebels she sent *Constantine* in Person, who overpower'd and defeated them. *Nicephorus*, another Rival of her's, had his Eyes pull'd out by the Emperor's Order, she having made him incurably jealous of his Ambition. All *Constantine's* Kindred were ill us'd, shut up in Monasteries or Banish'd; and she was Politick enough to let all the Blame lie on her Son, whose Name was only made use of, and whom she perswaded to appear in all Matters



A.D. 793. that were not acceptable to the People. The Clergy were offended at his unlawful second Marriage; and all those that were any way disaffected to her Son she privately encourag'd.

The next year he receiv'd a haughty Message from the King of *Bulgaria*, *That unless he would pay him Tribute, he would come to the Gates of Constantinople and compel him to do it.* Constantine reply'd, *That since he was an old Man he would not give him so much Trouble, but wait upon him with it himself.* To perform his Promise he march'd against the *Bulgari*, who upon sight of his Army fled, and Constantine return'd Triumphant to Constantinople.

The Orthodox were of Opinion, that the Emperor's first Marriage was good, and his second unlawful. The Popish Faction on the contrary maintain'd the Validity and Legality of the second Marriage. Because the Empress was for it, *Tarasius* the Roman Saint, tho' Christ had positively forbidden that any one should divorce his Wife, unless she was convicted of Adultery, Marry'd the Emperor to *Theodecta*, *Mary* the Armenian being still living, and nothing laid to her Charge reflecting on her Chastity. *Plato* an Abbot, and other chief Clergy of Constantinople Excommunicated *Tarasius*, for having encourag'd the Emperor's divorcing his first and only lawful Wife. Constantine imprison'd *Plato* when he return'd from his Journey to *Bulgaria*, and hearing his Mother was at the Baths of *Prusa*, went thither to pay his Duty to her; but an Express bringing him News that his Wife was deliver'd of a Son, he hasten'd back to Constantinople without taking a formal Leave of his Mother, which she took for such an Affront, that nothing less than the Crown could content her. She had procur'd her Friend *Stauracius* to be recall'd. The Emperor took him with him into *Asia*, where he went in the 16th Year of his Reign to carry on the War with the *Saracens*, to whom he refus'd to continue the Tribute they demanded. *Stauracius* apprehending, that if the Emperor prov'd successful, it might be a means of making him too Powerful for his Mistress *Irene* to manage, did what he could to render the Expedition ineffectual. The Infidels were roving up and down the Provinces, to prevent Constantine's pursuing them, he

brib'd

Chap. IX. Constantine V. or Porphyrogenates. 521

brib'd the Scouts to report that they were retreated, A.D. 796. and the Emperor believing he had no Enemy to encounter went home, leaving the *Saracens* in his Dominions. He was heartily griev'd that he had lost an Opportunity of beating the Enemy, and the Death of his Son the following Year increas'd his Melancholy. The Empress *Irene's* Plot being ripe, he was inform'd his Mother had employ'd Persons to seize him, and carry him bound to her: He therefore committed himself to some of the Conspirators, whom he believ'd to be his Friends, praying them to fly with him to *Armenia*, where *Irene* was hated, and he had a considerable Interest. These Traytors, instead of carrying him off, as they promis'd, convey'd him to the Palace *Porphyra*, in which he was born, where his Eyes were dug out by *Irene's* Command, and he dy'd of the Wound in intolerable Pain. Unnatural Monster! To order her Son to be butcher'd in the very Room where she brought him forth. The Sun, as abhorring to behold so black a Deed, hid it self for seventeen Days; and so long 'tis said the Ships that sail'd in the Sea, for want of Light, fell foul on each other: And a shoar the Darknes was so terrible, that Mankind believ'd the Day of Doom approaching. *Irene* with an erected Front look'd the Avenger of Blood in the Face at the Altar. Happy for her if there had been no Gods but her Idols to revenge her execrable Sins, her foul Adultery and Parricide; she shall not long Triumph in her usurp'd Empire. The just God who is jealous of his Majesty will in a few Years throw her down from her exalted Seat to pine away her wretched Days in Bonds and Misery, till she at last receives her Reward among the Idolaters, Murderers and Adulterers.

Constantine's Eyes dug out by Irene's Order.

*Nicephorus*, *Christopher*, and the rest of her Husband's Brothers she caus'd to be made away at *Athens*, and then, as the *Roman* Emperors were wont to do, order'd her self to be drawn in a gilded Chariot, the Parritians attending on her like her Slaves, thro' *Constantinople*. In her way she scatter'd Money among the People; and now all the Race of *Leo Isauricus* were extinct, the imagin'd she might say to her Soul, Enjoy thy Ease, for there is none living to disturb thee.

Irene Reigns alone.

But

A.D. 796. But she found her own Friends the first that became troublesome to her. *Stauracius* conspir'd to depose her, and put himself in her Throne. She discover'd his secret Designs, and for the publick and private Services he had done her, only Banish'd him her Court and Presence; which however so mortify'd him, that he dy'd of Sorrow or Vexation.

*Is Banish'd.*

799

In her second Year the *Saracens* made a descent into *Thrace*, defeated her Forces, Plunder'd the Country to the Gates of *Constantinople*, and retreated to their Ships with their Booty. She continu'd in the Possession of the Imperial Dignity five Years, and 'tis reported she sent an Ambassador to *Charles* King of the *Franks*, now the *Western* Emperor; to treat of a Marriage, that they might reunite their two Dominions, and form a Monarchy worthy the Name of the *Roman* Empire. But the *Greeks*, for so the Subjects of the *Constantinopolitan* Empire are now call'd; prevented this Project by revolting to *Nicephorus* the Chancellor, and saluting him Emperor. *Nicephorus* seizing the Person of *Irene*, confin'd her to the Isle of *Lesbos*, where she Dy'd in the Year of our Lord 803.

*Nicephorus the Chancellor saluted Emperor. Irene Banish'd.*

Before we close our History, it will be requir'd of us to give some Account of the Re-establishment of the *Western* Empire. In the fifteenth Year of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* Pope *Adrian* dy'd, and *Anastasius* the *Vatican* Library-keeper, in his Lives of the Popes; writes, That *Leo* III. was chosen to succeed him the very same Day. The Relations of *Adrian* Resenting such a disrespectful Behaviour towards the Memory of their Kinsman, the last Pope attack'd *Leo* as he was in a Procession, intending to put out his Eyes and cut out his Tongue; but before they could do it, he made his Escape out of a Monastery in which they confin'd him, and fled to *Charles* the old Friend of the Papacy. The King of the *Franks* readily undertook to reinthrone him, and past with him into *Italy*; where he was declar'd Innocent of all indirect Practices to hasten the Death of *Adrian*, which was with good grounds of Suspicion laid to his Charge, *Charles* took the Pope's own Oath for his Innocence, sitting in Judgment upon the Pope and his Accusers. After which the main Business he came for was done, the King went to *St. Peter's Church* on

*Pope Leo III. charg'd with the Death of Pope Adrian I.*

*Christ-*

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*Christmas Day*, in the Year of our Lord 800. and as A.D. 800. had been concerted between him and the Pope, kneel'd Charles down before the Altar, where *Leo* set an Imperial *King of* Crown on his Head, and all the People Cry'd out, *To the Franks Charles Augustus Crown'd of God the Mighty and Pious goes to Italy Emperor of the Roman's Life and Victory.* He was then according to the Custom of the Ancient Roman Emperors ador'd by the Bishop and leaving off the style of Patritian, was saluted *Augustus*.

What right the Pope had to give, or Charles to pretend to the Imperial Dignity, does not any where appear. Charles had certainly as much Title to the Empire of Rome as the Pope had to bestow it on him; and this may be said for him, That being actually in Possession of all the best part of Italy, Bavaria, Hungary, Croatia, Austria, Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Germany, Gaul and part of Spain; he might as well assume the Name of Emperor, as hold the Dominions belonging to the Roman Empire in the West.

ly to try  
him.  
The Pope  
clear'd by  
his own  
Oath.

Charles  
Crown'd  
Emperor by  
the Pope.

*Eginhard*, his Secretary, who wrote his Life, assures us he was surpriz'd into this Honour by the Pope, who was Proud of an opportunity to exert his new Prerogative of disposing of Imperial Crowns at his Pleasure. But not to injure Charles's Modesty, other Authors, particularly our own Mr. *Howel*, have given us very good Reasons to believe, that Charles was as fond of accepting the Title of Emperor of the Romans, as Pope *Leo* was to bestow it upon him.

To take him with all his good and bad Qualities, he was the best and greatest Prince that ever sat on the French Throne. There have been many Kings of France as Imperious, and as Ambitious; but none so Valiant, so Generous and so Learned. He Founded the University of Paris by the Assistance of *Alcuin* an English-Man, whom he made Abbot of St. Martins at Tours. He wrote several Treatises, and had he not been too much addicted to the Vice of Incontinence, and too Covetous of his Neighbour's Possessions, a Sin which some think very Pardonable in a Heroe, he might justly have been Honour'd with the Surname of Great.

Thus we have shewn the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire. We have seen many Powerful Kingdoms, and at last a new Empire rise out of its Ruins. That which remains



A.D. 800. remains of the old one in the *East*, consisting of *Greece*, *Thrace*, part of *Italy*, *Sicily*, the Isles in the *Mediterranean*, *Cyprus* and *Rhodes* excepted, and those in the *Archipelago*, of part of *Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*, is a very poor Portion compar'd with the Dominions of the antient *Augusti*.

The *Saracens* were Masters of many Cities in the Eastern Provinces, and the Empire of the *Greeks* in *Asia* was very precarious. All that is to come of its History to its Dissolution in the fifteenth Century, is a Series of Disorder and Confusion of Plots, Revolutions and Losses, which ended in its utter Destruction.

Nor did the Western Empire continue long under one Master, 'twas divided first by *Charlemagne's* Sons, and then the Sword, which was the King of *France's* Title to the Imperial Dignity, cut out a Claim for others to his Provinces. And God the Author of all Good, gave Liberty to the *West*.

In the beginning of the next Century the Race of *Charles the Great* was laid aside, and *Courade Duke of Franconia* elected Emperor of *Germany*, whose Successors down to the present Times, have styl'd themselves Emperors or Kings of the *Romans*. Tho' the Bishops of *Rome* as they Rebell'd against their old Sovereign the *Greek* Emperor. did the same afterwards by the *German*, and kept the Sovereignty of the City, together with the Territories annex'd to it; which they hold to this Day. But in the fulness of Time the Almighty has promis'd us, That *with Violence shall that great City Babylon be Thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.*

IX.

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*Carinus.*

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